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MEMOIRS OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

VOLUME XXIII

FIRST MEMOIR

THE MANÓBOS OF MINDANÁO

BY

JOHN M. GARVAN

Presented to the Academy at the Annual Meeting, 1929

THE MANÓBOS OF MINDANÁO

BY

JOHN M. GARVAN

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PART I. DESCRIPTIVE

CHAPTER I

CLASSIFICATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF MANÓBOS AND OTHER PEOPLES IN EASTERN MINDANÁO

EXPLANATION OF TERMS

"EASTERN MINDANÁO"

Throughout this monograph I have used the term "eastern Mindanáo" to include that part of Mindanáo that is east of the central Cordillera as far south as the headwaters of the River Libagánon, east of the River Tágum and its influent the Libagánon, and east of the gulf of Davao.

THE TERM "TRIBE"

The word "tribe" is used in the sense in which Dean C. Worcester defines and uses it in his article on The non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon:[1]

> A division of a race composed of an aggregate of individuals of a kind and of a common origin, agreeing among themselves in, and distinguished from their congeners by physical characteristics, dress, and ornaments; the nature of the communities which they form; peculiarities of house architecture; methods of hunting, fishing, and carrying on agriculture; character and importance of manufacture; practices relative to war and the taking of heads of enemies; arms used in warfare; music and dancing, and marriage and burial customs; but not constituting a political unit subject to the control of any single individual nor necessarily speaking the same dialect.

PRESENT USE OF THE WORD "MANÓBO"

The word "Manóbo" seems to be a generic name for people of greatly divergent culture, physical type, and language. Thus it is applied to the people that dwell in the mountains of the lower half of Point San Agustin as well as to those people whose habitat is on the southern part of the Sarangani Peninsula. Those, again, that occupy the *hinterland* of Tuna Bay[2] come under the same designation. So it might seem that the word was originally used to designate the pagan as distinguished from the Mohammedanized people of Mindanáo, much as the name *Harafóras* or *Alfúros* was applied by the early writers to the pagans to distinguish them from the Moros.

In the Agúsan Valley the term *manóbo* is used very frequently by Christian and by Christianized peoples, and sometimes by pagans themselves, to denote that the individual in question is still *unbaptized*, whether he be tribally a Mandáya, a Mañgguáñgan, or of some other group. I have been told by Mandáyas on several occasions that they were still *manóbo*, that is, still unbaptized.

Then, again, the word is frequently used by those who are really Manóbos as a term of contempt for their fellow tribesmen who live in remoter regions and who are not as well off in a worldly or a culture way as they are. Thus I have heard Manóbos of the upper Agúsan refer to their fellow-tribesmen of Libagánon as *Manóbos*, with evident contempt in the voice. I asked them what they themselves were, and in answer was informed that they were *Agusánon*—that is, upper Agúsan people—not *Manóbos*.

---

[1] Philip. Journ. Sci., 1: 803, 1906.

[2] Tuna Bay is on the southern coast of Mindanáo, about halfway between Sarangani Bay and Parang Bay.

THE DERIVATION AND ORIGINAL APPLICATION OF THE WORD "MANÓBO"

One of the earliest references that I find to the Manóbos of the Agúsan Valley is in the General History of the Discalced Augustinian Fathers (1661–1699) by Father Pedro de San Francisco de Assis.[3] The author says that "the mountains of that territory [4] are inhabited by a nation of Indians, heathens for the greater part, called Manóbos, a word signifying in that language, as if we should say here, *robust or very numerous people.*" I have so far found no word in the Manóbo dialect that verifies the correctness of the above statement. It may be said, however, in favor of this derivation that *manúsia* is the word for "man" or "mankind" in the Malay, Moro (Magindanáo), and Tirurái languages. In Bagobo, a dialect that shows very close resemblance to Manóbo, the word *Manóbo* means "man," and in Magindanáo Moro it means "mountain people," [5] and is applied by the Moros to all the mountain people of Mindanáo. It might be maintained, therefore, with some semblance of reason that the word *Manóbo* means simply "people." Some of the early historians use the words *Manóbo, Mansúba, Manúbo.* These three forms indicate the derivation to be from a prefix *man*, signifying "people" or "dweller," and *súba*, a river. From the form *Manúbo*, however, we might conclude that the word is made up of *man* ("people"), and *húbo* ("naked"), therefore meaning the "naked people." The former derivation, however, appears to be more consonant with the principles upon which Mindanáo tribal names, both general and local, are formed. Thus *Mansáka, Mandáya, Mañgguáñgan* are derived, the first part of each, from *man* ("people" or "dwellers"), and the remainder of the words, respectively, from *sáka* ("interior"), *dáya* ("up the river"), *guáñgan* ("forest"). These names then mean "people of the interior," "people that dwell on the upper reaches of the river," and "people that dwell in the forest." Other tribal designations of Mindanáo races and tribes are almost without exception derived from words that denote the relative geographic position of the tribe in question. The *Banuáon* and *Mamánua* are derived from *banuá*, the "country," as distinguished from settlements near the main or settled part of the river. The *Bukidnon* are the mountain people (*bukid*, mountain); *Súbanun*, the river people (*súba*, river); *Tirurai*, the mountain people (*túduk*, mountain, *etéu*, man); [6] *Tagakaólo*, the people at the very source of a river (*tága*, inhabitant, *ólo*, head or source).

The derivation of the above tribal designations leads us to the opinion that the word *Manóbo* means by derivation a "river-man," and not a "naked man."

A further alternative derivation has been suggested by Dr. N. M. Saleeby,[7] from the word *túbo*, "to grow"; the word *Manóbo*, according to this derivation, would mean the people that grew up on the island, that is the original settlers or autochthons. The word *túbo*, "to grow," is not, however, a Manóbo word, and it is found only in a few Mindanáo dialects.

Father F. Combes, S. J.,[8] says that the owners, that is, the autochthonic natives of Mindanáo, were called Manóbos and Mananápes.[9] In a footnote referring to Mananápes, it is stated, and appears very reasonable and probable, that the above-mentioned term is not a tribal designation but merely an appellation of contempt used on account of the low culture possessed by the autochthons at that time.

Hence there seems to be some little ground for supposing that the word *Manóbo* was originally applied to all the people that formerly occupied the coast and that later fled to the interior, and settled along the rivers, yielding the seashore to the more civilized invaders.

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[3] Blair and Robertson, 41: 153, 1906.

[4] The author refers to the mountains in the vicinity of Líano, a town that stood down the river from the present Veruéla and which was abandoned when the region subsided.

[5] Fr. Jacinto Juanmarti's Diccionario Moro Magindanáo-Español (Manila, 1892), 125.

[6] My authority for this derivation is a work by Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera on The Origin of Philippine Tribal Names.

[7] Origin of Malayan Filipinos, a paper read before the Philippine Academy, Manila, Nov. 1, 1911.

[8] Historia de Mindanao y Jolo (Madrid, 1664). Ed. Retana (Madrid, 1897).

[9] The word *mananáp* is the word for *animal, beast* in the Cebu Bisáya, Bagóbo, Tirurái, and Magindanáo Moro languages. Among some of the tribes of eastern Mindanáo, the word is applied to a class of evil forest spirits of apparently indeterminate character. It is noteworthy that these spirits seem to correspond to the *Manubu* spirits of the Subanuns as described by Mr. Emerson B. Christie in his Subanuns of Sindangan Bay (*Pub. Bur. Sci., Div. Eth.*, 88, 1909).

The following extract from Dr. N. M. Saleeby[10] bears out the above opinion:

> The traditions and legends of the primitive tribes of the Philippine Archipelago show very clearly that they believe that their forefathers arose in this land and that they have been here ever since their creation. They further say that the coast tribes and foreigners came later and fought them and took possession of the land which the latter occupy at present. When Masha' ika, the earliest recorded immigrant, reached Súlu Island, the aborigines had already developed to such a stage of culture as to have large settlements and rajas or *datus*.
>
> These aborigines are often referred to in Súlu and Mindanáo as Manubus, the original inhabitants of Súlu Islands, the Budanuns, were called Manubus also. So were the forefathers of the Magindanáo Moros. The most aboriginal hill tribes of Mindanáo, who number about 60,000 souls or more, are called Manubus.

The idea that the original owners were called Manóbos is the opinion of San Antonio also, as expressed in his Cronicas.[11] Such a supposition might serve also to explain the wide distribution of the different Manóbo people in Mindanáo, for, besides occupying the regions above-mentioned, they are found on the main tributaries of the Rio Grande de Kotabáto—the Batañgan, the Biktósa, the Luan, the Narkanitan, etc., and especially on the River Pulañgi—on nearly all the influents of the last-named stream, and on the Hiñgoog River in the Province of Misamis. As we shall see later on, even in the Agúsan Valley, the Manóbos were gradually split on the west side of the river by the ingress, as of some huge wedge, of the Banuáons. Crossing the eastern Cordillera, a tremendous mass of towering pinnacles—the home of the Mamánuas—we find Manóbos occupying the upper reaches of the Rivers Hubo, Marihátag, Kagwáit, Tágo, Tandag, and Kantílan, on the Pacific coast. I questioned the Manóbos of the rivers Tágo and Hubo as to their genealogy and former habitat and found that their parents, and even some of themselves, had lived on the river Kasilaian, but that, owing to the hostility of the Banuáons, they had fled to the river Wá-Wa. At the time of the coming of the Catholic missionaries in 1875, these Manóbos made their way across the lofty eastern Cordillera in an attempt to escape from the missionary activities. These two migrations are a forcible example of what may have taken place in the rest of Mindanáo to bring about such a wide distribution of what was, perhaps, originally one people. Each migration led to the formation of a new group from which, as from a new nucleus, a new tribe may have developed in the course of time.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MANÓBOS IN EASTERN MINDANÁO[12]

IN THE AGÚSAN VALLEY

The Manóbos occupy the whole Agúsan Valley as far as the town of Buai on the upper Agúsan *with the following exceptions:*

1. The upper parts of the rivers Lamiñga, Kandiisan, Hawilian, and Óhut, and the whole of the river Maásam, together with the mountainous region beyond the headwaters of these rivers, and probably the territory beyond in the district of Misamis, as far over as the habitat of the Bukidnon tribe.[13]
2. The towns of Butuán, Talakógon, Bunáwan, Veruéla, and Prosperidad.
3. The town of Tagusab and the headwaters of the Tutui and Binuñgñgaan Rivers.

ON THE EASTERN SIDE OF THE PACIFIC CORDILLERA

In this region I include the upper waters of the Liañga, Hubo, Oteiza, Marihátag, Kagwáit, Tágo, Tandag, and Kantílan Rivers.

ON THE PENINSULA OF SAN AGUSTIN

I desire to call the reader's attention to the fact that *this monograph has no reference to the Manóbos of Port San Agustin nor to the Manóbos of the Libagánon River and its tributaries, nor to the Manóbos that occupy the hinterland above Nasipit as far as the Bugábus River.* I had only cursory dealings with the inhabitants of the last-named region but both from my own scant observations and from the reports of others more familiar with them, I am inclined to believe that there may be differences great enough to distinguish them from the other peoples of the Agúsan Valley as a distinct tribe.

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[10] The Origin of the Malayan Filipinos, a paper read before the Philippine Academy on Nov. 1, 1911.

[11] Blair and Robertson, 40: 315, 1906.

[12] See tribal map.

[13] The reason for the insertion of this last clause is that the people inhabiting the mountains at the headwaters of the above rivers have the same physical types, dress, and weapons as the Bukidnons, if I may judge from my slight acquaintance with the latter.

As to the Manóbos of Libagánon, it is probable that they have more or less the same cultural and linguistic characteristics as the Manóbos that form the subject matter of this paper, but, as I did not visit them nor get satisfactory information regarding them, I prefer to leave them untouched until further investigation.

Of the Manóbos of the lower half of the peninsula of San Agustin, I know absolutely nothing except that they are known as Manóbos. I noted, however, in perusing the Jesuit letters[14] that there were in the year 1891 not only Manóbos but Moros, Bilans, and Tagakaólos in that region

THE MAMÁNUAS, OR NEGRITOS, AND NEGRITO-MANÓBO HALF-BREEDS

The Mamánuas, or Negritos, and Negrito-Manóbo half-breeds of Mindanáo occupy the mountains from Anao-aon near Surigao down to the break in the eastern Cordillera, northwest of Liañga. They also inhabit a small range that extends in a northeasterly direction from the Cordillera to Point Kawit on the east coast.

I heard three trustworthy reports of the existence of Negritos in eastern Mindanáo. The first report I heard on the Umaíam River (Walo, August, 1909). It was given to me by a Manóbo chief from the River Ihawán. He assured and reassured me that on the Lañgilañg River, near the Libagánon River exists a group of what he called Manóbos but who were very small, *black as an earthen pot*, kinky-haired, without clothes except bark-cloth, very peaceable and harmless, but very timid. I interrogated him over and over as to the bark-cloth that he said these people wore. He said in answer that it was called *agahan* and that it was made out of the bark of a tree whose name I can not recall. He described the process of beating the bark and promised to bring me, 60 days from the date of our conference, a loin cloth of one of these people. I inquired as to their manner of life, and was assured that they were *tau-batañg;* that is, people who slept under logs or up in trees. He said that he and his people had killed many of them, but that he was still on terms of friendship with some of them.

The second report as to the existence of Negritos I heard on the Baglasan River, a tributary of the Sálug River. The chiefs whom I questioned had never visited the Negritos but had purchased from the Tugawanons[15] many Negrito slaves whom they had sold to the Mandáyas of the Kati'il and Karága Rivers. This statement was probably true, for I saw one slave, a full-blooded Negrito girl, on the upper Karága during my last trip and received from her my third and most convincing report of the existence of Negritos other than the Mamánuas of the eastern Cordillera. She had been captured, she said, by the Manóbos of Libagánon and sold to the Debabáons (upper Sálug people). She could not describe the place where her people live, but she gave me the following information about them. They are all like herself, and they have no houses nor crops, because they are afraid of the Manóbos that surround them. Their food is the core[16] of the green rattan and of fishtail palm,[17] the flesh of wild boar, deer, and python, and such fish and grubs, etc., as they find in their wanderings. They sleep anywhere; sometimes even in trees, if they have seen strange footprints.

Their weapons are bows and arrows, lances, daggers, and bolos. According to her description, the bolos are long and thin, straight on one side and curved on the other. The men purchase them from the Atás in exchange for beeswax. The people are numerous, but they live far apart, roaming through the forests and mountains, and meeting one another only occasionally.

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[14] Cartas de los PP. de la Compañía de Jesús, 9: 335, *et seq.*, 1892.

[15] The Tugawanons were described by my Sálug authorities as a people that lived at the headwaters of the River Libagánon on a tributary called Tugawan. They were described as a people of medium stature, as fair as the Mansakas, very warlike, enemies of the reported Negritos, very numerous, and speaking an Atas dialect. Perhaps the term Tugawanon is only a local name for a branch of the Atas tribe.

[16] *O-bud.*

[17] *Ba-hi* (*Caryota* sp.).

The statements of this slave girl correspond in every particular with the report that I received on the upper Sálug, except that the Sálug people called these Negritos Tugmaya and said that they live beyond a mountain that is at the headwaters of the Libagánon River.

Putting together these three reports and assuming the truth of them, the habitat of these Negritos must be the slopes of Mount Panombaian, which is situated between, and is probably the source of, the Rivers Tigwa (an important tributary of the Rio Grande de Kotabato), Sabud (the main western tributary of the Ihawán River), and Libagánon (the great western influent of the Tágum River).

Montano states that during his visit to the Philippines (1880–81) there were on the island of Samal a class of half-blood *Ata'* with distinctly Negroid physical characteristics. Treating of *Ata'* he says that it is a term applied in the south of Mindanáo by Bisáyas to Negritos "that exist (or existed not long ago) in the interior toward the northwest of the gulf of Davao."[18] A careful distinction must be made between the term Atás[19] and the racial designation *Ata'*, for the former are, according to Doctor Montano, a tribe of a superior type, of advanced culture, and of great reputation as warriors. They dwell on the northwestern slope of Mount Apo, hence their name Atás, *hatáas*, or *atáas*, being a very common word in Mindanáo for "high." They are, therefore, the people that dwell on the heights. I heard of one branch of them called Tugawanons, but this is probably only a local name like Agúsanons, etc.

I found reports of the former existence of Negritos in the Karága River Valley at a place called Sukipin, where the river has worn its way through the Cordillera. An old man there told me that his grandfather used to hunt the Negritos. The Mandáyas both of that region and of Tagdauñg-duñg, a district situated on the Karága River, five days' march from the mouth, on the western side of the Cordillera, show here and there characteristics, physical and cultural, that they could have inherited only from Negrito ancestors. One interesting trait of this particular group is the use of blowpipes for killing small birds. In the use of the bow and arrow, too, they are quite expert. These people are called *taga-butái*—that is, mountain dwellers—and live in places on the slopes of high mountains difficult of access, their watering-place being frequently a little hole on the side of the mountain.

THE BANUÁONS

The Banuáons,[20] probably an extension of the Bukidnons of the Bukidnon subprovince. They occupy the upper parts of the Rivers Lamiñga, Kandiisan, Hawilian, and Óhut, and the whole of the River Maásam, together with the mountainous region beyond the headwaters of these rivers, and probably extend over to the Bukidnons.

THE MAÑGGUÁÑGANS

This tribe occupies the towns of Tagusab and Pilar on the upper Agúsan, the range between the Sálug and the Agúsan, the headwaters of the Mánat River, and the water-shed between the Mánat and the Mawab. The physical type of many of them bespeaks an admixture of Negrito blood, and their timidity and, on occasions, their utter lack of good judgment, brand them as the lowest people, after the Mamánuas, in eastern Mindanáo. One authority, a Jesuit missionary, I think, estimated their number at 30,000. An estimate, based on the reports of the people of Compostela, places their number at 10,000 just before my departure from the Agúsan Valley in 1910. The decrease, if the two estimates are correct, is probably due to intertribal and interclan wars.

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[18] Une Mission aux Philippines, 346, 1887.

[19] Called also Itás.

[20] Also called Higaunon or Higagaun, probably "the Hadgaguanes—a people untamed and ferocious"—to whom the Jesuits preached shortly after the year 1596. (Jesuit Mission, Blair and Robertson, 44: 60, 1906.) These may be the people whom Pigafetta, in his First Voyage Around the World (1519–1522) calls Benaian (Banuáon ?) and whom he describes as "shaggy and living at a cape near a river in the islands of Butuán and Karága—great fighters and archers—eating only raw human hearts with the juice of oranges or lemons" (Blair and Robertson, 30: 243, 1906).

THE MANSÁKAS

The Mansákas do not seem to me to be as distinct tribally as are the Manóbos and Mandâyas. It would appear from their physical appearance and other characteristics that they should be classed as Mandâyas, or as a subtribe of Mandâyas with whom they form one dialect group. I judge them to be the result of intermarriage between the Mañgguáñgans and the Mandâyas. They occupy the Mawab River Valley and the region included between the Hijo, Mawab, and Madawan Rivers. They are probably the people whom Montano called Tagabawas, but I think that this designation was perhaps a mistaken form of *Tagabaas*, an appellation given to Mañgguáñgans who live in the *bá-as*, or prickly swamp-grass, that abounds at the headwaters of the Mánat River.

THE DEBABÁONS

The Debabáons are probably a hybrid group forming a dialect group with the Manóbos of the Ihawán and Báobo, and a culture group in dress and other features with the Mandâyas. They claim relationship with Manóbos, and follow Manóbo religious beliefs and practices to a great extent. For this reason I have retained the name that they apply to themselves, until their tribal identity can be clearly determined. They inhabit the upper half of the Sálug River Valley and the country that lies to the west of it as far as the Báobo River.

THE MANDÂYAS

These form the greatest and best tribe in eastern Mindanáo.[21] One who visits the Mandâyas of the middle Kati'il can not fail to be struck with the fairness of complexion, the brownness of the hair, the diminutiveness of the hands and feet, and the large eyes with long lashes that are characteristic of many of these people. Here and there, too, one finds a distinctly Caucasian type. In psychological characteristics they stand out still more sharply from any tribe or group of people that I know in eastern Mindanáo. Shrewd and diplomatic on the one hand, they are an affectionate, good-natured and straight-forward people, with little of the timidity and cautiousness of the Manóbo. Their religious instincts are so highly developed that they are inclined to be fanatical at times.

On the whole, the impression made upon me in my long and intimate dealings with the Mandâyas of the Kati'il, Manorigao, and Karága Rivers is that they are a brave, intelligent, clean, frank people that with proper handling might be brought to a high state of civilization. They are looked up to by Manóbos, Mañgguáñgans, Mansakas, and Debabâons as being a superior and more ancient race, and considered by the Bisáyas of the Agúsan Valley as a people of much more intelligence and fair-dealing than any other tribe. The Mandâyas consist of four branches:

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[21] It is very interesting to note that the people called *Taga-baloóyes* and referred to by so many of the writers on Mindanáo can be none other than the Mandâyas. Thus San Antonio (Blair and Robertson, 40: 407, 1906) states that "the Taga-haloóyes take their name from some mountains which are located in the interior of the jurisdiction of Caraga. They are not very far distant from and trade with the villages of (Karága) and some, indeed, live in them who have become Christians. * * * These people, as has been stated above, are the descendants of lately arrived Japanese. This is the opinion of all the religious who have lived there and had intercourse with them and the same is a tradition among themselves, and they desired to be so considered. And it would seem that one is convinced of it on seeing them: for they are light complexioned, well-built, lusty, very reliable in their dealings, respectful, and very valiant, but not restless. So I am informed by one who has had much to do with them: and above all these are the qualities which we find in the Japanese."

In further proof, Father Pedro de San Francisco de Assis (ibid. 41: 138, *et seq.*) says: "The nearest nation to our village [Bislig] is that of the Taga-halcóyes who are so named from certain mountains that they call Balooy. * * * They are a corpulent race, well built, of great courage and strength, and they are at the same time of good understanding, and more than halfway industrious. Their nation is faithful in its treaties and constant in its promises, as they are descendants, so they pride themselves, of the Japanese, whom they resemble in complexion, countenance, and manners." The writer describes briefly their houses and their manner of life, and mentions in particular the device they make use of in the construction of their ladders. It is interesting to note that the same device is still made use of by the more well-to-do Mandâyas on the Karága, Manorigao, and Kati'il Rivers. In other respects their character, as described, is very similar to that of the present Mandâyas of the Kati'il River who in physical type present characteristics that mark them as being a people of a superior race.

In Medina's historia (Blair and Roberston, 24: 175, 1906,) we find it related that Captain Juan Niño de Tabora mistreated the chief of the Taga-baloóyes in Karága and that as a result the captain, Father Jacinto Cor, and 12 soldiers were killed. Subsequently four more men of the religious order were killed and two others wounded and captured by the *Taga-balooyes*.

Zuñiga in Estadismo (ibid. 2: 71, *et seq.*) notes the fairness of complexion of the Taga-baloóyes, a tribe living in the mountains of Balooy in Karága.

Father Manual Buzeta in Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de las Islas Filipinas (1: 506, 1905) makes the same observation, but M. Felix Renouard de Sainte Croix in Voyage commercial et politique aux Indes Orientales (1803–1809) goes further still by drawing attention to these people as meriting distinction for superior mentality.

The Jesuit missionary Pastells in 1883 (Cartas de los PP. de la Compañía de Jesús, 4: 212, 1884) writes that the people above Manresa (southeastern Mindanáo) are perhaps of Moro origin but bettered by a strain of noble blood, which their very appearance seems to him to indicate. In support of this view he cites the authority of Santayana, who claims Japanese descent for them and repudiates the opinion of those who attribute Hollandish descent. In a footnote, the above celebrated missionary and scholar adds that the town of Kinahlangan (a town on the east coast of Mindanáo) owes its origin to a party of Europeans who were shipwrecked on Point Bagoso and took up their abode in that place, intermarrying with the natives. I was informed by a Bisáya trader, the only one that ever went among the mountain Mandâyas, that he had seen a circular, clocklike article with strange letters upon it in a settlement on the middle Kati'il. The following year I made every effort to see it, but I could not prevail upon the possessors to show it to me. They asserted that they had lost it. It is probable that this object was a ship's compass.

THE TÁGUM BRANCH

These occupy the country from near the mouth of the Tágum to the confluence of the Sâlug and Libagânon Rivers, or perhaps a little farther up both of the last-mentioned rivers. It is probable that the Debabâons farther up are the issue of Manóbos and Tágum Mandâyas.

THE AGÚSAN VALLEY BRANCH

It is usual for the people of the upper Agúsan from Gerona to Compostela to call themselves Mandâyas, but this appears to be due to a desire to be taken for Mandâyas. They have certainly absorbed a great deal of Mandâya culture and language, but, with the exception of Pilar and Tagusab, they are of heterogeneous descent—Mandâya, Manóbo, Mañgguáñgan, Debabâon, and Mansaka.

At the headwaters of the Agúsan and in the mountains that encircle that region live the Mandâyas that are the terror of Mandâyaland. They are called by the upper Agúsan people *Kau-ó*, which means the same as *Tagakaólo*, but are Mandâyas in every feature, physical, cultural, and linguistic.

THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH

They occupy the following rivers with their tributaries: the Kati'il, the Baganga, the Manorigao, the Karága, the Manai, the Kasauman, and the upper reaches of the Mati. There are several small rivers between the Kasauman and the Mati, the upper parts of all which, I think, are occupied by Mandâyas.

THE GULF OF DAVAO BRANCH

These occupy the upper reaches of all the rivers on the east side of the gulf of Davao, from Sumlug to the mouth of the Hijo River whose source is near that of the Agúsan and whose Mandâyas are famous in Mandâyaland.

THE MOROS

Moros or people with a preponderance of Moro blood and culture occupy the coast towns on the eastern and northern sides of the gulf from Sumlug to the mouth of the Tágum. Of course they have other settlements on the north and west sides of the gulf.

In Mati and its vicinity, I believe there are a comparatively large number of Moros or Mohammedanized Mandâyas.

THE BILÂNS [22]

Bilâns were found according to the testimony of the Jesuit missionaries[23] in Sigaboi, Tikbakawan, and Baksal, on the peninsula of San Agustin.

THE TAGAKAÓLOS

According to the authorities just cited there were Tagakaólos in Sigaboi, Uañgen, Kabuaya, and Makambal between the years 1889 and 1891. It is probable that these people are scattered throughout the whole of the hinterland to the west of Pujada Bay, and that they are only Mandâyas who, unable to withstand the stress of war, fled from the mountains at the headwaters of the Agúsan River. I base this suggestion on the fact that the Mandâyas at the headwaters of the Agúsan are known as, and call themselves, Kau-ó [24] and that they were, and are probably still at the date of this writing, the terror of Mandáyaland. If the Tagakaólos of Point San Agustin are fugitive *Kau-ó*, according to the prevailing custom they would have retained their former name; this name, if *Kau-ó*, would have been changed by Bisayas and by Spanish missionaries to *Tagakaólo.*

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[22] Called also, I think, *Bi-la-an*.

[23] Cartas de los PP. de la Compañía de Jesús, 9: 331, *et seq.*, 1889–1891.

[24] *Kau-ó* would be *Ka-ólo* in Bisaya, from the prefix *ka*, and *ólo*, head or source.

THE LÓAKS OR LÓAGS

According to the authority of Father Llopart [25] the Lóaks dwell in the mountains southwest of Pujada Bay. He says that in customs they differ from other tribes. They dress in black and hide themselves when they see anyone dressed in a light color. No stranger is permitted to enter their dwellings. The same writer goes on to state that their food is wholly vegetable, excluding tubers, roots, and everything that grows under the ground. Their chief is called *posáka*,[26] "an elder who with his mysterious words and feigned revelations keeps his people in delusion and under subjection." It is the opinion of Father Llopart that these people are only fugitives, as he very justly concludes from the derivation of their name. [27]

Another writer, Father Pablo Pastells [28] makes mention of these Lóak as being wild Tagakaólos who are more degraded than the Mamánuas. He designates the mountains of Hagimitan on the peninsula of San Agustin as their habitat. I am inclined to think that the authority for this statement was also a Jesuit missionary.

THE CONQUISTAS OR RECENTLY CHRISTIANIZED PEOPLES

The work of Christianizing the pagans of eastern Mindanáo was taken up in earnest in 1877 by the Jesuit missionaries and carried on up to the time of the revolution in 1898. During that time some 50,000 souls were led to adopt Christianity. These included Mandáyas, Manóbos, Debabáons, Mansakas, Mañgguáñgans, and Mamánuas, and members of the other tribes that live in eastern Mindanáo. For the present, however, we will refer to the *conquistas* of the Manóbo, Mandáya, Mamánua, Mañgguáñgan, Mansaka, and Debábaon tribes.

THE MANÓBO CONQUISTAS

The inhabitants of all the settlements in the Agúsan Valley except Novela, Rosario, the towns south of Buai, the towns within the Banúaon habitat, and a few settlements of pagan Manóbos on the upper Umaíam, Argáwan, and Ihawan, Wá-wa and Maitum are Manobó *conquistas.*

On the eastern slope of the Pacific Cordillera in the vicinity of San Miguel (Tágo River), on the Marihátag and Oteiza Rivers there are several hundred Manóbo *conquistas.* The towns up the Hinatuán and Bislig Rivers are made up of both Manóbo and Mandáya *conquistas.*

THE MANDÁYA CONQUISTAS

In the Agúsan Valley the towns on the Sulibau River and perhaps on the Adlaian River are made up of Mandáya *conquistas* for the most part. These Mandáyas evidently worked in from the Hinatuán River for one reason or another, perhaps to avoid missionary activity on the east coast or to escape from Moro raids.

On the Pacific coast we find Mandáya *conquistas* to a greater or less extent in nearly all the municipalities and barrios from Tandag to Mati, with the exception of such towns as have been formed by immigration of Bisáyas from Bohol and other places. There can be no doubt but that in former years the Mandáyas covered the whole Pacific slope from Tandag to Mati, for we still find recently Christianized Mandáyas in Kolon and Alba on the Tágo River and in

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[25] Cartas de los PP. de la Compañía de Jesús, 9: 337–338, 1891.

[26] *Posáka* means in Malay, and in nearly all known Mindanáo dialects, an "*inheritance*," so that in the usage attributed to these Lóaks it would appear that there may be some idea of an hereditary chieftainship. The word in Bagobo, however, means something beloved, etc., so that the reported Lóak *posáka* or chief might be so called because of his being beloved by his people.

[27] He states that *lóak* is probably from *lóog*, "to flee," "to take to the mountains." In several dialects of eastern Mindanáo ***laag***, ***lag***, means, 'to get lost," while *lágui* is a very common word for "run" or "run away."

[28] Ibid., 8: 343, 1887.

Kagwâit and Bakolod on the Kagwâit River. The inhabitants of these eastern towns are not known by the designation of *conquistas*, but assume the name and status of Bisâyas and are not so dependent on the older Christians as are the *conquistas* of the Agúsan Valley who are called *conquistas* and treated as inferiors by the older Christians.

I think that from Liñgig to Mati all the *barrios*, both of the coast and in the *hinterland*, are made up of Mandâyas that have been Christianized since 1877.

THE MAMÂNUA CONQUISTAS

These Mamânua *conquistas* live in the vicinity of Anao-aon and Malimono′ on the northeast coast; in San Roque and San Pablo, also on Lake Maínit; on the River Asiga, a tributary of the River Jabonga; and somewhere up the Lanusa River on the east coast.

THE MAÑGGUÁÑGAN CONQUISTAS

During my stay on the upper Agúsan, there were only two towns of Mañgguáñgan *conquistas*—Tagusab and Pilar—and even these were mere suggestions of towns. It may be, however, that since the appointment of a deputy governor, the great numbers of Christianized Mañgguáñgans that had fled from the wrath of their enemies into the swamp region at the headwaters of the Manat River have returned and that Mañgguáñgan towns now exist.

THE MANSÁKA CONQUISTAS

In Compostela, Gandia, and Tagaunud are found a few Mansáka *conquistas*. The inhabitants of these towns, however, are of such a heterogeneous blend that it is difficult to assign any tribal place to them. It may be said, in general, that these towns are still passing through a formative period, the result of which will probably be their complete adoption of Mandâya culture and language, if they are left free to follow their own bent.

THE DEBABÂON CONQUISTAS

The Debabâon *conquistas* are found in the town of Moncayo and are also scattered about on the upper Sâlug. The missionaries found the Debabâon people very recalcitrant; the comparatively few converts made evinced, on the one hand, all the fickleness and instability of the Manóbo and, on the other, the aggressiveness of the Mandâya.

THE BISÂYAS OR CHRISTIAN FILIPINOS

The Bisâyas or Christian Filipinos in the Agúsan Valley occupy the towns of Butuán, Talakógon, Veruéla, Bunâwan, and Prosperidad, of which latter they formed, during my last visit to the Agúsan Valley, a majority. Outside of the Agúsan Valley, they occupy all the towns on the north coast except the towns of Tortosa, Maasao, Tamolayag, and Malimono′. On, and in the vicinity of Lake Maínit, they occupy the towns of Sison, Timamana, Maínit, Jabonga, Santiago, Santa Ana and several other small ones. On the east coast they occupy all the coast towns from Surigao to Bislig. South of Bislig only the towns, of Kati′ il, Baganga, Karága, Santiago, and Mati may be said to be Bisâya, although the Christianized Mandâyas of the intervening towns call themselves Bisâyas. But even the above-mentioned towns, with the exception of Santiago, have hardly any claim to be considered Bisâya in the sense in which that word is applied to the Bisâyas of the town of Surigao. The same holds true of a great portion of the inhabitants of Tandag, Tágo, La Paz, and Kagwâit, where the Mandâya element in language and in superstitious beliefs still holds sway to a considerable extent among the lower class of the inhabitants.

In the Agúsan Valley a great part of the Bisâyas of Talakógon can not be considered as Bisâyas in the full sense of the word. Many of them called Sulibâonon are of no higher culture than the *conquistas* of the River Sulibâo from which they come. They are distinctly Mandâya in physical type and in manner of life except that they have abandoned the ancient Mandâya religious beliefs and adopted those of Christianity. They are probably the first group of Mandâya *conquistas* that were induced to leave the Sulibâo and take up their abode in Talakógon.

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CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND GENERAL APPEARANCE OF THE MANÓBOS OF EASTERN MINDANÁO

PHYSICAL TYPE

DIVERGENCE OF TYPES

There seem to be differences in physical type between the Manóbos on the lower part of the Agúsan as far as the Bugabus River and those of the Ihawan and the upper Agúsan Rivers. On the upper Agúsan the variations become more noticeable as we approach the confines of the Mandáyas and the Debabáons, both of whom differ from the Manóbos in physical characteristics to such an extent that even an ordinary observer can not fail to notice it. Again, on the upper Agúsan, in the vicinity of Tagusab, we find types that remind us of the Mañgguáñgan with his manifestly Negroid characteristics. Over on the Tágo River, too, and on the far upper Wa-wa, there are groups of so-called Manóbos who are clearly descendants of Mamánuas. With these exceptions the following delineation holds good, I think, for the great mass of Manóbos with whom one comes in contact throughout eastern Mindanáo.

GENERAL PHYSICAL TYPE

In general, the Manóbo man is of athletic build and of strong constitution, although he is often short of stature. His muscular development denotes activity, speed, and endurance rather than great strength. Corpulency and prominence of the abdomen are never present, so far as I have observed. His skin, as a rule, is of a reddish-brown color that turns to a somewhat dark brown after long exposure to the sun, as in the case of those who engage in fishing in the lake region.

The hair is abundant, long, black, straight, and coarse. As we approach the domains of the Mañgguáñgans and of the Mamánuas, the hair is a little less abundant and shows traces of curliness. Occasional waviness may be observed also among those Manóbos who live near the territory of the Mandáyas, Debabáons, and Mansakas.

Beard and body hair are not abundant. In this respect the Manóbo differs from the Mandáya and from the Banuáon, both of whom have a more copious growth (though I can not be definite as regards the latter people), and, in some cases, beards that are abundant enough to suggest admixture with white people.

The head appears to be well developed, being rather high and arched, as compared with that of the average Bisáya.[1] There is no flattening of the occiput. This roundness of the posterior part of the cranium, due, as Montano[2] states, to the prominence of the parietal bumps, becomes very apparent when comparison is made with the heads of Bisáyas of other islands. The occipital arch of the latter is invariably flattened.

Owing to the prominence of the jawbones and to the above-mentioned height of the cranium, the face is decidedly lozenge-shaped, a feature that distinguishes it, on the one hand, from the long face of the Mandáya and of the Banuáon and, on the other, from the short, round face of the Mamánua and of the Mañgguáñgan. Montano [3] says that this peculiar shape is due to the development of the zygomatic arches or cheek bones and to the diminution of the minimum frontal line, that is, the shortest transverse measurement of the forehead.

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[1] In physical comparisons between Manóbos and Bisáyas no reference is made to the Bisáyas of eastern Mindanáo, the great majority of whom are undoubtedly of Manóbo or other pagan origin.

[2] Une Mission aux Philippines, 349, 1906.

[3] Loc. cit.

Prognathism is marked but variable according to the testimony of Montano, who took the anthropometrical measurements of many crania which he obtained from caves in northeastern Mindanáo.

The forehead is somewhat high and prominent, and the superciliary ridges are salient. The eyes are brown in color. The palpebral opening is elongated as compared with that of the Mandáya, whose eye is round. There is no trace of the Mongolian falciform fold, and the transverse axis is perfectly horizontal.

The nose is prominent and well-developed but short, and, as a rule, straight. Toward the confines of the Banuáons we sometimes notice a slight curve upward at the top. The nostrils are somewhat slender, but otherwise well developed. They are a little larger than those of Bisáyas. The ridge is broader than that of Bisáyas, and the root is lower down.

The lips bear resemblance to those of the Bisáyas except that the upper lip of the Manóbo is more prominent and more developed, due, it is suggested, to the universal, incessant practice of carrying a quid of tobacco partly under it and partly protruding out between it and the lower lip.

The chin is round and well developed, but is not prominent.

The above statements hold true of the women in all details except that of stature. The difference between the stature of the male and female Manóbo is much greater than that between the sexes among Bisáyas and other civilized people of the Philippines. This difference in the stature of the sexes is apparent in all the tribes of eastern Mindanáo with the exception of certain groups of Mandáyas, and may be attributed, on the one hand, to the excessive burdens carried, and the onerous labor performed by the women in the discharge of their household and other duties, and, on the other, to the unencumbered outdoor life pursued by the men in their hunting, fishing, and trading expeditions.

The other parts of the bodies of both sexes are in good proportions. The thorax is especially well developed, and the feet are, perhaps, inordinately large.

The general appearance of the men is somewhat unpleasing and, perhaps, among the Manóbos of remote regions, might be said to be coarse. This is especially noticeable among the latter, as their eyes usually bulge out and give them a somewhat wild and even vindictive air. The blackening of the teeth and lips, the quid of black tobacco between the lips, the look of alarm and suspicion, and various other characteristics all tend to heighten this expression.

The women have a more pleasing expression, but the timid furtive look, the ungainly gait, and the ungraceful contour of their *abaká* skirts, detract from the moderate beauty that they possess in their youth. After marriage their beauty wanes incredibly fast.

Comparing the Manóbo's physical and general appearance with that of neighboring peoples, we may say that he stands fifth, the Mandáya, Mansaka, Debabáon, and Banuáon leading, while below him stand without any question the Mañgguáñgan and the Mamánua. He has not the height, the proportions, the fairness, nor the gentility of the first three. He lacks the nobility, courage, and intelligence of the fourth,[4] but he maintains his superiority over the Mañgguáñgan, whose repellent features, sparse hair, scanty clothing, and low intelligence put him only a little above the Mamánuas. These latter are only poor homeless forest dwellers like the Negritos of Luzon, and physically, mentally, and culturally stand lowest in the plane of civilization of all the people of the eastern Mindanáo.

RACIAL AND TRIBAL AFFINITIES

With our present lack of knowledge concerning the great number of tribes that inhabit not only the island of Mindanáo but Borneo, Sumatra, and other islands of the Indies, it is impossible to make any definite statement as to the racial and the tribal affinities of the Manóbo people.

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[4] My acquaintance with Banuáons is so slight that I can not make any definite physical comparison.

MONTANO'S INDONESIAN THEORY

Montano proposed the Indonesian theory to explain the origin of the Samals, Bagobos, Giangas, Atás, Tagakaólos, Manóbos, and Mandáyas. He asserts that these peoples are pure Indonesians whose origin can not be explained otherwise than by supposing them to be the indigenes of all the islands included under the term Indonesia. Hence he calls the above tribes Indonesians of Mindanáo.

He claims that these Indonesians are the result of a fusion of three elements: (1) the Polynesian, (2) the Malay-Bisáya, and (3) the Negrito.

The Bisáya element, he says, is considerable and becomes apparent in the increase of transverse diameter of the cranium. The Negrito element is apparent only in the waviness of the hair, the height and prominence of the forehead, and the darker color of the skin.

He further states that the anatomical characteristics of these tribes are their superior stature, their muscular development, and the prominence of the occipital region in contradistinction to the flattening noticeable in Malays in general, and especially in those of the Philippines.

KEANE'S VIEW

Keane in his Ethnology[5] notes that—

> the term "Indonesian," introduced by Logan to designate the light-colored non-Malay inhabitants of the Eastern Archipelago, is now used as a convenient collective name for all the peoples of Malaysia and Polynesia who are neither Malays nor Papuans but of Caucasic type. * * * Doctor Hamy, who first gave this extension to the term Indonesian, points out that the Battaks and other pre-Malay peoples of Malaysia so closely resemble the Eastern Polynesians, that the two groups should be regarded as two branches of an original non-Malay stock. Although all speak dialects of a common Malayo-Polynesian language, the physical type is quite distinct and rather Caucasic than Mongolic, though betraying a perceptible Papuan (or Negrito) strain especially in New Zealand and Mikronesia. The true Indonesians are of tall stature (5 feet 10 inches), muscular frame, rather oval features, high, open forehead, large straight or curved nose, large full eyes always horizontal and with no trace of the third lid, light brown complexion (cinnamon or ruddy brown), long black hair, not lank but slightly curled or wavy, skull generally brachycephalous like that of the Melanochroic European.

Regarding the Indonesians of the Philippine Islands, he says: [6]

> Apart from the true Negrito aborigines Blumentritt distinguishes two separate "Malay" invasions, both prehistoric. Montano also recognizes these two elements which, however, he more correctly calls *Indonesian* and *Malay*. The Indonesians whom he affiliates to the "Polynesian family" were the first to arrive, being followed by the Malays and then, in the sixteenth century, by the Spaniards, who were themselves followed, perhaps also preceded, by Chinese and others. Thus Blumentritt's Malays of the first invasion, whom he brings from Borneo, are Montano's Indonesians, who passed through the Philippines during their eastward migrations from Borneo and other parts of Malaysia. The result of these successive movements was that the Negritoes were first driven to the recesses of the interior by the Indonesians with whom they afterwards intermingled in various degrees. Then the Indonesians were in their turn driven by the Malays from the coast lands and open plains, which are consequently now found occupied mainly by peoples of true Malay stock. Then with peaceful times fresh blends took place and to previous crossings are now added Spaniards and Chinese with Malays, there "quadroons" and "octoroons" with Indonesians, and even here and there with Negritoes. It has thus become difficult everywhere to distinguish between the true Malays and the Indonesians, who are also less known, dwelling in the more remote upland districts, often in association with the Negritoes and not always standing at a much higher grade of culture.

THE INDONESIAN THEORY AS APPLIED TO MANÓBOS

Comparing the physical characteristics of the Manóbos with those which are predicated of the Indonesians by these and other writers, I find that, in the case of the Manóbos of the Agúsan Valley, in stature, waviness of the hair, abundance of the beard, and lightness of the skin color there appears to be a divergence from Keane's Indonesian standard. Keane requires 1.795 meters as an average for the stature of the Indonesian, whereas the average of the Manóbo, as I found it from cursory measurements, is approximately only 1.60 meters and Doctor Montano found it to be only 1.4667 meters. As to waviness of the hair, I have observed it rarely among the Manóbos to which this paper refers. Neither is the beard abundant, and as for fairness in the color of the skin, a casual glance at the great mass of Manóbos that occupy the Agúsan and its tributaries will convince one that their color is decidedly ruddy brown and not light. It is true that in the mountains children and even young women are found with fair complexions, but this is probably due to confinement in the house or to protection from the sun while out of doors.

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[5] Ethnology, 326 *et seq.*, 1901.

[6] Op. cit., 332.

PHYSICAL TYPE OF CONTIGUOUS PEOPLES

In the first part of this chapter a broad comparison was made between the Manóbos and the contiguous tribes of eastern Mindanáo, but, in order to bring out in stronger relief the physical characteristics of the Manóbo, it is considered expedient to give a brief description of the contiguous tribes.

THE MAÑGGUÁÑGANS

In stature the Mañgguáñgan is shorter than the Manóbo. His physical configuration gives one the impression that he is undersized. His cranium is elongated from the front backward along the antero-posterior curve, there being formed accordingly an enlargement on the upper part of the occiput. From this enlargement downward there is a flattening of the curve. The forehead is large, high, and very prominent, and diverges backward from the plane of the face at an observable angle. The face is narrow and flat, the narrowness being due to the prominence of the lower jaw and to a depression that is formed in the side of the face between the jaw and the cheek bone. The hair is lank, coarse, and in males, scant. The beard is very sparse except in elderly men, and even then it is far from being as abundant as that of the Manóbos and especially that of the Mandáyas. The nose is broad and conspicuously depressed, while the nasal orifices are rather large. On the whole, the prognathism is considerable but is not as variable as that of Manóbos and of Mandáyas.

There can be no doubt as to the Negritic character of the Mañgguáñgan. Owing to the peculiar circumstances that arose after my arrival on the upper Agúsan in 1909, I found it impossible to get into communication with any but the more domesticated Mañgguáñgan in the vicinity of Compostela, but my observation of their physical and mental characteristics and of their low degree of culture led me to a strong conviction of a Negrito origin not far removed.

THE MANDÁYAS

The Mandáya, on the other hand, with the exception of groups on the upper Karága and perhaps on the upper Kasauman Rivers, is of superior stature. Montano found the stature to be only 1.578 meters, but the number of men measured by him was so small that we can not base any conclusion on his figures. I did not make any measurements of Mandáyas, but it is my impression that the male Mandáyas of the Kati'il, Karága, and Manorigao Rivers are noticeably taller than Manóbos. In fact, one meets a great number that seem to come up to the Indonesian standard of Keane.

The Mandáya's cranial conformation differs, according to Montano, from that of the Manóbo only in one particular, namely, in the straightness of the middle part of the antero-posterior curve of the cranium. In other respects his cranium is similar to that of the Manóbo. The face is oval rather than lozenge-shaped and has a pleasant, sympathetic look, due no doubt to the greater width of the palpebral opening, the largeness of the eye, and the length, darkness, and prominence of the eyelashes.

The nose is straight and prominent, occasionally quite European, and the nostrils are not depressed nor flattened. Their lower edges, instead of being horizontal, slant slightly upward from the tip. The nasal apertures are of medium size.

The superciliary ridges are prominent, but as the hair of the eyebrows is constantly kept shaved, there is not such an impression of prominence as in the Christianized Mandáyas of the southeastern seaboard of Mindanáo.

As to the abundance of beard, it is hard to form a judgment because from youth it is constantly and conscientiously eradicated. The hair of the head is long, black, and abundant, often somewhat wavy and not as coarse, I think, as that of Manóbos.

The most striking characteristic of the Mandáya is his fair color. It is not my intention to give the impression that he is one of a "lost white tribe" or that he is entitled to be called white in the sense in which we use the term when speaking of Europeans. But for a native of the Philippine Islands he certainly may be denominated white, though his skin is not tawny white like that of the Japanese or Chinese but has a peculiar ashy tint. I have seen a few individuals that were very nearly as white as the average American. but who otherwise were not of a pronounced Caucasian type.

It is very difficult to explain the prevailing fairness of this tribe except by presupposing an admixture of some other blood. The Manóbo lives in as dark forests and on as lofty mountains as those occupied by Mandáyas. His manner of life is practically the same, and yet the average tint of his skin is far darker, so much so that the Mandáya, in speaking not only of him but of Mañgguáñgan and even of Bisáya, spurns them all as being "black."

THE DEBABÁONS

As to the Debabáons, I have not come in touch with a sufficient number of them to enable me to make any general statements. The groups that I met in Moncayo, on the Sálug where the Baglasan River empties into it, and in the country extending some 10 kilometers to the west of it, closely resemble the Mandáyas in physical characters, and yet in language, general culture, and religious belief, and by genealogy, they belong to the Manóbo tribe. It is probable that they are the result of intermarriage of Manóbo men of Baóbo and Ihawán origin with Mandáya women of the lower Sálug and Tágum Rivers.

THE MAMÁNUAS

The Mamánuas need little comment. They are full-blooded Negritos in every respect, physical and cultural, like the Negritos of Mariveles, as Montano very explicitly states. The Manóbos of the upper Tágo River constantly intermarry with Mamánua women, as I had occasion to observe on several visits which I made to that region. It is probable that the same thing takes place on the Húbo, Marihátag, Lanusa, and Kantílan Rivers. In the vicinity of Lake Maínit, a great many Mamánuas are reported to be half-breeds.

THE BANUÁONS

I visited only one settlement of Banuáons, near the mouth of the Maásam River. I met members of the tribe here and there along the Agúsan between San Luis and Las Nieves, but my observations of them were casual and superficial so that I am not prepared to make any statements as to their physical characteristics. All reports, both of Manóbos and Bisáyas and the testimony of the Jesuit missionaries, state that they are a superior people. It is probable that this group of people, known as Banuáon in the Agúsan Valley, is a branch of the Bukídnons of whom the celebrated missionary Urios and others make such commendatory mention,[7] the former in one place going so far as to make the statement that the Bukidnons are fit to be kings of the Manóbos.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE AS MODIFIED BY DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION

The upper garment of both sexes among the Manóbos is a closed square-cut garment with sleeves and with a sufficient opening on top to admit the head. It fits the body either closely or fairly loosely. It is made of *abaká* fiber when imported cloth is not available. It is always adorned with embroidery of imported red, white, blue, and yellow cotton, on the cuffs, on the seams of the shoulders and the side, and on the neck and lower edges. The garment of the man differs from that of the woman in being all of one color, except that across the back, over the shoulders, and as far down as the breasts, are horizontal, parallel, equidistant lines of inwoven blue cotton yarn.

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[7] Cartas de los PP. de la Compañía de Jesús, passim.

The body and sleeves of the woman's garment are of different colors. Thus, if the sleeves are black, the body is red and vice versa. Another distinguishing feature is the profuseness of cotton embroidery on the front of the garment.

The lower garment of the man is a pair of trousers, generally of native cotton and *abaká* fiber, reaching somewhat below the knees, with cotton embroidery in the above-mentioned colors on the sides and at the bottom. The ends of the draw string that holds the trousers in place hang down in front and are ornamented with tassels of the same colors.

The lower garment of the women is a doubled sacklike skirt of *abaká* fiber, almost invariably of a reddish color, with beautiful designs in horizontal panels or with a series of horizontal equidistant black stripes. A girdle of human hair or of plaited vegetable fiber, held in place with a shell button or with a plaited cord, retains this garment in place. The consequent gathering of the capacious opening of the skirt at the waist and the bulging out at the bottom (which is just a little below the knees), detracts not a little from the gracefulness of the Manóbo woman's figure. From the girdle hang, in varying number and quality, beads, hawk bells, redolent, medicinal, and magic seeds, sea shells, and fragrant herbs.

The hair is worn long by both sexes. It is dressed much like that of a Chinese woman except that it is twisted and tied up in a chignon on the crown of the head.

The man wears a long narrow bamboo hat which protects only the top of the head, and which is held on the head by two strings passing from end to end behind the ears. It usually has a plume of feathers standing up at right angles to the back part. The woman wears no hat as a general rule, but in lieu thereof adorns her head with a bamboo comb, at times inlaid with mother-of-pearl, at others covered with a lamina of beaten silver, but nearly always ornamented with decorative incisions. A pair of ear plugs with ornamental metal laminæ are placed in the enlarged ear lobes.

I have seen men who had each ear lobe pierced in one or two places and small buttons fastened over the orifices, but I never saw a case of a Manóbo woman with any other perforation in the ears than the great aperture in each lobe for her ear disks.

Around the neck the woman wears in more or less profusion, according to her means and opportunities for purchase, necklets of beads, and necklaces of seeds, beads, shells, and crocodile teeth.

On her forearms she wears one or more sea-shell bracelets, circlets of black coral or of copper wire, and a close-fitting ringlet of plaited *nito*. This last adornment is also worn by men, who dispense with the use of other forms of bracelets, but who usually adorn the upper arm with a finely plaited ligature made of a dark fibrous vine. Both men and women frequently wear similar ligatures just below one or both knees. On solemn and festive occasions the woman decks her ankles with loose coils of heavy wire.

A square knapsack of hemp, frequently fringed with cotton yarn of many colors and suspended from the back by strings passing over the shoulders and under the arms, constitutes the man's receptacle for his chewing paraphernalia. It may be more or less elaborate in beadwork and embroidery, but as a rule there is no ornamentation of this kind.

Both sexes blacken the lips with soot black, and continually keep them more or less in that condition by the use of a large quid of tobacco, mixed with lime and *máu-mau* juice, the whole being carried between the lips. This mixture serves not only as an indispensable and pleasing narcotic, but also as the principal factor in bringing about the complete and permanent staining of the teeth.

In order that "they may not look like dogs," both sexes have the upper and lower incisors ground at an early age. They proceed at once to stain what is left with frequent applications of the above-mentioned masticatorics.

As white and sharp teeth are doglike, so beard and body hair are suggestive of the monkey. Hence all straggling hairs are sedulously and constantly eradicated.

Tattooing by both sexes is universal. It consists of the puncturing of the skin and the rubbing in of a soot made from a very common variety of resin. The figures tattooed, often artistic, are representations of stars, leaves, crocodiles, etc.

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Both sexes are tattooed on the breast, arms, and fingers, but it is customary for women to have an extra design on the calves of the legs and sometimes on the whole leg.

As to the Christianized Manóbos, it is obvious that the great majority have adopted the garb of their Bisáya brethren and abandoned the use of ornaments and mutilations characteristic of their pagan compeers. The change was enjoined by Spanish missionaries for religious reasons and, in the case of clothing, was encouraged by Bisáya traders for commercial motives, but did not benefit the new Christians, as far as my observation goes, either religiously, financially, or esthetically.

CHAPTER III

A SURVEY OF THE MATERIAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL CULTURE OF THE MANÓBOS OF EASTERN MINDANÁO

GENERAL MATERIAL CULTURE

DWELLINGS

For a home the Manóbo selects a site that is clearly approved by supernatural agencies, and that is especially suitable for agricultural purposes by reason of its fertility, and for defense, because of its strategic position. Hereon he builds an unpretentious, square, one-roomed building at a height of from 1.50 meters to 8 meters from the ground. The house measures ordinarily about 3 meters by 5 meters. Posts, usually light, and varying in number between 4 and 16, support the floor, roof, and intervening parts. The materials are all rattan lashed and seldom consist of anything but light materials taken from the immediate vicinity. The floor is made of slats of palm or bamboo, the roof is thatched with palm leaves, and the walls are light, horizontal, superimposed poles laid to about the height of the shoulders of a person sitting on the floor. The space between the top of the walls and the roof constitutes a continuous window. This open space above the low house wall permits the inmates during a fight to shoot their arrows at the enemy in any direction.

The one ceilingless room serves for kitchen, bedroom, and reception room. There is no decoration nor furniture. Scattered around or hung up, especially in the vicinity of the fireplace, are the simple household utensils, and the objects that constitute the property of the owner—weapons, baskets, and sleeping mats. On the floor farthest away from the door are the hearth frames, one or more, and the stones that serve as support for the cooking pots. A round log with more or less equidistant notches, leading from the ground up to the narrow doorway, admits the visitor into the house.

Under the house is the pigpen. Here the family pigs and the chickens make a living off such refuse or remnants as fall from above. The sanitary condition of this part of the establishment is in no wise praiseworthy. The only redeeming point is that the bad odors do not reach the house, being carried away by the current of air that is nearly always passing.

The house itself is far from being perfectly clean. The low, cockroach-infested thatch, the smoke-begrimed rafters, the unswept, dirt-bestrewn floor, the bug-infested slats, the smoke-laden atmosphere, the betel-nut-tinged walls and floor, these and other features of a small over-populated house make cleanliness almost impossible. The order and quietude of the home is no more satisfactory. The crying of the babies, the romping and shouting of the boys, the loud talking of the elders, the grunting of the pigs below, the whining and growling of the dogs above, and the noise of the various household occupations produce in an average house containing a few families a din that baffles description. But this does not disturb the serenity of the primitive inmates, who laugh, chew, talk, and work, and enjoy themselves all the more for the animation of which they form a great part.

ALIMENTATION

In the absence of such a luxury as matches, the fire-saw or friction method of producing fire is resorted to, although the old steel and flint method is sometimes employed.

The cooking outfit consists of a few homemade earthen pots, supplemented by green bamboo joints, bamboo ladles, wooden rice paddles, and nearly always a coconut shell for receiving water from the long bamboo water tube.

The various articles of food may be divided into two classes, one of which we will call the staple part of the meal and the other the concomitant. It must be remembered that for the Manóbo, as well as for so many other peoples of the Philippine Islands, rice or *camotes* or some other bulky food is the essential part of the meal, whereas fish, meat, and other things are merely complements to aid in the consumption of the main food. Under the heading, then, of staples we may classify in the order of their importance or abundance the following: *Camotes*, rice, taro, sago, cores of wild palm trees, maize, tubers and roots (frequently poisonous). Among the concomitant or supplementary foods are the following, their order being indicative of the average esteem in which they are held: Fish (especially if salted), domestic pork, wild boar meat (even though putrefied), venison, iguana, larvæ from rotted palm trees, python, monkey, domestic chicken, wild chicken, birds, frogs, crocodile, edible fungi, edible fern, and bamboo shoots. As condiments, salt, *if on hand*, and red pepper are always used, but it is not at all exceptional that the latter alone is available.

Sweetpotatoes, taro, tubers, and rice are cooked by steaming. Maize and the cores of palm trees are roasted over the fire.

There are only two orthodox methods of cooking fish, pork, venison, iguana and chicken: (1) In water without lard; (2) by broiling. Python, monkey, crocodile, wild chicken, and birds must be prepared by the latter method.

When the meal is prepared, it is set out on plates, banana leaves, or bark platters, with the water in glasses or in the coconut-shell dipper. On ordinary occasions the husband, wife, children and female relatives of a family eat together, the unmarried men, widowers, and visitors partaking of their meals alone, but on festive occasions, all the male members, visitors included, gather in the center of the floor.

The hands and mouth are washed both before and after the meal. All begin to eat together on the floor. The men eat with their left hands and, on occasions, when the remotest suspicion of trouble exists, keep their right hand on their ever-present weapons. It is customary not to leave one's place after the meal without giving due notice.

NARCOTIC AND STIMULATING ENJOYMENTS

The most common and indispensable source of everyday enjoyment is the betel-nut quid. It would be an inexcusable breach of propriety to neglect to offer betel nut to a fellow tribesman. Not to partake of it when offered would be considered a severance of friendship. The essential ingredients of the quid are betel leaf, betel nut, and lime, but it is common to add tobacco, cinnamon, lemon rind, and several other aromatic elements. At times substitutes may be used for the betel leaf and the betel nut, if there is a lack of either.

Another important masticatory is the tobacco quid with its ingredients of lime and *máumau* juice. This is carried constantly between the lips. Occasionally, however, the men like to smoke a little mixed tobacco in small pipes or in little leaf cones.

The greatest and the most cherished enjoyment of all is drinking: Men, women, and children indulge, the last two sparingly. In Manóboland the fame of a banquet is in direct proportion to the number of those who became drunk, sobriety being considered effeminate, and a refusal to drink an affront to the host.

The main drinks are of four kinds: *Cabo negro* toddy, sugarcane brew, *bahi* toddy, and mead. The first and third are nothing but the sap of the palms that bear their respective names, the sap being gathered in the same manner as the ordinary coconut *tuba*. The second or sugarcane brew is a fermented drink made from the juice of the sugarcane boiled with a variety of the ginger plant. It is the choice drink of Manóbo deities. The fourth drink mentioned above is mead. It is similar to the last mentioned except that instead of sugarcane juice, honey is used in its preparation.

One feature of the drinking is that it is seldom unaccompanied by meat or fish. Hence, on every occasion that a supply of these may be obtained, there is a drinking bout. Religious sacrifices, too, afford abundant opportunity for indulgence.

Quarrels sometimes ensue as a result of the flowing bowl, and war expeditions are proposed, but on the whole it may be said that the Manóbo is a peaceful and a merry drinker.

MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE

The Manóbo makes his living by farming, fishing, hunting, and trapping. He clears a patch of the primeval forest, and his womenfolk clean off the brush, sow broadcast a little rice, plant *camotes*, some taro, maize, and sugarcane. As the rice crop seldom is sufficient for the sustenance of his household, the Manóbo must rely also on the *camote* for his maintenance.

He obtains his supply of fish from the streams and rivers. When the water is deep and the current is not strong, he shoots the fish with a special bow and arrow. When the water is shallow and swift, he makes use of bamboo traps and at times poisons the whole stream.

To provide himself with meat, he occasionally starts off into the forest with dogs and seldom returns without a deer or a wild boar. He keeps several spring traps set somewhere in the forest but it is only during the rainy season that he may be said to be successful with these. He has a trap for monkeys, a snare for birds, a decoy for wild chickens, and uses his bow and arrow on monkeys and birds.

With the meat that he procures from the above sources, together with lizards and pythons which he sometimes catches, and fungi, larvae, and palm trees, which he finds in the forest, he manages to fill in the intervals between the ceremonial and the secular celebrations that recur so frequently during the year, and to keep himself fairly well supplied.

WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS

The bolo and, in some districts, the dagger, is the inseparable companion of the Manóbo. On the trails he always carries a lance and frequently a shield. For war he has an *abaká* coat of mail and a bow and arrow. In time of alarm he sets out bamboo caltrops, makes an abatis of fallen trees, and places human spring traps around his lofty house.

For work he has a bolo and a primitive adze. These, with a rice header, a small knife, a hunting spear, a special arrow for hunting, a fish spear, and perhaps a few fishhooks, serve all the purposes of his primitive life. With one or the other of these he fells the mighty trees of the primordial forest, performs all the operations of agriculture, of hunting and fishing, builds himself a house, in certain districts hews out shapely canoes, whittles out handsome bolo sheaths, and makes a variety of other necessary and often artistic articles. They are the sum total of his tools and serve him instead of all the implements of modern civilization.

INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES

The burden of toil falls on the woman. The man fells the heavy timber once a year, builds the house, hunts, fishes, traps, and fights. Practically all the rest of the daily labor is the woman's share. The man is the master, and as such he attends to all matters that may arise between his family and that of others.

Besides the occupations mentioned above, the man may engage, usually under the stress of a contract or of a debt, in canoe making, mining, and basket making.

The women weave all the clothes of the family except when imported cloth has been obtained. Most of the Manóbos' clothes, both for men and women, are made of native-woven cloth. The woman does all the sewing. A needle of brass wire in the absence of an imported needle, and a thread of *abaká* fiber, constitute her sewing outfit.

Almost all the material employed in weaving is *abaká* fiber. The dyes are vegetable, their fastness depending upon the duration of the boiling. The Manóbo woman, unlike the Mandâya women, and women of most other tribes in Mindanáo, has never developed the art of inweaving ornamental figures. The best she can do is to produce warp and weft stripes.

The making of simple earthen pots is also one of the industries of the woman. Pots are not, however, made in great quantities, the demand being, I think, a little greater than the supply.

Bed mats and rice bags are made out of various materials such as *pandanus* and *buri* in the ordinary Philippine style. The work is done principally by the woman and the supply is not equal, as a rule, to the family needs.

GENERAL SOCIOLOGICAL CULTURE

DOMESTIC LIFE

Marital relations.—In his choice of a wife the man is guided to a great extent by the wishes of his relatives, but the woman is given no option. There are no antenuptial relations between the pair, the marriage contract and all arrangements being made by their respective relatives. The transactions usually cover years. The woman's relatives demand for her an amount of worldly goods—slaves, pigs, bolos, and spears—that is almost impossible of payment. The man's relatives, on the other hand, strive to comply, but make use of every means to gain the friendship of the other side and thereby bring about a more considerate demand.

When, perhaps after years of effort, an agreement is reached, a great feast is prepared by the two parties. The final payment is made by the man's relatives, and the following day a reciprocal banquet is given by the girl's relatives, in the course of which one-half of the value of the payment made by the man's relatives is returned by the girl's relatives as an indication that "she has not been sold like a slave."

The marriage ceremony consists in the exchange of rice between the bride and the bridegroom. This is followed by a religious rite that consists mainly in determining by divination the fate of the couple.

Marriage is sometimes effected by capture, usually, I think, with the connivance of the woman. But the procedure involves a heavier payment to the throng of armed relatives that invariably set out in pursuit of the captors.

Prenatal marriage contracts are rare, but child marriage without cohabitation is practiced to a certain extent, especially among the more influential members of the tribe.

The age for marriage is about the age of puberty for the women and about the age of 18 for the men. Polygamy is a recognized institution, but is comparatively rare except among those who have the means to pay for the luxury of a second, third, or fourth wife. It presupposes the consent of the first wife, who always retains and maintains her position, there being no jealously, as far as my observation goes, and few domestic broils. Polyandry is considered swinish, and concubinage is unknown. Divorce is not in accord with tribal customs. The same holds true of prostitution.

There is no evidence of the practice of endogamy which is so widespread among the Oceanic peoples. As a rule, however, the Manóbo marries within his own tribe. This is due to his environment, to the hostile relations he ever holds with surrounding tribes, and to differences of religious beliefs. The only impediment to marriage is consanguinity, but even this impediment may be removed in the case of cousins by appropriate religious ceremonies. Consanguineous marriages are rare.

Upon the death of the husband, the wife is considered to belong to his relatives. Upon the presentation of a second suitor, she is remarried in the same manner as on her first marriage, but the payments demanded are not so high.

Marriages seem to result in reciprocal good understanding and happiness. The wife goes about her manifold duties day after day without a murmur, while her master keeps his weapons in good condition, fishes and hunts occasionally, goes on a trading trip at times, takes part in social gatherings, lends his voice in time of trouble, and goes off to fight if there should be occasion for it.

Faithfulness to the marriage tie is one of the most striking features of Manóboland. Adultery is extremely rare. The husband lives, at least during the first part of the married life, with his father-in-law, and displays toward his parents-in-law the same feelings that he entertains for his own parents. His wife is always under the eyes of her own parents, so that he is restrained from indulging in any marital bickerings.

Pregnancy, birth, and childhood.—The desire for children is strong. Hence voluntary abortion and infanticide are unknown. In case of involuntary abortion, which is comparatively frequent, the fetus is hung or buried under the house. When the child begins to quicken in the womb, the mother undergoes a process of massage at the beginning of every lunar month.

Parturition is effected almost invariably without any difficulty, the umbilical cord is cut usually with a bamboo sliver, the mother sits up to prevent a reflux of the afterbirth into the womb, the child is washed, and the operation is over. If the mother can not suckle her child it is nourished with rice water, sugar cane juice, and other light food, but is not given to another to be suckled. In a few days after her delivery the mother is up and back at her work. A little birth party takes place soon after the birth in which the midwife receives a slight guerdon for her services.

The child is named, without any ceremony, after some ancestor or famous Manóbo, or occasionally receives a name indicative of something which happened at the time of the birth. He is treated with the greatest tenderness and lack of restraint. As he grows up he learns the ways of the forest, and about the age of 14 he is a full-fledged little man. If the child is a girl, she helps her mother from the first moment that she is able to be of service.

Birth anomalies are rare. I have seen several albinos and several people who might be called in a loose sense hermaphrodites.

Medicine, sickness, and death.—The Manóbo attributes some twelve bodily ailments to natural causes, and for the cure of such he believes in the efficacy of about as many herbs and roots. For wounds, tobacco juice and the black residue of the smoking pipe are considered a good remedy. Betel nut and betel leaf are a very common cure for pains in the stomach. The gall of snakes has a potency of its own for the same trouble.

As a rule, all natural remedies are applied externally until such time as they prove unavailing, and the symptoms assume a more serious aspect.

Whenever an ailment is of a lingering character, especially if accompanied by increasing emaciation and not classifiable as one of the familiar maladies, it is attributed to magic causes. Certain individuals may have the reputation of being able to compound various noxious substances, the taking of which, it is believed, may superinduce lingering ailments. The pulverized bone from a corpse or the blood of a woman, dried in the sun and exposed to the light of the moon and then mixed with finely cut human hair, are example of such compounds. Other magic medicines exist such as aphrodisiacs, and bezoar stones. When it is decided that the ailment is due to any of these magic causes, neutralizing methods must be resorted to, the nature and application of which are very secret.

Epidemics are attributed to the malignancy of sea demons, and by way of propitiation, and inducement to these plague spirits to hurry off with their epidemic, offerings placed on raftlets are launched in the nearest rivers.

As soon as it is realized that the malady is beyond the power of natural or of magic resources, recourse is had to the deities or good spirits, as will be explained under the résumé of religion. Upon the occurrence of a death, wild scenes frequently take place, the relatives being unable to restrain their grief. Signals, by bamboo horns, are often boomed out to neighboring settlements to warn them to be on their guard. War raids to settle old feuds are sometimes decided upon on these occasions, so all trails leading to the house are closed.

The corpse is washed and laid out on its back in its best apparel. The coffin is a hexagonal piece of wood made out of a log with a three-faced lid also hewn out of a log. The body is often wrapped in a grass mat before being laid in the coffin.

Before decomposition sets in, the coffin is borne away by men amidst great grief and loud shouts. A high piece of ground is selected in a remote part of the forest for the last resting place of the deceased. A shallow grave is dug, a roof of thatch is erected, a potful of boiled rice is placed over the grave as a last collation for the departed one, and the burial party hurry back in fear to the settlement. As soon as they can provide themselves with temporary huts they almost always abandon the settlement.

Social and family enjoyments.—Music, instrumental and vocal, and dancing are the two great sources of domestic enjoyment. There are several kinds of instruments, which I will mention in the order of their importance and frequency of use. The drum, the gong, four varieties of flutes, four species of guitars, a violin, and a jew's-harp. With the exception of the first two, the instruments are made of bamboo and are, in every sense of the word, of the most primitive kind. The strings are of vine, bamboo, or *abaká* fiber.

The drum is the instrument of most frequent use. It is played during all dancing and at other times when a tribesman feels inclined. It is used as a signal to give alarm or to call an absent one. During the dance, religious or secular, it is nearly always accompanied by the gong. The use of the other instruments seems to depend upon the caprice of the individuals, though two of them appear to have a religious character.

With the exception of the gong and the jew's-harp, all of these instruments can be made to produce varied and pleasing rhythms or music, according to the knowledge and skill of the performer. Each strain has its appropriate name, taken frequently from the name of the animal that it is supposed to imitate.

Instrumental music, in general, is of minor tonality, melancholy, weird, and suggestive in some ways of Chinese music.

Bamboo stampers are sometimes used to give more animation to a dancing celebration, and bamboo sounders are attached to looms to draw attention to the industry of the weaver.

Songs are always sung as solos. They are all extemporaneous and for the most part legendary. The language is archaic and difficult for an outsider to understand. The singing is a kind of declamation, with long slurs, frequent staccatos, and abrupt endings. Of course, there are war songs that demand loudness and rapidity, but on the whole the song music is as weird and melancholy as the instrumental. Ceremonial chants do not differ from secular songs, except that they treat of the doings of a supernatural world, and are the medium through which supplications are made to supernatural beings.

Perhaps the greatest of all social enjoyments, both for men and deities, is the dance. It is performed by one person at a time. Men, women and children take part. Dressed in a woman's skirt and decked out in all obtainable finery, the dancer keeps perfect time to the rhythm of the drum and the clang of the gong.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

System of government and social control.—Manóboland is divided into districts, more or less extensive, which are the property of the different clans. Each district is under the nominal leadership of the warrior chiefs and of the more influential men. In time of peace these districts are open to everybody, but in time of war—and wars were formerly very frequent—only persons of tried friendship are permitted to enter.

A clan consists of a chief whose authority is merely nominal, and of a number of his relatives varying from 20 to perhaps 200 souls. The whole system is patriarchal, no coercion being used unless it is sanctioned by the more influential members, approved by the consensus of opinion of the people, and in accord with traditional custom.

The authority of the elder people is respected as long as they are physically and mentally able to participate in public gatherings. Those who have distinguished themselves by personal prowess always command a following, but they have a greater influence in time of trouble than in time of peace.

Perfect equality reigns among the members of the clan, except in the one respect that the recognized warriors are entitled to the use of a red headkerchief, jacket, and pantaloons, each of these articles, beginning with the first, being added as the number of people whom the warrior has killed is increased.

The chieftainship naturally falls to one who has attained the rank of *bagáni*—that is, to one who has killed a certain number of persons—provided he is otherwise sufficiently influential to attract a following. His duties consist in lending his influence to settle disputes and in redressing the wrongs of those who care to appeal to him. As a priest he is thought to be under the protection of a war god whose desire for blood he must satisfy.

The *bagáni* also acts as a medicine man, for he is reputed to have certain magic powers both for good and for evil. The natural secretiveness of the *bagáni* made it difficult for me to secure much information on this point, but his power of harming at a distance and of making himself invisible are matters of general belief. In his character as a priest, he performs ceremonies for the cure of diseases in which fluxes of blood occur.

Methods of warfare.—There is no military organization in Manóboland. The greater part of those who form a war party are relatives of the aggrieved one, though it is usual to induce some others of acknowledged prowess to take part. No resentment is harbored by the opposing party toward paid warriors.

Vendettas and debts are the most usual cause of war, and not, as has been reported, glory and the capture of slaves. There is never wanting on the part of those who originate the war a reasonable motive. The vendetta system is not only recognized, but vengeance is considered incumbent on the relatives of one who has been killed, and, as a reminder, a piece of green rattan is sometimes strung up in the house. The rattan suggests that until it rots the wrong will not be forgotten. If the father is unable to avenge the wrong, he bequeathes the revenge to his son as a sacred legacy. Sometimes another person is deputed to take vengeance, in which case no blame is attached to him.

The peculiar custom prevails of killing a third party who may be neutral, or of seizing his property, but I have known such an act to be resented. As a result of this custom a war party returning from an unsuccessful raid is dangerous.

There is usually no formal declaration of war. In fact, the greatest secrecy is generally observed, and in urgent cases a body of ambushers proceed at once to kill the first one of the enemy that happens to pass their lurking place. As a rule, the enemy's house and his actions are watched for weeks, perhaps for years, until a favorable opportunity for attack presents itself.

The usual times for undertaking an expedition are during the rice harvest and after a death. The preparation consists in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the enemy's house and of its environment. Everything being ready, the warriors assemble, a sacrifice is made, omens are taken, and the band starts out at such an hour as will enable them to reach the vicinity of the enemy about nightfall. From the last stopping point a few warriors make a final reconnaissance in the gloom of the night, release the enemy's traps, and return. The whole band, numbering anywhere from 10 to 100, advance and, surrounding the house, await the dawn, for it is at the first blush of the morning that sleep is supposed to be heaviest. Moreover, there is then sufficient light to enable the party to make the attack. Hence the peep of dawn is almost always the hour of attack.

If the enemy's house is within spear reach, it is usually an easy matter to put the inmates to death, but if it is a high house, and, especially, if the inmates are well prepared, a warrior climbs up silently under the house and spears one of them. This, followed by the killing of pigs and by the battle cry, usually causes consternation. A battle of arrows then takes place; there is a bandying of fierce threats, taunts, and challenges, and the attacking party endeavors to set the roof on fire with burning arrows. If they succeed the inmates flee from the flames, but only the children, as a rule, escape the bolo and the spear.

It is seldom that the attack is prolonged more than a few hours, and it is seldom that the attack is unsuccessful, for if other means fail, hunger and thirst will drive the besieged ones to flight, in which case they become the victims of the besieging warriors. If one of the latter is wounded or killed, the attack is abandoned at once, such an occurrence being considered extremely inauspicious.

Each warrior gets credit for the number of people whom he kills, and is entitled to the slaves that he may capture. The warrior chiefs open the breasts of one or more of the headmen of the slain, insert a portion of their charm collars into the openings, and consume the heart and liver in honor of their war spirits.

During the return home the successful warriors make the forest resound with the weird ululation of the battle cry, and adorn their lances with palm fronds. Upon arrival at their settlement they are welcomed with drum and song and loud acclaim. A purificatory bath is followed by a feast in which each one recounts the minutest details of the attack. After the feast some of the captives may be given to warriors who were unlucky or who desire to satisfy their vengeance. The captives are dispatched in the near-by forest.

Ambush is also a very ordinary method of warfare. Several warriors station themselves in a selected position near the trail and await their enemy.

Whenever there is open rupture between two parties, it is customary for each of them to erect a high house in a place remote and difficult of access, and to surround it with such obstacles as will make it more dangerous. In these houses, with their immediate relatives and with such warriors as desire to take their part, they bide their time in a state of constant watch and ward.

When both parties to a feud are tired, either of fighting constantly or of taking refuge in flight, a peacemaking may be brought about through the good services of friendly and influential tribesmen. On the appointed day, the parties meet, balance up their blood debts and other obligations and decide on a term within which to pay them. As an evidence of their sincere desire to preserve peace and to make mutual restitution, a piece of green rattan is cut by the leaders, and a little beeswax is burnt, both operations being symbolic of the fate that will befall the one that breaks his plighted word.

Intertribal and analogous relations.—Intertribal relations between pagan Manóbos and Christtianized Manóbos, and between the former and Bisáyas were comparatively pacific during my residence in the Agúsan Valley. Between Manóbos and other mountain tribes, excepting Mañgguáñgans, the relations were, with casual exceptions, rather friendly, due, no doubt, to the lessons learned by the Manóbos in their long struggles with Mandáyas, Banuáons, and Debabáons up to the advent of the missionaries about 1877. The Manóbos are inferior to the tribes mentioned in tribal cohesion and in intellect. Their dealings, however, with Mañgguáñgans, who are undoubtedly their physical and intellectual inferiors, present a different aspect. With the Mandáyas and Debabáons, they have helped to reduce the once extensive Mañgguáñgan tribe to the remnant that it is to-day.

Manóbos and other mountain tribes have little to do with each other. Only particular individuals of the various tribes, who have the happy faculty of avoiding trouble, travel among other tribes. In general, Manóbos are afraid of the aggressiveness of their neighbors (excluding the Mañgguáñgans), and their neighbors fear Manóbo instability and hot-headedness; hence both sides pursue the prudent policy of avoidance.

Interclan relations have been comparatively peaceful since the establishment of the special government in the Agúsan Valley. Occasional killings took place formerly and probably still take place in remote regions, notably on the upper Baobo. It is probable that since my departure from the Agúsan in 1910 these murders take place much less frequently, as the special government organized in 1907 has made great headway in getting in contact with the more warlike people of the interior.

Up to the time of my departure dealings between the various clans were purely commercial and of a sporadic nature. Old enmities were not forgotten, and it was considered more prudent to have as little as possible to do with one another.

On all occasions, when there is any apprehension of danger, arms are worn. During meals, even of festive occasions, the Manóbo eats with his left hand, holding his right in readiness for an attack. The guests at a feast are seated in such a way that an attack may be easily guarded against. Various other laws of intercourse, such as those governing the passing of one person behind another and method of unsheathing a bolo, regulate the dealings of man with man and clan with clan.

Commercial relations between Bisáyas and Manóbos, both pagan and Christianized, constitute, on the part of the first-mentioned, a system of deliberate and nefarious spoliation which has been denounced from the time of the first missionaries and which, by the establishment of trading posts by the Government, eventually will be suppressed. Absolutely inadequate values both in buying and selling commodities, use of false weights and measures, defraudation in accounts, demands of unspeakably high usury, wheedling by the *puának* or friendship system, advancing of merchandise at exorbitant rates, especially just before the rice harvest, and the system of commutation by which an article not contracted for was accepted in payment though at a paltry price—these were the main features of the system. It may be said that the resultant and final gain amounted to between 500 and 1,000 per cent.

The bartering was carried on in a spirit of dissimulation, the Manóbo being cozened into the idea that the sale was an act of friendship and involved a comparative loss on the part of the Bisáya. A period, more or less extended, was allowed him wherein to complete the payment, with a promise of further liberal advances.

Since the Manóbo has become aware of the stupendous gain of the Bisáya, he is not so prompt in his payments and in fact often thwarts his creditor by deliberate delays. Hence the frequent bickerings, quarrels, and ill will that are ever a result of these commercial relations.

It is needless to say that throughout the valley there was most undue fluctuation of prices. Moreover, the Manóbo sold a part of his rice in harvest time at 50 centavos a sack, and in time of scarcity repurchased it at as much as 5 pesos.

The internal commerce of the Manóbos presents, on the whole, a very different spectacle. It consists in simple exchanges. There is no circulating medium. The units of exchange are slaves (valued at from 15 to 30 pesos each), pigs, and plates, but with the exception of the first, these units are not constant in value.

The measures used are the *gántañg*, a cylindrical wooden vessel with a capacity of from 10 to 15 liters; the *kabán*,[1] which contains 25 *gántañg*; the yard, measured from the end of the thumb to the middle of the sternum; the span, the fathom, the finger, and the finger joint.

Slavery is a recognized institution, but since the diminution of intertribal and interclan wars the number of slaves has diminished. Slaves were originally obtained by capture and then passed from hand to hand in making marriage payments. It sometimes occurs, in an exigency, that a man delivers a child, even his own, into captivity.

The slave is generally not ill-treated but has to do all the work that is assigned to him. He has no rights of any kind, possesses no property except a threadbare suit, and is usually not allowed to marry. However, he receives a sufficiency of food and seems to be contented with his lot.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

General principles and various laws.—It is frequently stated by Bisáyas and others that Manóbo justice consists in the oppression of the weak by the strong, but I have not found this to be true. The Manóbo is too independent and too much a lover of revenge to brook coercion. He recognizes a set of customary rules, and any departure from them is resented by himself and by his relatives.

Nearly all violations of rights are considered as civil and not as criminal wrongs, and upon due compensation are condoned. Failure on the part of the offender to make this compensation leads the aggrieved man and his relatives to take justice into their own hands.

The guilty one in nearly every case is allowed a fair and impartial hearing in the presence of his own relatives. The matter is argued out, witnesses are called, and the offender's own relatives generally exert their influence to make him yield with good will. Hence the feast that follows nearly every case of successful arbitration.

One of the fundamental customs of the Manóbos is to regard as a duty the payment of one's debts, and this duty is performed sacredly and often at a sacrifice. Another fundamental custom is the right of revenge. Revenge is a sacred duty that is bequeathed from generation to generation, and from it result the long and terrible feuds that have devastated Manóboland.

Customary law is based on the intense conservation of the Manóbo, fostered by the priests and strengthened by a system of religious injunctions and interdictions. Anyone who violates these taboos or interdictions becomes liable for all evil consequences that may follow.

Property rights are understood and rigidly upheld, so much so that there seems to be no conception of a gift as such. Large tracts of land are considered the property of a clan, but anyone on good terms with the clan may settle on the land and may have all the rights of a clansman except those of fishing. Each individual becomes the temporary owner of the land that he selects and of the crops that he plants thereon. As soon as he abandons the land it becomes the collective property of the clan. Land disputes are unknown.

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[1] Called also *bákid* and *anèga*. A *kabán* is measured by counting out 25 *gántañg*.

Property that is the result of one's labor or one's purchase belongs to the individual except in the case of women, children, and slaves. Loss of and damage to property belonging to another must be made good, no excuses being admitted.

The law of contracts is stringent, but a certain amount of consideration is shown in case of a failure to fulfill a contract on time, unless a definite stipulation to the contrary has been previously made. All contracts are made in the presence of witnesses, and frequently a knotted rattan slip, representing the number of items or the number of days to elapse before payment, is delivered by the one who makes the contract.

Nearly all transactions are made on a credit basis, hence frequent disputes arise out of the failure of one party or the other to fulfill the terms of the contract. The failures are sometimes due to the fact that one individual man depends on payment from another in order to satisfy his debt to a third party. Undue delay on the part of a debtor finally gives the creditor the right to seize the property of the debtor, or even the property of a third party. Such an action is not common and is always taken under the stress of exasperation after repeated efforts to collect have proved unavailing. As a rule the relatives of the debtor prefer to settle the obligation rather than to allow matters to become too serious, but it happens at times that they, too, are obstinate and allow things to take their course.

No interest is charged on loans except in the case of paddy. There are few loans made, and no leases or pledges. These last imply a distrust that is not pleasing to the Manóbo.

The law of liability is very strict. For instance, if one should ask another to accompany him on a journey and the latter should fall sick or die, the former would be liable for his death. If one should die in the house, thereby causing the abandonment of it, the relatives of the dead man would have to pay the value of the house. Similar instances are of frequent occurrence and can readily be understood. This liability law extends to evils supposed to be due to the violation of taboos and to the possession of magic powers.

There is a system of fining that serves, harsh though it may seem, to maintain proper deference to the person and the property of another. Thus, spitting on another, rudely grasping another's person, entering another's district without due permission, bathing in river without the owner's leave, are a few of the many cases that might be adduced. The fine varies according to the damage and amount of malice that may be proved in the subsequent arbitration.

Regulations governing domestic relations and property; customary procedure in settlements of disputes.—The house belongs collectively to the builders. The property in it belongs to the male inmates who have acquired it.

The elder brother takes possession of the property of his deceased brother, unless the eldest son of the deceased is of such an age as to be capable of managing the household. In case the deceased did not have a brother, a brother-in-law or a son-in-law becomes the representative of the household. The eldest son inherits his father's debts and must pay them.

There is so little property in the ordinary Manóbo home that there are no disputes as to the inheritance. After a death the house is abandoned and the grief-stricken relatives scurry off with their baskets, mats, and simple utensils to make another home in a solitary part of the forest.

The relations both prenuptial and postnuptial between the sexes are of the strictest kind. All evil conduct from adultery down to immodest gazing is punished with appropriate fines and even with death. The fines vary from the equivalent of three slaves down to the equivalent of a few pesos.

The marriage contract is very rigid. I know of few cases in which the stipulated price was not paid prior to the delivery of the fiancé. In case of the death of one of the affianced parties, the payments made must be refunded. In case of the refusal of the bridegroom to continue his suit even though there has been no fault on the part of the bride or of her relatives, he loses all right to recover. Should the bride's people, however, decide to discontinue the proceedings, they must return the previous payments and make, I believe, compensation for the trouble and expenses incurred during the previous transactions. No case of a discontinuance of the marriage proceedings ever passed under my observation.

The father has theoretically full power over his wife and children, but in practice his domestic jurisdiction is of the most lenient kind. Marital affection and filial devotion reign in the household.

The husband may not marry a second wife during the lifetime of the first without the latter's consent. This rule, as well as the lack of sufficient worldly possessions to purchase another helpmate, makes polygamy comparatively infrequent.

The bridegroom is supposed to live with his father-in-law or with the previous owner of his wife, very often his wife's brother, but nearly always sets up his own establishment a few years after marriage.

With the exception of adultery, fornication, rape, and wanton homicide, all crimes presuppose an appeal to arbitration. The one that is the author of another's death is the one on whom vengeance must be taken, if it is possible.

When an outraged party is unable to obtain redress by arbitration or by the direct reprisal, he avenges himself on a third party, preferably a relative of his enemy, by killing him or by seizing his property. He thus brings matters to a head. It is usual to compound with the relatives of this third party, either for the death or for the seizure, on condition that they will league themselves with the one who is seeking revenge, in opposition to the original wrongdoer or that they themselves will undertake, as his paid agents, to wreak vengeance on his enemy.

Minor offenses are punished by fines that are determined by arbitration. These fines vary in amount, but nearly always include a feast, more or less elaborate, the expenses of which are borne by the party that lost the case.

The arbitration of a question may be made immediately after it has arisen or it may not be brought about for weeks or months. When the discussion has begun it is not considered politic for either side to yield at once. Threats are bandied between the principals until, through the influence of friendly chiefs, they are brought together. Then the relatives discuss the affair, each side exaggerating its own view of the question. It is only after lengthy discussions, and the use of similitudes and allegories, loud shouts, dissimulation, and through the sagacity and influence of the chief men that the opinions of the parties are so molded that an agreement is reached.

It may be necessary to determine the offense. This is done by witnesses who give, as far as I have been able to judge, truthful testimony. Whenever the veracity of a witness is doubted he may be obliged to take a kind of oath which consists in the burning of beeswax. A little beeswax is melted by holding a firebrand over it. While this is being done, the person whose veracity it is desired to test, utters a wish that in case of falsehood his body may be melted like the wax. In the case of suspects, ordeals are employed. They consist of making the parties under suspicion either plunge their hands into boiling water, or undergo the diving test, or take the candle ordeal.

Circumstantial evidence is admissible. By means of it, the authors of hidden crimes are often brought to punishment after years of patient waiting.

It is customary for the guilty one to make at least a partial payment immediately after the arbitration, and to treat the assembly to a banquet in which it is good form for the two opponents to close the breaches of friendship by generous quaffs to each other's health.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS IDEAS AND MENTAL CHARACTERISTICS IN GENERAL

A BRIEF SURVEY OF RELIGION

A study of Manóbo religion is difficult because of the natural secretiveness and suspiciousness of this primitive man, because of his dependence for his religious ideas on his priests, because of the variations and apparent contradictions that arise at every step, and, finally, because of his inability to expound in a satisfactory manner the beliefs of his religious system.

THE BASIS, INFLUENCE, AND MACHINERY OF RELIGION

The religious belief of the Manóbo is an essential part of his life. On his person he often carries religious objects. The site for his home is not selected till omens and oracles are consulted. In his method of cooking there are religious rules. He can not procure his meat from the forest nor his fish from the streams without making an appropriate offering. He sows and harvests his rice under the auspices of certain deities. His hunting dogs are under the protection of a special divinity. His bolo and his spear must answer a special magic test. He can not go forth to fight till divination and sacrifice have assured him success. All the great events of his life—his marriage, the pregnacy and parturition of his wife, death, burial, war—all are consecrated by formal, and often public, religious rites.

As far as I have been able to judge, fear of the deities of evil spirits, of the dead—of all that is unintelligible, unusual, somber—is the mainspring of the Manóbos religious observances and beliefs.

In order to detect the evils, natural and supernatural, to which he may be exposed, he has recourse to dreams, divination, auguries, and omens, and, in more serious cases he calls upon his priests to ascertain by invocation, oblation, and sacrifice, the source of the evil that has befallen him, or of the danger that he fears.

THE HIERARCHY OF MANÓBO DIVINITIES, BENEFICENT AND MALIGNANT

There is no supreme being in the Manóbo pantheon, though there are two principal classes of beneficent divinities. Little is known of one of these classes beyond its supposed existence. The other class is made up of humanlike deities called *diuáta* that retain a fondness for this world and the good things thereof. They select mortals for their favorites, and through them keep themselves provided with such earthly delicacies as they may desire, even though they may have to plague their mortal votaries in order to secure them.

There is another category of spirits, of a slightly different character, whose desire is blood. These are the war divinities that select certain individuals for their champions and urge them on to deeds of valor, with the hope of procuring blood.

In contradistinction to the above divinities are others of a malignant or dangerous character. Chief among them are the *búsau*, black, hideous spirits that dwell in dark, desolate places, and who are for the most part implacable enemies of man. To counteract the machinations of these spirits, the beneficent dieties are called upon by Manóbo priests and feasted with song and dance and sacrifice. Pleased with these tokens of friendship, the good spirits pursue the evil ones, and even engage in battle with them.

The *tagbánua* are a class of local spirits that reign over the forest tracts and mountains. They are not of an unkindly nature as long as a certain amount of respect is paid them. Hence the practice of making offerings during hunting and other forest occupations.

Among the other inimical spirits are: The rice pilferer, Dágau; Ánit, the thunderbolt spirit; numerous epidemic demons; the goddess of consanguineous love and marriage; the spirit of sexual excess; the wielder of the lightning and the manipulator of the winds and storms; the cloud spirit; and various others.

Agricultural and hunting operations are all performed under the auspices of gods and goddesses. Thus *Hakiádan* and *Taphágan* take care of the rice during sowing and harvest time, respectively; *Tagamáling* attends to other crops; *Libtákan* is the god of sunshine and good weather; and *Sugújun* is the god of the chase.

There are other gods: *Mandáit,* the birth deity; *Ibú,* the goddess of the afterworld; *Makalídung,* the founder of the world; *Manduyápit,* the ferryman; and *Yúmud,* the water wraith.

PRIESTS—THEIR FUNCTIONS, ATTRIBUTES, AND EQUIPMENT

The performance of nearly all the greater religious rites is left to the priests who are of two classes—*bailán* or ordinary priests, and *bagáni* or war priests. It is the prerogative of these priests to hold communication with their familiar spirits; to find out from them their desires; to learn the doings of the unfriendly spirits, and the means to be taken for a mitigation of the evil in question.

The ordinary priests are simple intermediaries, claiming no wondrous powers, making use of no deceptive nor mercenary methods, as far as my observation goes, with no particular dress and little paraphernalia, having no political influence, but possessing, in all that concerns religion, paramount authority. Their title to priesthood is derived from violent manifestations, such as trembling, perspiring, belching, semiunconsciousness, that are believed to be a result of communication with their familiars.

The war priests have blood spirits for their favorites, and accordingly perform their rites only in matters that concern war and wounds.

Ceremonial accessories consist of a few heirlooms, a small altar house, a wooden oblation tray, a one-legged stand, a sacrificial table, ceremonial decorations, sacred images, and sacrificial offerings.

The religious rites peculiar to the ordinary priests, consist of betel-nut offerings, the burning of incense, invocations, prophylactic fowl waving, omen taking, blood unction, the child ceremony, the death feast, the rice-planting ceremony, the hunting rite, and the sacrifice of pig or fowl.

The ceremonies peculiar to the warrior priests, besides the betel-nut tribute to the war spirits and invocation offered to them, are: Invocation and offerings to the spirit companions or "souls" of the living enemy, special forms of divination connected with war, a special invocation to the omen bird preparatory to the war raid, placation and propitiation of the tutelary war deities by invocation, by sacrifice, and ceremonial cannibalism; and, probably, in the remote districts, by human sacrifice.

THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF MANÓBO RELIGION

The main features, then, of the Manóbo religious system are:

(1) A firm traditional belief in the existence of anthropomorphic beneficent deities that will help the Manóbo *if he supplies them with the offerings they desire,* but, if not, that will allow and even *cause* evil to befall him.

(2) A belief in the existence of forest spirits and sky spirits, who on occasions may become hostile and must be propitiated.

(3) An absolute reliance on priests, who are the favorites of one or more of the friendly divinities, and through whose mediation he secures their good will and assistance.

(4) The fear of the dead who are thought to harbor an envious feeling toward the living.

(5) The frequent consultation or interpretation of omens, auguries, and oracles for ascertaining future events.

(6) A rigid adherence to a numerous set of taboos, some based on religious ideas, some founded on sympathetic magic.

(7) A frequent application of the principle of sympathetic magic by which one act is believed to be productive of a correlated result.

(8) A conscientious avoidance of everything disrespectful in word and act toward one of the brute creation.

(9) A belief in two spirit companions that accompany each mortal from birth till death.

(10) A belief in the possibility of capture of one of these spirit companions by malignant spirits.

(11) A universal and constant faith in the existence of an afterworld and of the eternal survival of at least one spirit companion therein.

(12) A belief in dreams as being often indicative of future evil.

(13) A belief in secret methods that may be productive of harm to others.

(14) The recourse to oaths and ordeals for the enforcement of promises and for the determination of truth.

(15) The unmistakable apotheosis of bravery as illustrated by the warlike character of one class of deities.

Such are the main characteristics of this form of primitive religion. The peculiar fear, entertained by its lowly votary, of lonely mountains, odd-shaped rocks, gloomy caves and holes, hot springs and similar formations of nature; his belief that planted things have "souls" and his peculiar respect for animals and insects—these and minor manifestations may point perhaps to a former nature and animal worship, but at present there is no indication of such. The Manóbo's conduct in the presence of such objects and phenomena is one of fear toward, and placation of, the agencies which he believes produce the phenomena or of the spirit owners of the objects that come across his path. It is to them alone that he pays his respect, and not to the material object or manifestation that has become the object of his perception.

Though one of the characteristics of Manóbo religion is the apotheosis of bravery, as is apparent from the warlike character of the divinities, and from the general desire to die the death of the slain, yet I find little trace of ancestor worship. The dead are feared, their burial place is shunned, their character is deemed perfidious, and relations with them are terminated by a farewell mortuary feast. after which it is expected that they will depart, to vex the living no more.

MENTAL AND OTHER ATTAINMENTS AND CHARACTERISTICS

The Manóbo's intellectual attainments are very limited. He counts on his fingers and on his toes, or by means of material objects such as grains of maize. He has never had any system of writing and does not know how to read. His "letters" and his "contracts" are material objects in the shape of bolos and other things, sent from one person to another with a verbal message, or strips of rattan with knots. His method of counting is decimal, and comprehends all numbers up to a hundred, though I am inclined to think that this last number represents to him infinity.

The reckoning of time is equally simple. The day is divided into day and night, the hour being indicated by stretching out the arm and open hand in the direction of that part of the sky where the sun or the moon would be at the time it is desired to indicate.

The month is not divided into weeks but the lunar month itself is carefully followed, each phase of the moon having its distinct name, though it is only in the case of the extreme of each phase that they agree on its name.

Years are reckoned by the recurrence of the rice-harvesting season, which varies according to the climate and geographical position of different regions. It is seldom that one can count backwards more than four or five years unless he can help his memory by some event such as an earthquake, and extra heavy flood, the arrival of the Spanish missionaries, the Philippine insurrection, or the growth of trees, but as a rule no attempt is made to determine the number of years that have elapsed since any event. I have seldom met a Manóbo who had any idea as to his age, or any ability to judge approximately of the age of another.

Historical knowledge is confined almost entirely to events that have occured within one's lifetime. There are few traditions that have any historical value, and even in these there is an element of the wonderful that makes them unreliable as guides.

It is obvious that the pagan Manóbo has made no advance along academic lines, due to the fact that he never has had an opportunity afforded him, but judging of his intellectual ability by that of the Christianized Manóbos, it is not inferior to that of the Bisáya. I had experience in organizing and conducting schools among the *conquistas*, and it has been my experience that *ceteris paribus*, they advance as rapidly as Bisáyas. If the *conquistas* have not progressed as far intellectually, it is due to lack of facilities and not to any inherent inability to learn.

Knowledge of astronomy is limited among the Manóbos to the names of a few of the principal stars and constellations. The nature of the stars, moon, sun, eclipses, and kindred phenomena are all explained in mythological tales, from a belief in which no amount of reasoning can move them. The old story that the comet is the harbinger or bearer of disease is in vogue.

Esthetic arts, such as painting and architecture, are unknown, though Manóbos can carve rude and often fantastic wooden images, and can make crude tracings and incisions on lime tubes and baskets.

Notwithstanding their lack of scientific and esthetic knowledge, their observation of nature is marvelous. This is obviously due to long familiarity with the forest, the stream, and the mountains. From his boyhood years the Manóbo has lived the life of the forest. He has scanned the trees for birds and monkeys, the streams for fish. Living, as he generally has, within a definite district, and roaming over it in search of game and other things to eat, at the same time keeping a close watch for any variation that might indicate the presence of an outsider, he has come to possess those marvelous powers of sight and of observation that would astonish the average white man. Within his own district the position of every tree is known. Every stream and every part of it, every mountain, every part of the forest is known and has its appropriate name. The position of a place is explained in a few words to a fellow tribesman, and is understood by the latter.

Trees and plants are recognized, and their adaptation in a great many cases for certain economic uses is known, though I think that, in his knowledge of the latter, the Manóbo is inferior to both the Bisáya and the Mandáya, as he is undoubtedly of a more conservative and less enterprising disposition.

The Manóbo character has been so maligned by missionaries, and by all the Bisáyas who have dealings with them, that it deserves a clearance from the aspersions that have been cast upon it. In dealing with the Manóbo, as with all primitive peoples, the personal equation brings out more than anything else the good qualities that underlie his character. Several of the missionaries seem not to have distinguished between the *pagan* and the *man*. To them the pagan was the incarnation of all that is vile, a creature whose every act was dictated by the devil. The Bisáya regarded him somewhat in the same light, but went further. He looked upon him as his enemy because of the many acts of retribution, even though retribution was merited, that had been committed by the Manóbo or by his ancestors. He entertained a feeling of chagrin and disappointment that this primitive man was unwilling to become an absolute tool in his hands for *thorough* exploitation. Hence no name, however vile, was too bad for the poor forest dweller who refused to settle near his plantation and toil—man, woman, and child—for an utterly inadequate wage. His feeling toward the *conquistas* is little, if at all, better.

Upon first acquaintance the Manóbo is timid and suspicious. This is due to the extreme cautiousness that teaches him to guard a life that among his own people has only a nominal value. When in the presence of strangers for the first time, he remembers that reprisals have been bandied from time immemorial between his people on the one hand, and Bisáyas, on the other, and he realizes that without proper care, reprisals might be made on him. Again, if the visitor has penetrated into his district, his suspicion may be aroused to its full force by calumnious reports or rumors that may have preceded the visitor's arrival. My own visits were frequently preceded by rumors to the effect that I had magic power to poison or to do other things equally wonderful, that I was a solider in disguise, or by other similar reports. But in these cases and in all others one may allay the timorousness and suspiciousness of these primitive people to a great extent by previous announcement of one's visit and intentions, and upon arrival in their settlement, by refraining from any act or word that might betray one's curiosity. Surprise must not be expressed at anything that takes place. The mere question as to what, for instance, is beyond such and such a mountain, or where is the headwaters of such and such a stream, may start up the full flame of suspicion. Hence prudence, a kind, quiet, but alert manner, a good reputation from the last visited locality and a distribution of trifling gifts, is always efficacious in removing that feeling of distrust that these primitive people feel toward a stranger.

Another charge is that they are revengeful. They certainly believe in "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." Revenge for an unatoned wrong is a stern, fundamental, eternal law, sanctioned by Manóbo institutions, social, political, and religious; one that is consecrated by the breath of the dying, and passed on from generation to generation to be fulfilled; but it has one saving clause, *arbitration*. Hence a stranger must inform himself of such past happenings as might jeopardize him. The Manóbo has a very limited conception of the extent of the outside world and of the number of its inhabitants, and he is inclined to believe that one American, for instance, knows every other one and may be related by blood to any other. Hence any imprudent action on the part of one may draw down revenge on the head of another[1], relative or not, for even innocent third parties may, by Manóbo custom, be sacrificed to the unsatisfied spirit of revenge. The danger, however, in which a stranger might find himself from this cause, is easily eliminated by questioning the people as to who had wronged them on previous occasions; and should he learn that he is considered a party to the wrong through identity of blood or of race with the guilty one, he must gently suggest a plan for arbitration at some later date, and in other pacific ways avert the revenge from himself.

It is, moreover, affirmed that Manóbos are treacherous. If by treachery is meant a violation of faith and confidence, they can not be said to be treacherous. They kill when they feel that they are wronged. I know of few cases where they did not openly avow their feelings and demand reparation. Refusal to make the reparation demanded is equivalent to a declaration of war, and in war all is fair. It is every man's duty to safeguard himself as best he can. The Manóbo, Mandáya, Mañgguáñgan, and Debabáon houses erected in strategic positions throughout the interior of eastern Mindanáo, bear witness to the fact that these people recognize the principle that all is fair in war. The fact that they frequently carry their spears and shields when on the trail, and in time of trouble accompany their womenfolk to the farms and guard them there, is sufficient evidence of the fact that every means must be taken to safeguard one's self and interests from an enemy. But let a case be once arbitrated, and beeswax burned or other solemn manifestation of agreement be made, and it is my opinion that the pledge will not, as a rule, be broken.

Cowardice is a trait attributed to Manóbos and other people of Mindanáo. It is true that they do not take inordinate risks. The favorite hour for attack on an enemy's house is dawn. They prefer to thrust a spear through the floor rather than to call the enemy out to fight a hand-to-hand battle. In other cases they prefer to ambush him on the trail, 5 or 10 men against 1. Again, it may be more convenient to pick off a lone woman in a *camote* patch. Such are recognized methods of warfare. Once aroused, however, the Manóbo will fight, and fight to a finish. Throughout the Jesuit letters we find mentioned various instances of really brave deeds on the part of Manóbos. In some cases the husband killed his family and then himself rather than fall into the hands of the Spanish troops. I have been informed of hundreds of instances in which the male members of the attacked party threw themselves against superior numbers in order that their wives might escape. Hand-to-hand encounters are not uncommon, if I may believe the endless stories that have been narrated to me by warriors throughout eastern Mindanáo.

Laziness and dilatoriness can certainly be predicated of Manóbo men, but such qualities are to be attributed to lack of incentive to work and to hurry. All the household duties fall, by custom, upon the shoulders of the women, so that there is little left for the man except to fish, hunt, trap, trade, and fight. When, however, the men set themselves to clearing the forest or to other manual tasks, it is surprising with what agility, skill, and perseverance they work, though such spells of labor are short lived.

No one has ever uttered or written a word against the Manóbo's sexual morality. It is true that sexual matters are discussed with the greatest freedom, but the most venial breaches of morality are punished. The greatest modesty is observed in regard to the exposure of the private parts. Gazing at an undressed woman, for instance, at the bathing place results in a fine. Unseemly insinuations to a woman are visited with a similar punishment, but should such overtures go further, even death may be the penalty.

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[1] It is not improbable that the death of Mr. H. M. Ickis, geologist of the Bureau of Science, Manila, was partly due to the capture and exile of one Gubat of the upper Umáiam some 15 or 20 years ago.

As to temperance and sobriety, the rule is to eat and drink all one can, hence the amount of food and drink consumed depends upon the supply. Sobriety is not a virtue. To lose one's equilibrium and senses is to do honor to the host and justice to his generosity.

Honesty is certainly a trait of the Manóbo character. I do not mean to maintain that there are not occasional pilferings, especially in small things that are considered to be more or less communal in their nature, such as palm wine while still flowing from the tree, but other kinds of property are perfectly safe. The rare violations of the rule of honesty are punished more or less severely according to the amount of the property stolen and according to other considerations.

Though respect for another's property is decidedly the rule, yet it is surprising to note with what care everything is counted, tied up, or put away, and how marks of ownership are set up on all occasions. I think, however, that these precautions are due not so much to a fear of pilferers as to a feeling of the instability of conditions in a country that has always been subject to turmoil.

Honesty in the payment of debts is one of the most striking characteristics of these people. I have advanced merchandise on credit to people whom I had never met before and the whereabouts of whose houses I did not know except from their own information, and yet, six months or a year later, when I entered their region I had no difficulty in locating them nor in collecting from them. So high is their feeling of obligation to pay a debt that even children are sometimes parted with in settlement, but this occurs in extreme cases only. Though debts are satisfied conscientiously, yet a certain amount of consideration is expected as to the time and other details of payment, except in some very urgent cases.

Honesty in other matters, as in the performance of formal agreements, is equally noticeable though I must say that the performance may not be as prompt in point of time as *we* would expect. But it must be remembered, in connection with this last point, that in making an agreement one is presumed to make allowance for a great many impediments, such as evil omens, that do not figure in our system of contracts. Another difference, which applies also to the matter of debts, is that the man who owes a debt must be reminded of his obligation and urged in a gentle way to the performance of it. It occurs in some rare instances that a debtor is under a definite contract as to the exact time for meeting his obligation. In these cases the creditor may be more insistent upon payment. It is to the credit of the Manóbo that he never disowns a debt nor runs away to avoid the payment thereof.

It has been said that the Manóbo is ungrateful, but I do not think that his gratitude is so rare nor so transitory a virtue as is claimed by those who pretend to know him. It is true that he has no word to express thanks, but he expects the giver to make known his desires and ask for what he wants. This is the reason why he himself is such an inveterate beggar. He receives you into his house, feeds you, considers you his friend, and proceeds to make you reciprocate by asking for everything he sees. If he is under any obligation to you, he expects you to ask in a similar manner. If you do not do it, he considers you either apathetic or rich, and hence no reciprocation is forthcoming. Among Manóbos no presents are made except of such trifles as have no value.

The Manóbo feels that he is at perfect liberty to conceal his real thoughts and to give utterance to such distortions of truth as may not compromise him with others. The penalty for slander is so great that this is a fault that is seldom committed. Hence to get the truth from a Manóbo, it is useless, as a rule, to question him singly or even in the presence of his friends alone. He must be brought face to face with those who hold an adverse opinion or belong to an opposite faction. If this can be done, in a more formal way, as for example, by having a number of principal men attend, it will be so much the easier to obtain the desired information.

Queries as to trails or the dwelling places of neighboring Manóbos are hardly ever answered truthfully and do more harm than good, because they tend to arouse suspicions as to the questioner's motives. Such information is obtained more readily by cultivating the friendship of boys than by consulting the older folks. This tendency to disguise or to distort the truth, though it has its natural basis in a desire for self-protection, gives the Manóbos a reputation for lack of that straightforwardness and frankness that is so noticeable among the Mandáyas, even after very short acquaintance. This lack of frankness, coupled with a certain amount of natural shrewdness, makes the truth difficult to discover, unless the suggestion made before be carried out, or unless one is willing to wait till the truth leaks out in private conversation among the Manóbos themselves.

One trait of the Manóbo that seems hard to understand is his love for long discussions. No matter how trifling the matter may be, it always becomes the subject of an inordinately long conference even though there are no dissenting parties. Even in such trifles as getting a guide to take me, by well-known trails, to settlements of people with whom I was well acquainted, the inevitable discussion would always take place. A great number of people would assemble. The matter would be discussed at length by every one present without a single interruption, except such exclamations of assent as are continuously uttered whether the speaker's views are acceptable or not. It seems that these and more solemn discussions afford the speakers an opportunity to make themselves conspicuous or to display their judgment. I can divine no other reason for these conferences because, in many cases that I have known, the result of the discussion was a foregone conclusion from the beginning. Perhaps such discussions are for the purpose of "making no concessions" or if they must be made, of making them begrudgingly.

These conferences are as a rule rather noisy, for though one speaker at a time "has the floor," there are always a number of collateral discussions, that, joined to the invariable household sounds, produce somewhat of a din. Noise, in fact, is a general characteristic of Manóbo life, so much so that at times one is inclined to be alarmed at the loud yelling and other demonstrations of apparent excitement, even though the occasion for it all may be nothing more than the arrival in the settlement of a visitor with a dead monkey.

Harmony and domestic happiness are characteristic of the Manóbo family. The Manóbo is devoted to his wife, fond of his children, and attached to his relatives, more so than the Mañg-guáñgan, but much less so than the Bisáya or the Mandáya. He is dearly fond of social gatherings for, besides the earthly comforts that he gets out of them, they afford him an opportunity to display such wealth, rank, and possessions as he may possess. His invitations to neighbors serve to keep him high in their estimation and thereby gather around him a number of friends who will be of service in the hour of trouble. Of the Manóbo, as of the other people of Mindanáo, too much can not be said of his hospitality. If he has once overcome his suspicions as to a stranger's motives, he takes him into his house and puts himself to infinite pains to feast him as best he knows how. In Manóboland one who travels carries no provisions. He drops into the first house and when the meal hour arrives he sits down upon the floor and helps himself without any invitation. It is practically his own house, because for the time being he becomes one of the family. If there happens to be a feast, he partakes without any special invitation, and when he is ready to go, he proceeds upon his journey, only to repeat the operation in the next house, for it is customary always to pay at least a short visit to every friendly house on or near the trail.

One of the mental traits that has perhaps done more than anything else to retard the Manóbo in his progress towards a higher plane of civilization is his firm adherence to traditional customs. All things must be done as his forefathers did them. Innovations of any kind may displease the deities, may disturb the present course of events, may produce future disturbances. "Let the river flow as it ever flowed—to the sea," is a refrain that I heard quoted on this subject by Manóbos. "Fish that live in the sea do not live in the mountains," is another, and there are many others, all illustrating that conservatism that tends to keep the Manóbo a Manóbo and nothing else. He is Christianized but, after going through the Christian ritual, he will probably invoke his pagan divinities. He takes on something new but does not relinquish the old. Hence the difficulty of inducing the Manóbo to leave the district of his forefathers, and take up his abode in a new place amid unfamiliar spirits.

This feature of their character explains the inconstancy and fickleness exhibited by the Christianized Manóbos at the beginning of their conversion. These were due to the call of the forest hailing them back to their old haunts. These characteristics will explain also a host of anomalies that are noticeable throughout the Manóbo's life.

The first visit of a stranger to a primitive settlement may produce upon him a very unfavorable impression. He may find that the women and children have fled, so that he finds himself surrounded by men, all armed. This should not discourage him, as it happens in many cases that the men were unable to keep the women from flight. The wearing of arms is as much a custom with Manóbos as the wearing of a watch is with us. The bolo is his life and his livelihood. Were he not to wear it he would be branded as insane, and he looks upon a defenseless person, stranger or otherwise, much in the same light, unless he attributes the absence of a weapon to the possession of secret powers of protection, in which case he is inclined to follow the example of the fugitive women and betake himself beyond the reach of harm.

Upon first acquaintance the Manóbo will ask a host of questions that will tax the patience of the visitor if he ventures to answer them personally. These questions spring from a desire to learn the motives of the visit. People from the neighboring houses drop in at intervals just as soon as word reaches them of the new arrival, and may continue to do so until the time of the visitor's departure, thereby keeping the house crowded. The assembling of these people arises from a desire to see the visitor and to find out the object of his visit. Hence the newcomers will proceed to ask him every imaginable question that may suggest itself and if any answer conveys information that has anything of the wonderful in it for them, it gives rise to a thousand and one other questions, the responses to which often tax a visitor's patience.

Another part of the visit is the frank demand on the part of the primitive people for any object of the visitor which they may take a fancy to. They always understand, however, a quiet refusal, if it is accompanied by an appropriate reason.

It happens sometimes that the chief of the settlement will claim a fee for transgression upon his territory, but he will usually accept a small present in lieu thereof, or will forego any gift, if the matter is argued, quietly and diplomatically. The Manóbo resents harsh words, especially when used toward him in the presence of those who are his nominal subjects. Personalities or threats in such a case often prove fatal.

It is not good etiquette to ask a Manóbo his name, especially if he is a chief, until one has acquired somewhat of an acquaintance with him. The information must be secured from a third party and in a quiet way. Moreover, it is customary to address chiefs and other persons of distinction by the names of their corresponding titles. Thus a warrior chief is addressed *bagáni*, and not by his proper name.

It is needless to say that no familiarity should be taken with the person of another until acquaintance has been cultivated far enough to permit it. Thus touching another on the arm to call his attention to something may be resented and may result in an attempt to collect a fine.

The handling of arms requires a word. The lance must be stuck in the ground, head up, at the foot of the house ladder; or, if it must be brought into the house, as at night, the owner must take care that it points at no one while being handled. If one desires to draw a bolo from its sheath, he must draw it slowly, and if it is to be presented to another, the blade must be kept facing the owner's body and the handle presented to the other man. The same rule holds for the dagger.

It will be noticed that as a general rule the men in a Manóbo settlement go armed and keep their hands on their weapons, especially during mealtime, at which time it is customary to eat with the left hand, the right hand being reserved for the use of the weapon in an emergency.

There are a number of other rules of intercourse that serve to safeguard life and to maintain proper respect on the part of each individual for the person of his neighbor. These will be found scattered throughout this paper.

PART II. GENERAL MATERIAL CULTURE

CHAPTER V

THE MANÓBO HOME

IN GENERAL

The Manóbo, as a rule builds a house of no great pretensions, because he always remembers that an evil combination of omens or a death in the house or an attack by his enemies, may deprive him in the near future of his home. His best structure is better than the low wall-less Mañguáñgan home but can not compare with the comparatively solid structure of the Mandáyas of Kati'il and the Debabáons of the Sálug country.

He has no tribal halls, no assembly houses. In fact, with the exception of a rude shack[1] on his farm, built to shelter those who are guarding the crops against marauders (monkeys and birds), he builds only one house, where he and usually several of his relatives dwell until such time (usually after a year) as he finds it convenient or necessary to abandon it.

MOTIVES THAT DETERMINE THE SELECTION OF THE SITE

The motives that determine the selection of the site are twofold.

RELIGIOUS MOTIVES

It is obvious that in such an important undertaking the Manóbo must be guided by the omens and oracles that manifest to him the will of the supernal powers. Hence, as he sallies forth to seek the site, he keeps his ear alert for the turtledove's[2] prophetic cry. If this is unfavorable, he returns home and resumes his search the following day. It frequently happens that this omen may be unfavorable for two or three successive days, but, however urgent the case may be, this bird's sacred warning must on no account be disregarded, for it would mean failure, disaster, or death, as the Manóbo can prove to you by a host of instances that happened within his memory, or that of his relatives. Once satisfied, however, with this first omen, he proceeds upon his journey and selects, from material motives that will be mentioned later on, a site for the new house, and returns to his people to inform them of the outcome of his journey.

Now, the selection of the site is of such serious import to the Manóbo that he must assure himself, by every means in his power, that it is approved by the unseen powers, and for this purpose he has recourse to the egg omen and the suspension oracle. The former I witnessed on several occasions and in every case it proved auspicious. The *bu-dá-kan* or vine omen is sometimes consulted in selecting a house site, and the significance of the various configurations is the same as that described under "Divination or Omens." I was told that this latter omen is also taken *in the forest* before the final decision as to the selection of the site is made.

The occurrence of ominous dreams at this juncture, as also the passing of a snake across the trail, are considered of evil import, but the evil is neutralized by the fowl-waving ceremony that will be described later.

MATERIAL MOTIVES

When no further objection is shown by the "powers above" to the selection of the home site, the Manóbo is guided by such motives as fertility of soil, proximity of water, and fishing facilities, and, if he is in a state of vigilance against his enemies, as in remote regions he nearly always is, by desirability of the site for defense. In this latter case he selects a high place difficult of access, frequently a lofty mountain, and chooses the most strategic point upon it.

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[1] *Pin-ái-ag.*

[2] *Li-mo-kon.*

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE ERECTION OF A HOUSE

An invocation to the special deities of the family is made by a priest, usually a relative. After an offering of a betel nut has been made to the local deities of this particular part of the forest, the head of the family, assisted by such of his numerous relatives as are able to help him, proceeds to clear the ground for the new building. When a more influential Manóbo begins to erect a capacious house, usually everyone in the vicinity—men, women, and children—attracted by the prospective conviviality that is sure to accompany the work, throng to lend a helping hand, so that in a few days the clearing is made, cleaned and planted, and the frame of the house with the roof completed.

People belonging to the less influential class may take months to complete the house, depending on the number of relatives who help them and on the leisure that they have. It is of importance to note here that the house must not be completed at once.[3]

When the first post is put into the ground, a sacrifice is frequently made and a part of the victim's blood is poured upon the base of the post. As soon as the roof and floor have been constructed, a formal sacrifice of a chicken is made to the special divinities under whose protection the family is thought to be. The chicken must be of the color that is pleasing to these deities. An interesting feature of this ceremony is that the center of the floor, the place intended for the doorway, and one or more of the posts, are lustrated with the blood of the victim.

STRUCTURE OF THE HOUSE

THE MATERIALS

The materials for the house are taken from the surrounding forest and are generally of a light character. It is only in the erection of a house [4] for defense that more substantial materials are employed.

THE DIMENSIONS AND PLAN OF CONSTRUCTION

In height from the ground to the floor the house may vary from 1.50 to 8 meters, though a structure of the latter height is infrequent. In size it may be between 2 by 3 meters and 5 by 8 meters, but as a rule it is nearer to the former than to the latter figures. Rectangular in form, it is built upon light posts varying in number from 4 to 16, the 4 corner ones being larger and extending up to support the roof. Four horizontal pieces attached to these corner posts and, supported by several of the small posts, form, together with a few joints, the support for the floor. In order to give more rigidity to the building and to render the floor stronger, the joints are supported by several posts, these last being propped by braces set at an angle of about 45°. In the case of a house built for defense, the number of supports and crosspieces is such that the enemy would find it impossible to hack it down.

Houses built on trees were rare at the time of my stay among the Manóbos of the Agúsan Valley. In the few cases which I saw, the tree was cut off at a point about 2 meters above the divergence of the main branches from the trunk. Then the house was built in the ordinary way by erecting long auxiliary posts, the trunk of the tree and its main branches forming the principal support. In Baglásan, upper Sálug River, I saw a Debabáon house, belonging to Bagáni pinamailan Lantayúna, built on a tree but without any auxiliary posts.

No nails, and pegs only very occasionally are employed in fastening together the various parts of the structure. Either rattan strips or pieces of a peculiar vine [5] are used in lashing the beams and crosspieces to the posts, whereas for the other fastenings, rattan strips are universally employed.

THE FLOOR

The floor consists of laths of bamboo, or of a variety of palm [6] laid parallel and running along the length of the house with more or less regular interstices. Almost universally one or both sides of the floor, for a width of 50 centimeters to 1.5 meters, are raised to a height varying from 10 to 50 centimeters above the main floor. This raised portion serves for a sleeping place, but in the poorer classes of houses the height of this platform is so slight that I think that there exists or has existed some superstitious belief connected with it, though I have been unable to elicit any positive information on the point. In houses of the better class one occasionally finds roughhewn boards used for the floor of these platforms, as also for the walls.

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[3] It is believed that the thatch must be allowed to turn yellow before the house is completed.

[4] *I-li-hán.*

[5] Hag-nái-a (*Stenochlena* spp.).

[6] A-ná-nau. Palma brava. (*Livistonia* sp.).

THE ROOF AND THE THATCH

The roof is of the gable style, but is four-sided, with two smoke vents, as may be seen in Plates 4 *b* and 6*a*. The four beams that form the main support for the rafters are lashed to the posts of the house at a height varying from 1.5 meters to 2 meters above the floor. Four substantial rafters, resting upon the four beams just mentioned, run up at an angle of 45° from the corner posts. Upon these rafters rests the ridgepole. Numerous light rafters of wood or of bamboo extend from the ridgepole in parallel rows at intervals of 30 to 40 centimeters. They project about 50 centimeters beyond the side beams upon which they rest and serve to support the roofing material.

The thatch consists almost invariably of fronds of rattan gathered in the adjoining forest. This thatch is made by bending back on the midrib every alternate spike till all the spikes lie parallel. Another way is to cut the midrib in the center at the small end and tear the frond into two pieces. These half-fronds are neither so durable nor so serviceable as if the midrib is left entire. Two, three, or four of these fronds, or double that number of half-fronds, are then superimposed, and fastened to the rafters with rattan in shingle fashion.

In localities where sago palm is available an excellent thatch is made in the ordinary Philippine fashion by sewing the spikes of the frond to a slat of bamboo. It is claimed that this thatch will not last much more than a year, as it is a breeding place for a multitude of small cockroaches that seem to thrive upon it.

In the mountainous districts, where up to a few years ago feuds were rife, it was not uncommon to find houses roofed with big strips of bark, or with shingles of flattened bamboo. This style of roofing was employed as a precaution against the burning arrows used by the enemy during an attack.

There is always an extra layer of leaves over the ridgepole as a protection against the rain. Occasionally a long strip or two of bark is placed as a hood on the ridgepole to help prevent the entrance of the rain during the northwest monsoon, when it comes down in indescribable torrents.

A glance at the illustrations will show better than words can describe the peculiar smoke outlets invariably found in Manóbo houses. They not only afford an exit for the smoke, and admit light, but also permit, during storms, the entrance of an amount of rain that does not conduce to comfort.

THE WALLS

The walls are nearly always in the case of better class houses, light poles of wood or of bamboo, laid horizontally one above the other and tied to upright pieces placed at intervals for their support. In poorer houses palm fronds are tied loosely to a few upright pieces. The eaves project down almost as far as the top of the walls. The latter never extend to the roof, but are usually of such a height that a person sitting on the floor can see between the walls and the eaves the space surrounding the house. It is rare to find boards used for the walls, but, if used, they are roughhewn, and are laid horizontally and edgewise, one above the other. They are held in place with rattan strips.

The space, then, between the top of the walls and the roof is open all around the house and serves as one continuous window that affords more ventilation than light. The purpose of this peculiar arrangement seems to be for defense, for no one can approach the house from any side without being seen, and, in time of attack, it affords the inmates of the house an admirable vantage ground from which to ply their arrows.

THE DOORWAY AND THE LADDER

There is no door in a Manóbo house. In the middle of one end of the house a small opening is left scarcely wide enough for two persons to enter at one time. A notched pole leads up to this opening. If the house is high, a certain amount of maneuvering on the part of one not accustomed to it, may be required in climbing the pole, for there is seldon any rail to aid one and the notches are not of the deepest. This is another of the Manóbo's devices against enemies, for on occasions of attack the inmates of a house can dislodge by a slight movement of this cylindrical ladder any foolhardy enemy who might attempt, under protection of his shield, to make an ascent during a fight.

In the house of a chief or well-to-do Manóbo, one frequently finds a crude ladder for the convenience of the family dogs.

INTERNAL ARRANGEMENTS

The internal arrangements of the house are very simple. The one ceilingless square area between the roof and the floor constitutes the house. There is no dining room, no kitchen, no bedroom, no toilet. Even the little stalls erected by Mandáyas for the married couples are very seldom to be found. The owner of the house occupies the part farthest from the door, and nearest the fire, while visitors are relegated to the part near the door.

DECORATIONS

No paint is applied to the house and, with the exception of a rude carving of the ridgepole into the suggestion of a human head with a rudimentary body, there is no decoration in the interior. On the outside, one frequently sees at the ends of the ridgepole, and set upright at right angles to each other, two narrow, thin pieces of wood about 1 meter long. Along the sides of these are cuttings which are intended to represent the crested head of a fowl, as the name given to them indicates.[7]

THE FURNITURE AND EQUIPMENT OF THE HOUSE

The Manóbo house fittings are of the scantiest and most necessary kind. The tenure of the house may be brief, depending, as it does, upon a suspicion of danger or even on a dream. So the Manóbo does not indulge in the luxury of chairs, tables, or similar articles. The upraised portion of the floor, or the floor itself, serves him as a chair and a bench. For a table he uses a small board such as is so universally used throughout Mindanáo by the poorer classes. Yet many are the houses that can not boast of even this simple equipment. He has no bedsteads, for the bamboo floor with a grass mat thrown over it affords him a cool and comfortable resting place. He has a fair abundance of mats, but they are ordinarily short, being made according to the length of the grass he happens to find. By day these mats are rolled up and laid aside on the floor or upon the beams of the house. If left on the floor, they afford the family dogs, who ensconce themselves therein, a convenient refuge from flies.

He dispenses with the use of pillows, unless the handiest piece of wood or of bamboo can be called a pillow. Lacking that, he lays his head upon the mat and enjoys as good a sleep, perhaps, as his more civilized fellowmen.

It is seldom, indeed, that he uses a mosquito bar, though wild *abaká* is abundant and his wife is a weaver. The mosquito bars which are in use are made out of *abaká* fiber. As the cloth for them, made on the ordinary loom, is less than a meter wide, and as much as 24 meters long, it must be cut up into strips nearly 2 meters long and sewn together to form the mosquito bar. It must be made of an odd number of pieces of cloth, for an even number is unlucky. A net made of 11 or 13 pieces is considered especially lucky. The use of the mosquito bar is very common among the *conquistas* of the Lake region.

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[7] *Mín-an-úk* from *mán-uk*, a fowl.

Pictures and like ornaments are unknown, but in lieu of them may be seen trophies of the chase, such as wild-boar jawbones, deer antlers, and hornbill skulls and beaks. It is not infrequent to see the tail of some large fish fastened to one of the larger beams, under the roof. There is a special significance in the preservation of this trophy.

There is one article, however, which the Manóbo prizes as a mark of wealth and as a venerable relic. It is the sacred jar.[8] I have been unable to obtain any information as to the origin of these jars except that they were usually obtained as marriage fees and that they were bought from the Banuáons. Be that as it may, they are a matter of pride in Manóboland, and on every occasion, festive and religious, they are set out, brimful of brew. Not every Manóbo is the proud possessor of one of these, but he who has one is loath to part with it. A glance at Plate 14 *k*, *l*, will give an idea of what these jars look like. They are decorated, as a rule, in alto relievo with figures of birds, snakes, etc., and to judge from their appearance are of Chinese workmanship. When given as marriage payments or for other purposes they are valued at about 4 pesos if they have no ears, but when they have ears they are worth as many pesos minus 1 as they have ears.

Next to jars the Manóbo values plates and bowls, even those of the cheapest kind, and it is with a gleam of satisfaction on his face that the host sets out an array of old-fashioned plates for his guests. The Manóbo of the middle Agúsan, unlike his Mandâya neighbor, is particularly poor in plateware. I found houses that could not boast of a single plate, but as a rule each house has about four plates, a bowl, and a glass.

Depending from the roof are to be seen baskets of various shapes intended for a variety of uses, fish baskets, rice baskets of several kinds, storage baskets, betel-nut baskets, pack baskets, some of wickerwork and some of plaited rattan. Also, hanging from the rafters are to be seen fish traps, wild chicken traps, religious objects such as oblation trays, a guitar, or a bamboo harp, and if it is a priest's house, a drum and gong.

One sees almost invariably a nest or two up in a corner under the roof. They are for the domestic hens and are ungainly things, made ordinarily out of a piece of old matting. In these the hens lay their eggs, after meandering around the rafters and disturbing the inmates of the house with their cackling. After the eggs are laid, it is frequently necessary to drive the hens from the house.

The fireplace is another very important item in the house. It is usually located on the side of the house away from the door and near the wall. It consists of four roughhewn pieces of wood approximately 1 meter long and about 10 centimeters high, set together on the floor and lashed in the form of a rectangle. A piece of bark is placed on the floor within this rectangle, and the inclosed space is filled with earth. A half dozen stones form supports for the earthen jars. Above the fireplace is a rough frame for firewood, of which there is usually a plentiful supply. Here the wood is dried thoroughly before it is used.

In close proximity to the hearth and scattered around without any regard for tidiness may be seen the rice winnow, the bamboo water tube, the coconut-shell watercup, the rice paddles and ladles, leaves of banana and other plants, and the whetstone, while on the fireplace are seen a variety of earthen pots with their covers, and frequently an imported iron pan for cooking.

Tied up under the roof, but within reach, may be seen bows and arrows, probably a fish spear, or it may be, a fish rod. Spears and other weapons of defense which, when not in use, are unsheathed and put into a rude wooden rack made for the purpose, while the sheaths are hung up close by.

It is not exceptional to find a cage with a turtledove[9] or a variety of parrakeet[10] in it. The cage is usually hung from the roof under the eaves outside the wall. The turtledove is kept for religious purposes, whereas the parrakeet is kept as other people keep a pet bird, though it is occasionally employed by the young folks as a lure to attract its wild fellows to the bird line.

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[8] *Bá-hàn-di.*

[9] *Li-mó-kon.* (*Phabitreron brevirostris* Tweedale). Generally called fruit dove.

[10] *Ku-li-li-si.*

THE UNDERPART AND THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE HOUSE

The space under the fireplace is usually not occupied because of the water and refuse that fall from the kitchen, but to one side of it is the inevitable pigpen, containing a pig or two. It is only the wealthier Manóbos who can boast of more than a few, for the maintenance of many would be a heavy drain on their limited food supply. These few pigs subsist on such scraps and parings as may be thrown or allowed to fall down to them.

To one side of the pigpen, if there is room, is placed the rice mortar, an article of indispensable necessity in every household. In it is hulled with wooden pestles, and frequently in measured time, the daily supply of rice.

At the time when the house is constructed, the forest adjoining is cleared, and *camotes*,[11] a little sugarcane, and a few other things are planted. The house usually overlooks this clearing at least on one side. On the other sides there is usually the grim, silent forest. When the house is built with a view to defense, trees are felled all around in such a way as to make a regular abatis. Ordinarily there are at least two trails, one, a main trail, so tortuous and difficult, in the generality of cases, that it would lead one to imagine that the owner of the house had deliberately selected it for its difficulties, the other, a trail leading to the watering place. In approaching the house the visitor is obliged to climb over fallen logs, the passing of which requires no little maneuvering on the part of a novice. Without a guide it would be often difficult, if not impossible, to locate the houses, even if one had been shown their location from a distance.

ORDER AND CLEANLINESS OF THE HOUSE

As from one to four families may live in a single house, it is needless to say that there is generally a decided appearance of disorder, as well as a tumult that baffles description. In the only room of the house are congregated the married couples, generally a few extra relatives, their children, and their dogs. The Manóbos are naturally very loud talkers, their children, especially the infants, are as noisy as children the world over, and their dogs, which may number from 3 to 15, are so constituted that, when they are not fighting with one another, they may at any moment, without apparent motive or provocation, begin one grand dismal howl which, united to the crying of the babies and to the loud tones of their elders, produces a pandemonium. It is at meal times that the pandemonium waxes loudest, for at that time the half-starved dogs, in their efforts to get a morsel to eat, provoke the inmates to loud yells of "*Sída, sída*,"[12] and to other more forcible actions.

In a large house, with such a conglomeration of human beings, it is obvious that an impression of confusion is made upon the visitor. The performance of the various culinary operations by the women, the various employments in which the men are engaged, making arrows, fish traps, etc., the romping of the children, all these tend to heighten the impression. But the Manóbo goes on with his work, tranquil in the midst of it all, savoring his conversation with incessant quids of betel nut or tobacco.

The Manóbo has not yet come to a knowledge of the various microbes and parasites that are liable to undermine the foundations of health, so that the sanitary condition of his house is not such as would pass a modern inspection. Both men and women are inveterate chewers of betel nut and tobacco, and, instead of using a spittoon, they expectorate the saliva through the interstices of the floor or anywhere that they may find convenient, thereby tinging the floor and walls a bright red. As the Manóbo broom is a most crude affair made out of a few twigs, it does not remove all the remains of the meals as they lie spread over the floor. The peelings of sugarcane, the skin of bananas and of other fruits, the remains of rattan, and such other refuse as may be the result of the various occupations that take place in the house are all strewn around the floor and frequently are not removed for a considerable length of time.

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[11] *Ipomoea batatas.*

[12] An exclamation to drive away a dog.

In the preparation and cooking of food a considerable amount of water falls necessairly under the house which, together with the excreta of the inmates and the other refuse, animal and vegetable, produces a somewhat unfavorable appearance and sometimes an unpleasant odor.

There is no drainage, artificial or natural and no means are provided for the removal of the ordure, unless it be the services of the scavenger pigs, who busy themselves as soon as they become aware of the presence of refuse. The effluvium, however, usually does not reach the inmates unless the house is very low.

As the smoke outlets are comparatively remote from the fireplace, it is obvious that the smoke does not make a rapid exit, but wreathes up among the beams and rafters thereby blackening them out of all semblance to wood. The underside of the thatch, especially those portions above the fire, receives a goodly coating of soot which, mixed with the greasy emanations from the pots, assumes a lustrous black.

Another matter that tends to give the house an air and feeling of uncleanliness is the host of small insects, presumably a species of cockroach, that infest the thatch, and, notwithstanding the volume of smoke that at times almost suffocates the inmates, swarm down into the baskets used for provisions and for other things. These multitudinous insects seem to flourish on the rattan vine especially, and no means are known whereby to exterminate them. Ants, especially the white ant, pay frequent visits to the house, but the worst scourge of all is the ravenous bedbug. This unpleasant insect is found under the joists just beneath the floor laths, but in greatest numbers under those parts of the floor that are continually used as sleeping places, and in the hammocks. Occasionally an effort is made to scrape them out, but they are so cunning in concealing themselves and breed with such rapidity that efforts to get rid of them are unavailing.

The presence of vermin on the bodies of the Manóbos is due to the lack of soap and of washing facilities. But, if questioned, these primitive people will inform you, that the vermin are *natural growths or excretions proceeding from the inside.*[13] It is for this reason that no shame is exhibited in removing publicly the pests from the clothes or from the hair. Owing to the custom of the people of huddling together during the night these insects are propagated from one individual to another, so that it is seldom that the Manóbo is free from them

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[13] I found this belief to be almost universal in eastern Mindanáo.

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CHAPTER VI

DRESS

GENERAL REMARKS

DELICACY IN EXPOSURE OF THE PERSON

Like all tribes of eastern Mindanáo, Manóbos, both men and women, wear sufficient clothes to cover the private parts of the body. Children up to the age of 5 or 6 years may go without clothes, but female children commonly wear a triangular pubic shield[1] of coconut shell, suspended by a waist string. Men, though they may denude themselves completely when bathing, always conceal their pudenda from one another's gaze.

Married and elderly women may occasionally expose the upper part of their persons, but unmarried girls seldom do so. No delicacy is felt in exposing the breasts during the suckling of a babe.

VARIETY IN QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF CLOTHES

The quantity and quality of clothes worn varies slightly in different localities. The farther away from settlements the people live, the poorer and less elaborate is the dress, due to their inability to obtain the imported cloth and cotton yarn, for which they entertain a high preference. On the upper Agúsan, where the Manóbos have adopted a certain amount of Mandáya culture, their apparel partakes of the more gorgeous character of that of the Mandáya. In places where they are of Mañgguáñgan descent, as is often the case on the upper Agúsan, on the Mánat, on the upper Ihawán and tributaries, and on the upper Sálug, their clothes resemble those of their poor progenitors. In the middle Agúsan (including the Wá-wa, Kasiláian, lower Argáwan, lower Umaíam, lower Ihawán, Híbung, and Simúlau Rivers) the dress may be called characteristically Manóbo.

THE USE OF BARK CLOTH

The use of bark cloth[2] in a region situated somewhere between the headwaters of the Libagánon and the Sábud, a western tributary of the Ihawán, was reported to me. My informants, both on the Sálug River and on the Umaíam River, spoke of the people of that locality as *true Manóbos*, very dark in color, and wearing bark clothes. If this report is correct, and I am inclined to give credence to it, it is probably the only case at the present time of the use of bark cloth in Mindanáo, excepting perhaps among the Manánuas.

DRESS AS AN INDICATION OF RANK

There are no characteristic dresses by which the rank or profession of the wearer is indicated except that of the warrior chief. Female priests very frequently may be distinguished by a prodigality of charms, talismans, and girdle pendants, as also by a profuseness of embroidery on the jacket, but such lavishness is not necessarily an infallible sign of their rank as priestesses but rather of their wealth. Neither is it a mark of their unmarried condition, for in Manóboland, as in other parts of the world, the maiden loves to display her person to good advantage and for that reason decks herself with all the finery of which she may be the possessor.

Slaves may be recognized by the wretchedness of their clothes.

DRESS IN GENERAL

The man's dress invariably consists of long loose trousers or of close-fitting breeches, and of a moderately tight-fitting, buttonless jacket. These two articles of dress are supplemented by a bamboo hat, a betel-nut knapsack, and by such adornments in the shape of beads, and other things, as the man may have been able to acquire.

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[1] *Pú-ki.*

[2] *A-ga-hán.*

The woman's dress consists almost invariably of a close-fitting, buttonless jacket with red body and black sleeves. Her skirt is a double sacklike garment made out of *abaká* fiber. A girdle of braided human hair or of braided vegetable fiber holds this coarse dress in place. A selection of beads, shells, and herbs hang from this girdle at the right side. A comb in the hair, a pair of ear disks in the ears, a few necklets, and frequently leglets, complete the apparel. The children's clothing is a duplicate of that of their respective parents on a smaller and less elaborate scale.

PREFERENTIAL COLORS IN DRESS

In the matter of color a decided preference is shown for red, yellow, white, and dark blue. This is not so exacting in the case of beads, which are purchased indiscriminately, but even in these I am of the opinion that if there were a choice in the supply, the above-mentioned colors would be preferred.

The Manóbo, then, is not encumbered with all the weight and variety of modern modes and fashions. Shoes, slippers, and hose are not a part of his apparel. Blankets and other articles for protection against cold are not to be found in his wardrobe. In the house and out of the house, by night and by day, in peace and in war, his dress is the same, one suit for every day usage and one for festal occasions and for visits.

THE MAN'S DRESS

HATS AND HEADKERCHIEFS

The hat worn on the Ihawán, upper Agúsan, and upper Simúlau resembles that worn by Mandáyas. It is made out of two pieces of bamboo,[3] dried over the fire into the desired shape, and is held together by two slender strips of rattan running around and stitched to the edges of the headpiece proper. These pieces project backward and overlap to form the tail of the hat. The upper surface of the whole hat is then painted with beeswax. The sustaining pieces of rattan around the rim and the under surface of the back part receive a heavy coating of this same material mixed with pot black. Odd tracings and dottings of beeswax and soot or of the juice of a certain tree [4] serve to decorate the whole upper surface; small seed beads, usually white, are often sewed around the rim in a single row and at slight intervals, or are sewed on the top, especially around the conical peak. Little tufts of cotton are sometimes dotted over the top, and occasionally one finds the emerald green wings of a beetle [5] placed in the seams on top. All of these devices serve to enhance the beauty of the headpiece.

A notable feature of the hat is five or six tail plumes of a domestic rooster. These are set upright in small holes in the back part of the hat and are held in place by lumps of beeswax placed at the ends of the quills, which protrude through the bamboo. It is needless to say that the most gaudy plumes are selected for this purpose. They enhance in no small degree the elegant appearance of the hat. These plumes curve very gracefully indeed, and nod in unison with every movement of the wearer.

The hat is held on the head by two strings made either of braided imported cotton of the typical colors, of *abaká* fiber of the same colors, of vegetable fiber, or of slender slips of rattan. These two strings, often strung with beads, are attached at both ends of the hat and are sufficiently loose to permit the head of the wearer to be inserted between them. A further adornment may consist of two or more beaded pendants that may be tipped with tassels of imported cotton of the preferential colors.

The hat, on the whole, is serviceable, economical, and cool, and serves to set off its wearer to good advantage and to protect his hair from the rain. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the decorative tracings and appanages on the hat have no other significance than that of personal adornment.

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[3] *Caña bojo.*

[4] *Ka-yú-ti.*

[5] Called *dú-yau.*

A second form of head covering, in use in the parts of the Agúsan River Valley not mentioned above, as also among the Manóbos of the Pacific coast,[6] is circular. It is made of the sago palm or of bamboo. It varies in diameter between 25 and 35 centimeters and has the shape of a low broad cone. The edges, like those of the hat already described, are reinforced with rattan painted with a mixture of beeswax and pot black for preserving the rattan against atmospheric influences. No paint is applied to the sago sheath, but the beeswax is applied to the bamboo as a preservative against cracking. Neither are any decorative incisions or tracings used in this form of hat, it being primarily and essentially for protection against sun and rain. Two parallel strips of rattan fastened at the ends of a diagonal serve to hold the hat in position on the head.

A noteworthy feature of this hat is that within the area mentioned above, it is frequently worn by women. I know of no other headdress that is employed by the female members of the Manóbo, Mandáya, and Debabáon tribes.[7]

Besides the headkerchief,[8] worn universally by warrior chiefs [9] and recognized warriors [10] throughout all tribes in eastern Mindanáo, a kerchief [11] bound round the head is very often worn by Manóbos of the Argáwan and Umaíam Rivers.

THE JACKET

In general the jacket is close-fitting, square-cut, and closed. It has long sleeves and a tongue-shaped opening for the head extending from the neck downward in front. Ordinarily the jacket is scarcely long enough to reach the top of the trousers. It is not rare to find a narrow strip of cloth of a color different from the rest of the jacket inserted between the sleeves and body of the garment or running down the waist between the two pieces that form the body. This sidepiece in the jacket of men and women serves to give the desired width to the garment and the variation in color secured by it is regarded as an addition to the general ornamental effect. The jacket is embroidered more or less elaborately according to the skill of the embroiderer and the amount of imported cotton yarn available. This embroidery is done on the back from shoulder to shoulder in a band from 4 to 6 centimeters broad, and in continuous narrow lines around the neck opening, along the seams between the sleeves and body of the garment, on the lower parts of the sleeves, around the waist at the bottom of the garment, and down the arm at the joining of the sleeves; in a word, over all seams.

In the central portion of the Agúsan Valley and on the Pacific coast, the most common form of jacket is made of unstained *abaká* fiber cut like the one just described. It has, however, inwoven in the cloth, horizontal parallel lines of dark-blue yarn on the back and the upper part of the front. These dark-blue bands are set at intervals from each other and usually amount to from six to nine lines in number. Tufts of cotton in a continuous recurrence of red, yellow, and dark blue, without any interstices, cover all the seams. If there is any embroidery, it is upon the lower part of the sleeves, on that part of the jacket that covers the back of the neck, and along the seams between the sleeves and the body of the jacket. The distribution of this style of garment is very wide. I have seen it on the Tágo River (Pacific coast), on the upper Umaíam, Argáwan, Kasilaían, and Simúlau Rivers.

On the upper Agúsan, including the upper Bahaí-an, Ihawán, and Baóbo Rivers, a style that resembles the Mandáya is most frequently to be seen. The jacket is made of a gauze-like *abaká* cloth dyed black, or preferably of black or blue imported cloth. One frequently finds, for ornamental purposes, just above the wrists or between the sleeves and the body of the jacket, or down the waist between the main pieces of the garment, thin strips of white cloth inserted. Usually there is no embroidery as such, the previously described alternating tufts of cotton yarn covering all, or nearly all, the seams. When, however, it is desired and it is feasible to adorn the garment with embroidery, the back of the jacket from shoulder to shoulder, the space along the shoulder seams and the back and front of the sleeves are selected for this prupose. Bands 5 to 7 centimeters in breadth of more or less intricate pattern are embroidered in these places, with much patient labor and no little skill. It is needless to say that the ordinary colors, with a predominance of red, are used.

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[6] The Manóbos of the Pacific coast inhabit the upper waters of the Kantílan, Tándag, Tágo, Marihátag, Húbo, Bislig, and Liñgig Rivers.

[7] The Manóbos of the lower Agúsan, inhabiting the towns of San Vicente, Amparo, San Mateo, Las Nieves, and surrounding regions are not referred to here. The Debabáons are looked upon as forming a separate tribe till further investigation.

[8] *Tá-bang.*

[9] *Ba-gá-ni.*

[10] *Man-ik-í-ad.*

[11] *Pó-dung.*

THE LOWER GARMENT

The lower garment is of two kinds, one being a short, close-fitting garment made out of either undyed *abaká* fiber with a woof of native cotton or of imported blue cloth. This garment resembles closely the ordinary bathing tights. It is the working breeches of the Manóbo and makes no pretense of being ornamental. The white or undyed form is the more common.

The other kind of lower garment worn by the men may be called trousers, though they reach only about halfway between the knees and the ankles. They are square-legged and baggy, made of undyed *abaká* fiber or of *abaká* fiber with a woof of cotton, both undyed. Whenever it is obtainable, imported blue cloth is used. The two legs of the trousers are each about 65 centimeters long by 24 centimeters broad and are joined together by a triangular piece of cloth. These trousers are worn on festive and other occasions that require a display of personal dignity.

The decoration of the trousers consists usually of fringes of imported cotton attached to all the seams except those around the waist. When it is considered desirable to make a more showy garment, embroidery of cotton yarn is added to the ends of the legs and to the part that covers the sides of the calves. The designs used depend on whether the wearer is of the central or of the upper Agúsan group.

THE GIRDLE

Around the waist of the garment is a hem through which passes a drawstring or girdle usually of braided *abaká* fiber dyed in the usual colors, with dependent extremities and tassels of imported cotton, also in the preferential colors. On the upper Agúsan one finds at times beads and even small bells added to the tassels. These are allowed to hang down in front.

The method of fastening the girdle is by the ordinary method of tieing, or by another simple method, which consists in attaching near one end of the drawstring the operculum of a shell said to be found in the forests. At the other end of the girdle is a loop large enough to admit the operculum, which on being slipped into this loop retains the garment in position.

THE BETEL-NUT KNAPSACK[12]

The knapsack is such an omnipresent, indispensable object that it may be considered a part of Manóbo raiment. It is a rectangular bag, on an average approximately 30 by 25 centimeters, with a drawstring for closing it. This string is nearly always of multicolored braided *abaká* fiber, and is a continuation of the strings by which the knapsack is suspended on the back from the shoulders, so that when it is carried in that position the mouth of it is always closed. The cloth of which it is made is the usual undyed *abaká* cloth, though among the upper Agúsan group one finds in use blue imported cloth or, perhaps more frequently, Mandáya cloth,[13] imported especially for knapsacks.

The decoration consists of embroidery, more or less extensive, of the type that is characteristic of the wearer's group and which corresponds to that of his dress, if the dress is decorated. Tassels of imported cotton at the extremities of the drawstrings, and perhaps pendants of small seeds, or beads, usually white, together with cotton fringes in proper colors, enhance the beauty of the knapsack. As a rule, however, among the Manóbos of regions remote from Christian settlements, one finds little attempt at decoration, either of the dress or of the knapsack. A few fringes of cotton yarn and a little ornamental stitchwork are about the only display attempted. This lack of decoration is due not only to the fact that they have little cotton yarn, but also to lack of ability on the part of the women. The latter fact might lead the observer to conclude that the art of embroidery and cloth decoration originated outside the tribe.

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[12] *Pú-yó.*

[13] Called *gú-au.*

THE WOMAN'S DRESS

THE JACKET

The great distinguishing mark of a woman's dress is the difference in color between the body of the upper garment, which is almost invariably red, and the sleeves, which must always be of a different color. Should the body be made of black cloth, then the sleeves are always of red. And if the sleeves are of black, blue, or white, then the body must be of red.

Another differentiating feature of the woman's jacket is that the cuffs, if they may be so called, are generally of the color of the body of the garment, and that the pieces often inserted between the main parts of the body and extending vertically down the sides from the armpits are of the same color, and, if possible, of the same material as the upper parts of the sleeves. These two points, together with the more extensive and elaborate embroidery, serve to distinguish the woman's upper garment from the man's.

In the regions which I visited the styles of jackets may be reduced to two, the more elaborate types of which are as follows:

The upper Agúsan style.—On the upper Agúsan, on the Ihawân (excepting on its western tributaries), and on the Bahaían, the woman's jacket partakes of the style and characteristics of that of the Mandáya. In shape it is not different from that of the man, but is more close-fitting, especially the sleeves, which may be compared to a long cylinder. Lines of cotton yarn in alternating colors cover and adorn the seams and the oval-shaped opening for the neck, but are not found on the bottom of the jacket. Embroidery of skillful and intricate design, in bands about 5 or 6 centimeters wide, adorns the garment on the back from shoulder to shoulder and around the seam at which the sleeves are joined to the body of the jacket.

This garment is made out of either gauzelike *abaká* cloth of native weaving, dyed either red or black, or it is of imported European cloth obtained by barter. Sometimes it is a combination of the two, when enough imported cloth has not been obtained.

The style of the central group.—The main differences between this style and that just described are that the latter is more loosely cut in the body and sleeves, is more profusely embroidered, and has a longitudinal cut in the cuffs for the admission of the hands. One finds, too, but only very occasionally, a type of jacket in which the sleeves are white and the body black.

The embroidery may be so profuse that it covers not only the lower halves of the sleeves and the back of the neck, but the whole front of the garment.

THE GIRDLE AND ITS PENDANTS

The girdle may be a mere braided cord of *abaká* fiber often mixed with strands of cotton yarn, but more commonly it is a series of braided cords of *nito*,[14] or of human hair. The girdle is made by braiding the *nito* or the hair into circular cords, each about 45 centimeters in length and about 2 millimeters in width. Anywhere from 10 to 20 of these braids are fastened together by involving the ends in small pieces of cloth wrapped with cotton yarn of the preferential colors.

To one end of this girdle is attached a numerous array of beads, shells, and charms. To the other is attached a braided *abaká* cord, also variegated with the proper colors, which enables the wearer to fasten and tighten the girdle. One frequently sees white seed beads in greater or less quantity strung on each cord of this form of belt.

The pendants are a very noticeable feature of the girdle. Hung from the right side they present to the eye anything but a pleasing effect. Bundles of white scented grass, about 5 centimeters long by 1 centimeter in diameter, that have dried to a semblance of hay, detract most from the appearance of the wearer. The whole mass of pendants is a tangle of divers objects, the quantity of which depends upon the good fortune of the wearer. The following are the objects that may be found among these pendants: Large hawk bells, seldom exceeding six in number and ordinarily not more than three; bunches of odorous grass, amounting sometimes to as much as eight in number; the red seed of the *ma-gu-bai* tree; small shells, especially cowry shells, picked up, it is said, in the forest; the pods of the *ta-bí-gi* tree, one or more, used for carrying incense[15] for religious purposes; odoriferous seeds and roots [16] cut up small and strung on *abaká* filaments with such beads as the wearer may not desire to use, because of their color or shape, for the ornamentation of other parts of his body.

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[14] *Lygodium circinnatum* sp.

The purpose of these various objects is, to all appearances, to ornament the person and to impart a fragrance to the wearer. In this last respect the redolent herbs and seeds admirably fulfill their purpose. But many of these objects serve other ends, medicinal and religious. I took no little pains in investigating this point, but the replies to my inquiries were at times so indeterminate, at others so varied, and so contradictory that I can not make any definite statement; but I am strongly inclined to believe, for sundry reasons, that both medicinal and magic powers are attributed to many of the innocent-looking objects that go to make up the girdle pendants.

THE SKIRT

The Manóbo woman is not encumbered with all the wearing apparel of more cultured tribes. She vests herself with the simple sacklike skirt of good strong *abaká* cloth, durable, and admirably suited to her manner of life.

As the cloth comes from the loom it is in one long rectangular piece (3.6 meters by 90 centimeters more or less). It is cut in two and the ends of each of the two pieces are sewed together, so that two bottomless sacks are made. These two sacks are then joined together, thus forming one long rectangular garment, which by night serves for blanket, sheet, and frequently mosquito bar, and by day for a skirt. When used as a skirt, it is folded over in such a way that it resembles two sacks, one inside the other. As it is considerably larger than the person of the wearer it must be drawn to one side, always the left, and tucked in. The lower part of the garment on the left side bulges out so far that it makes the woman's figure ungraceful in appearance.

From the dimensions given above it follows that the dress does not reach much below the knees, a salutary arrangement, indeed, for one whose occupations lead her through the slush of forest trails and the grime of farming life.

There are two types of skirt in common use; first, the type that is of purely Manóbo manufacture, and, second, the type that is imported from the Mandâyas of southeastern Mindanáo.

The purely Manóbo type is distinguished by its simplicity and absence of elaborate design. Alternating bands of red and black, with dividing lines of white, all running longitudinally along the warp, and inwoven, are the only effort at beauty of design.

The second form of skirt is that imported from the Mandâyas or purchased, whenever obtainable, from Bisáya traders or, on the upper Agúsan, from trafficking intermediaries. It is striking with what appreciation the Manóbo regards this article. A Manóbo from the Argâwan and Umaíam will travel over to Hinatuán, a journey of three or four days, to procure a piece of Mandáya skirt cloth. He values it above the costliest pieces of European fabric that he has seen. The Manóbo woman upon seeing a fine specimen dances with joy, and is long and loud in her praise of it. No value is too high for such a specimen and no sacrifice too great to purchase it.

The explanation of this high regard in which Mandâya cloth is held is simple. The cloth is made, I was habitually assured by Manóbos, *by enchantment*, under the direction of the priestesses in the lofty mountain fastnesses of Mandâyaland.[17] No other explanation will satisfy the credulous Manóbo. He can not possibly understand how the fanciful and elegant designs on Mandâya cloth can be produced by other than supernatural means.

The cloth as it comes from the loom is of practically the same size as Manóbo cloth and it is made into the form of a skirt in identically the same way. The only difference is that the Mandâya fabric is heavier and has a beautiful inwoven pattern.

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[15] Called *pa-li-na.* It is obtained by tapping the *ma-gu-baí* tree.

[16] The following are the native names of the roots and plants seen by the writer: *ta-bó*, the seed of a plant which looks like a sweet potato; *sá-i*, a helmet-shaped seed of a tree of the same name; *kú-su*, the root of a leguminous plant; *ma-gu-baí*, the bright red seed of a tree of the same name. It is interesting to note that this same seed is used for the eyes of sacred images. *Ḳa-bis-da'* and *ko-mûd-la* are also made use of.

[17] I have covered nearly the whole of the Mandâya country and can testify to the numerous religious practices and restrictions connected with the fabrication of the cloth.

A minute description of the patterns would be needlessly lengthy and necessarily deficient. In general, it may be said that the designs are executed in longitudinal panels, of which there are several lateral and one central, all of which run parallel and warpwise. The main figures are four, two grotesquely suggestive of a crocodile but more nearly portraying a turtle, and two that delineate the fanciful figure of a woman. The intermediate parts of the panels consist of reticulations whose general design depends upon the skill and whim of the weaver.[18]

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[18] The cloth is classified (1) according to the color of the woof threads (*pu-gáu-a*) into *kan-ai-yum* (black) and *lin-í-ba* (red); (2) according to the design on the central panel—*ím-pis no laí-ag* if it is 25 centimeters wide, *bin-a-ga-kis* if the central panel is no wider than the lateral ones; (3) according to the use of narrow (*sin-ák-lit*) or of broad (*pin-al-áw-an*) white stripes; (4) according to the locality in which the cloth is manufactured, the most famous and most prized cloth being called *ban-a-háw-an*, which proceeds from the Banahâwan district in the Kasaúman River Valley in the southeastern part of Mindanáo. The *Mañg-á-gan* type is highly esteemed for being very similar in design and dye effects to the Banahâwan. It is made by the *Tagabuztai* group of Mandâyas in the Karága River Valley.

CHAPTER VII

PERSONAL ADORNMENT

GENERAL REMARKS

The adornment of the person is confined almost exclusively to women so that the following observations apply principally to them. In the discussion of bodily mutilations reference will be made to such permanent adornment as tattooing, perforation and elongation of the ear lobes, superciliary and axillary depilation, grinding of the teeth, and the blackening of the teeth and lips—all of which, with the exception of the elongation of the ear lobes, are common to both men and women.

The finger nails of both sexes are sedulously clipped, not even thumb-nails being allowed to grow long. This may be due to the fact that these latter are not required for playing the guitar, nor for gambling with cards, in which occupations they prove a valuable aid to the Bisáya of the Agúsan Valley.

HAIR AND HEAD ADORNMENT

CARE AND ORNAMENTATION OF THE HEAD

With the exception of the Manóbos of the far upper reaches of the Argáwan, Umaíam, and Sábud Rivers, whom I did not visit, and of Manóbos who live in settlements and may have adopted the hairdressing methods of Bisáyas, one mode of dressing the hair is almost invariably in use by both men and women. The hair is parted in a straight line over the cranium from ear to ear. The front division is then combed forward over the forehead where it is banged square from ear to ear in the plane of and parallel to the superciliary ridges. The back division is combed back, and after being twisted into a compact mass, is tied in a chignon upon the crown of the head. The knot is a single bow, which from our standpoint is not very prepossessing.

In men the chignon is usually lower, being about half way between the crown and the nape of the neck.

One occasionally sees two locks of hair left hanging down in front of the ears to the level of the jaws. This fashion is not very prevalent even on the upper Agúsan, and is probably adopted from the Mandáyas.

No fillets, flowers, garlands nor any other ornamentation are ever used on the hair. Coconut oil, if obtainable, is used, but the meat of the coconut, rasped or chopped into small particles, is preferred, whenever it can be obtained. As a wash for the hair, wild lemons, the seed of an uncommon tree whose name has escaped my memory, and the bark of a tree, are used sporadically. I can not laud the condition of the hair. Notwithstanding the fact that a crude bamboo comb with close-set teeth is made use of, the vermin are never eliminated.

On occasions the hair of children is cut for the purpose of promoting its growth, and the hair of female slaves is often cut as a punishment. With these exceptions, the hair is never cut, being left with all the profusion which nature gives it.

COMBS

An ornamental comb is always worn by women. It consists of a segment of bamboo, 7 or 8 centimeters long and 5 centimeters high, curved while still green and made to retain its shape by a slip of bamboo fastened into two holes on the concave side. The teeth are whittled out and the upper part and sides are cut into the characteristic shape seen in Plate 9. On the front or convex side of the comb are ornamental incisions the style and variety of which depend upon the caprice and adeptness of the fashioner. Skeat and Blagden[1] quote an authority who asserts that the tribes of the Malay Peninsula attribute magic properties to the decorative incisions on their combs. Following out this idea, the writer made numerous inquiries in the Agúsan Valley as to the existence of a similar or of an analogous attribution but found none. According to all reports these patterns are purely esthetic in their character, with no magic or other attributes. The fact that among the Manóbos of the upper Agúsan in the vicinity of Veruéla, one finds combs without incised work and among the Manóbos of Argáwan, Umaíam, and Kasilaían one occasionally sees combs with circular, square, and triangular pieces of mother-of-pearl inlaid, is an indication of the absence of the aforesaid belief. In fact, combs of the last-mentioned type seem to be more highly prized than the plain incised bamboo ones, a fact due probably to the scarcity of mother-of-pearl. Another point that goes to bear out the above statement is the fact that no reluctance is displayed in parting with a comb, no matter how intricate or unusual may be its incisions.

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[1] Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula.

On the upper Agúsan it is not rare to find combs that have a band of beaten silver with a fretwork pattern laid across the convex part above the teeth. These combs, however, are imported from the Debabáons of Moncáyo or from the composite group living farther up the river. The writer knows of no Manóbo silversmith.

No hairpins nor other means of fastening the hair are made use of, neither are any dyes nor other materials used to alter its color.

EAR DISKS

Another ornament found on the Manóbo woman's head is the ear disk. This is a disk of wood [2] about 3 centimeters in diameter, and 6 millimeters wide, with a small groove around the edge in which rests the edge of the ear perforation. When the wearer has been lucky enough to get a thin lamina of silver or of gold [3] it is fastened on the outside of the wooden disk by means of a few strands of imported cotton yarn nearly always red. The yarn passes through a hole in the lamina and in the disk, a little tuft being left over the hole. These metal plates have usually stellate edges and are often decorated with a simple chiseled pattern. They are rare except on the upper Agúsan where there are Debabáon and Mandáya smiths. In lieu of gold and silver, a lamina made out of beaten brass wire answers the purpose.

On the upper Agúsan both men and women suspend four strings of beads from each ear, when the dignity of the occasion requires it. These strings are about 30 centimeters long and have colored cotton tassels at the ends. Both these tassels and the strings of beads are of the preferred colors, red, white, black, and yellow. I am inclined to think that this custom is also of Mandáya origin. Occasionally one or two buttons [4] are worn in the ear lobes of men on the upper Agúsan. This practice seems to have been adopted from the Mandáyas.

NECK AND BREAST ORNAMENTS

The number of necklets and necklaces worn depends on the wealth of the wearer or on her good fortune in having been able to secure a supply of beads. The components of the necklace are principally beads with alternating odoriferous seeds or pieces of seeds. Here and there a small shell may be added, or a larger bead, or a crocodile tooth. The writer has seen worn coils of beads with small shells, seeds, and crocodile teeth, that must have weighed at least 2 kilograms. Such an array as this is not worn every day but is reserved for occasions of religious or secular festivity and for times when the possessor feels bound to make an unusual display. The seeds worn are the same as those that form part of the girdle—pendants, above described.

It may not be out of place here to note the fondness displayed by the feminine portion of the tribe for perfumes. This is characteristic of all the peoples of eastern Mindanáo with whom I have been in contact. Though medicinal and magic virtues are attributed, perhaps, to these odorous seeds, yet their fragrance is also undoubtedly a determining factor in the choice of them.

In the color of the beads used the Manóbo is restricted by the character of the supply, but it may be said that where he has his choice he selects red, yellow, black, and white. He prefers the small seed bead, but likes to have a few large beads to place at recurring intervals.

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[2] Usually of *ku-li-pá-pa*.

[3] Gold laminæ are very rare and are seldom parted with. They are highly valued heirlooms. The silver lamina is beaten out of a piece of silver money.

[4] Ordinary undershirt buttons.

Necklets are occasionally worn. They consist of bands of beads, arranged symmetrically according to color in geometrical figures—a triangle of yellow beads, a rectangle of black ones, or other patterns. This necklet is usually about 2 centimeters broad and long enough to fit the neck tightly. It is fastened at the back by a button and usually has a single string of beads depending from it and lying upon the back. Men may wear this necklet, but its use by them is very infrequent. They, however, occasionally wear a necklace from which to suspend the hair eradicator. I observed this only on the upper Agúsan, and, as it is an ordinary Mandâya practice I suppose that the custom is borrowed—another indication of the influence of Mandáya culture on the Manóbos of the upper Agúsan. The eradicator is a small pair of tweezers made, ordinarily, out of a piece of beaten brass wire bent double and having inturned edges.

The only breast ornament, besides tattooing on the skin and embroidery on the jacket, is the silver plaque or disk worn nearly always by unmarried women and frequently by others. The wearing of these disks is a custom practiced only on the upper Agúsan, Ihawán, and Simúlau Rivers, and is without doubt of Mandâya origin. The plaque is a large thin sheet of beaten silver varying from 7 to 10 centimeters in diameter. It is of Debabâon or of Mandâya workmanship. It has a pattern of concentric circles and other symmetrical figures traced upon it, together with a fretwork of small triangular holes. The more elaborate ones display an amount of artistic skill that gives the Mandâya [5] the high reputation that he has in eastern Mindanáo as a man of superior attainments.

ARM AND HAND ORNAMENTATION

Men wear on one or both upper arms black bands of braided *nito*. These are about 1½ centimeters in breadth and are braided into one continuous piece of such a size as to fit the arm tightly. The writer has seen many that fitted so closely that they caused sores. They are, besides being distinctly ornamental, designed to serve another purpose, for they are supposed to impart strength to the muscles.

Men often wear, on one or both wrists, one or more vegetable ligatures plaited in one continuous piece. These are of a jet black glossy color when made of the *ág-sam* [6] vine. They are rectangular in cross section, being about 6 millimeters by 6 millimeters. They must be moistened to make the filaments expand so that the wearer can pass them over his hands on the wrist. On drying they contract to the size of the wrist. Women often wear a few of these with their forearm ornaments.

Crude rings, round or flat, more commonly beaten out of brass wire or of copper money, but occasionally made of silver money and still less occasionally of carabao horn, adorn in greater or less number the fingers of both men and women.

The forearm adornments of women are more numerous and elaborate than those of men. Besides the vegetable circlets described above, segments of the black coral plant,[7] cut into palm lengths and bent into rings by heating, are worn on either or both arms, though, in case of an insufficient supply, the left arm is adorned in preference to the right. These marine ringlets are not solely for purposes of ornamentation, for a magic influence is attributed to them, at least by the Manóbos of the upper Agúsan. They are thought to contract and grip, as it were, the wearer's arm on the approach and in the presence of danger. Hence they are greatly prized but are comparatively rare. This is due to the difficulty of obtaining the plant as it grows in deep water where the danger from sharks deters the native divers.

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[5] Mandâyaland produces nearly all the lances, spears, bolos, daggers, and artistic cloth used by the Manóbos throughout eastern Mindanâo. Outside of a few silversmiths among the Debabâons, and a few among the hybrid group occupying the upper Agúsan from Gerona to Tagaúnud, the Mandâya smiths are the only ones that are skilled in silverwork.

[6] Both *pug-nút* and *ág-sam* are species of *nito* (*Lygodium* sp.).

[7] Called *sag-ai-ság-ai* in Manóbo and *baná-ug* in Bisâya (*Antipatharia* sp.).

The whorl of a sea shell,[8] ground and polished into white heavy rings, whose cross section is an isosceles triangle, form a very common forearm adornment for women on the upper Agúsan. Sometimes as many as five of these are worn, ordinarily on the left arm. The weight of a full equipment of shell bracelets may amount to at least a kilo. The use of such cumbrous adornments is confined to festal occasions except in the case of unmarried maidens, who nearly always wear them. These shell bracelets with the black alternating rings of sea coral are very becoming indeed, as they tend, by the contrast of jet black and marble white, to set off the color of the skin to advantage.

It is noticeable that as one approaches the Mandáya country, the similarity in dress and personal adornment to that of the Mandáyas becomes more apparent. This is true on the upper Simúlau, Agúsan, and Ihawán, another indication of the influence of Mandáya culture on the Manóbo. Hence in those regions one finds forms of bracelets that are typical of Mandáya adornment. Thus bands of beaten brass wire, 1 centimeter broad approximately, are seen occasionally. Also flat braided bands of jungle fiber covered with white beads are sometimes used. On one occasion the writer saw a hollow circular brass bangle into which a piece of lead had been inserted, and which with every movement of the arm produced a tinkling sound.

In the central Agúsan region and among the Manóbos of the Pacific coast, one finds the use of a small whorl of a sea shell[9] as a bracelet but its use is uncommon, especially on the Pacific side. This is due to the fact that only an occasional shell has made its way into the country. In these regions the Manóbo is particularly poor in arm adornments.

KNEE AND ANKLE ADORNMENTS

Men, especially unmarried ones, often wear on one or both legs just below the knee a ligature similar in every respect to that worn on the upper arms. Its purpose, too, is twofold, to strengthen, and, at the same time, to adorn the legs. On the upper Agúsan one sees beads sewn on these bands.

Women have similar ligatures on one or both legs just above the ankles. They are worn for decorative purposes, but it is said by some that they are a sign of virginity and that upon marriage it costs the husband the value of one slave to remove them. But the fact that married women occasionally wear them seems to contradict this statement.

Women wear at festal periods and especially during dances a few rings[10] of stout brass wire some 6 millimeters in diameter. The rings are large enough to allow the foot to be passed through them, hence they hang loosely at the ankles. In number they rarely exceed two to each leg. During a dance they tintillate to the jingling of the hawk bells that depend from the girdle and are considered highly ornamental.

BODY MUTILATIONS

GENERAL REMARKS

The purpose of most body mutilations among the Manóbos is ornamentation. The one exception is circumcision which will be discussed later.

Scarification is nowhere practiced in eastern Mindanáo except among the Mamánuas. In 1905 I came in contact with several Mamánuas of the upper Tágo River (within the jurisdiction of Tándag, Province of Surigáo) and noticed that they had cicatrices on the breast and arms. I concluded that the scars were due to the practice of scarification. Inquiries since that time made among both Manóbos and Bisáyas have confirmed these conclusions. Head deformation is not practiced in eastern Mindanáo.

No painting of the body is resorted to other than the blackening of the lips with soot. To effect this a pot is taken from the fireplace and the bottom of it is dexterously passed across the lips, leaving a black coating that, with the fluid from the chewing quid made up of tobacco, lime, and *máu-mau* frequently becomes permanent till moistened by drinking. It is a strange sight to see a handsome Manóbo belle, decked out with beads and bells, or a dapper Manóbo dandy, take the *olla*, and darken the lips.

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[8] Tak-lo-bo (*Tridacna gigas*).

[9] Called *lá-gang*.

[10] *Dú-tus*.

No religious or magic significance is attributed to any of the following mutilations, nor are any religious or other celebrations performed in connection with them.

MUTILATION OF THE TEETH [11]

As the age of puberty approaches, both boys and girls have their teeth ground. The process is very simple but extremely painful, so much so that the operation can not be completed at one sitting. I think, however, that the painfulness of the process depends on the quality of the stone used, for the Mandáyas of the upper Karága River claim that there is a species of stone that does not cause much pain.

A piece of wood is inserted between the teeth to keep them apart. The operator, usually the father, then inserts a small flat piece of sandstone, such as is used for sharpening bolos, into the mouth and with a moderate motion grinds the upper and lower incisors to the gums. It is only the difficulty of reaching the molars that saves them, as the writer was informed. In all, 10 front teeth disappear, and a portion of 4 others. After filing, the teeth of the upper jaw appear convex and those of the lower, concave.

I estimate the minimum time necessary to grind the teeth to be from 3 to 6 hours, spread over a period varying from 3 to 10 days.

The patient displays more or less evidence of pain, according to his powers of endurance but is continually exhorted to be patient so that his mouth will not look like a dog's. This is the reason universally asserted for their objection to white, sharp teeth: "They look like a dog's."

After each grinding, the subject experiences sensitiveness in the gums and can not masticate hard food. When this sensitiveness is no longer felt, usually the following day, the grinding is resumed.

Blackening of the teeth is effected principally by the use of a plant called *máu-mau* which, besides being used as a narcotic, has the property of giving the teeth a rather black appearance. After being chewed, it is rubbed across the teeth. The juice of the skin is expressed into a quid of tobacco mixed with lime and pot black, the whole forming the inseparable companion of the Manóbo man, woman, and even child. It is a compound about the size of a small marble and is carried, until it loses its strength and flavor, between the upper lip and the upper gum, but projecting forward between the lips.

It is to be noted here that the primary object in the use of this combination is not the discoloration of the teeth. The compound is used mainly for the stimulating effects it produces, the pot-black being added as an ingredient in order to blacken the lips and so improve the personal appearance of the user of it. The quid is frequently carried behind the ear when circumstances require the use of the mouth for other purposes.

Another means that helps to stain the teeth is the constant use of betel nut and betel leaf mixed with lime, and, in certain localities, with tobacco.

MUTILATION OF THE EAR LOBES

The practice of mutilating the ear lobes [12] is universal and is not confined to either sex. It consists in piercing the ear lobes in one, two, or three places. This is done usually at an early age, with a needle. A thread of *abaká* fiber is then inserted and prevented from coming out by putting a tiny pellet of beeswax at each end. As soon as the wound heals, the perforation is enlarged in the case of a woman in the following manner: Small pieces of the rib of the rattan leaf are inserted at intervals of a couple of days until the hole is opened enough to receive larger pieces. When it has expanded sufficiently, a small spiral of grass, usually of *pandanus* [13] is inserted. This, by its natural tendency to expand, increases the size of the aperture until a larger spiral can be inserted.

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[11] *Há-sa-lo-ùnto.*

[12] *Tì-dáng.*

[13] *Bá-ul* (Bisáya, *ba-ló-ol*).

The opening is considered of sufficient size and beauty when it is about 2½ centimeters in diameter. In addition to this large aperture, which is located on the lower part of the lobulus, there may be two other small perforations about 1½ centimeters further up. These latter serve both in men and women for the attachment of small buttons, while the former is confined exclusively to women and serves for the insertion of ornamental ear disks.

DEPILATION

A beardless face is considered a thing of beauty, so that a systematic and constant eradication of the face hair is carried on by the Manóbo from the first moment that hair begins to appear upon his face. For this purpose he often has a pair of tweezers,[14] ordinarily made out of beaten brass wire, with which he systematically plucks out such straggling hairs as he may find upon his upper lip and on the chin, as well as the axillary hair. The pubic hair is not always eradicated. A small knife [15] is frequently employed as a razor, not only on the chin and upper lip but also for shaving the eyebrows. The removal of the last mentioned is a universal practice, for hair on the eyebrows is considered very ungraceful. Hence both sexes shave the eyebrows. leaving only a pencil line, or, in some districts, not even a trace of hair.

The hair on other parts of the body is not abundant and it is not customary to remove it.

TATTOOING [16]

After making an infinity of inquiries, I learned that tattooing is merely for the purpose of ornamentation. By a few I was given to understand that under the Spanish régimé, when killing and capturing was rife, the tattooing was for the purpose of the identification of a captive. It was customary to change the name of a captive, and as he was sold and resold, the only way to identify him was by his tattoo marks.

Be that as it may, the practice seems to have at present no further significance than that of ornamentation. No therapeutic nor magical nor ceremonial effects are associated with it. Neither is it symbolic of prowess, nor distinctive of family, place, nor person, for two persons from different localities and groups may have the same designs.

No particular age is required for the inception of the process, but from my observation, corroborated by general testimony, I believe it is performed usually from the age of puberty onwards.

The operator is nearly always a woman, or a so-called hermaphrodite,[17] who has acquired a certain amount of skill in embroidering. These professionals are not numerous, due, possibly, to the natural aversion felt by women for the sight of blood, as also to the fact that no remuneration is made for their services, though this last reason alone would not explain the paucity.

The process is very simple. A pigment is prepared by holding a plate or an *olla* over a burning torch [18] made of resin until enough soot has collected. Then without any previous drawing, the operator punctures, to a depth of approximately 2 millimeters, the part of the body that is to be tattooed. The blood that flows from these punctures is wiped off, usually with a bunch of leaves, and a portion of the soot from the resin is rubbed vigorously into the wounds with the hand of the operator.

The process occupies a variable length of time, depending on the skill of the operator and on the endurance and patience of the subject. It is painful, but no such manifestations of pain are made as in teeth grinding. The portion tattooed is sensitive for about 24 hours, but no other evil consequences, such as festering, etc., follow as far as my observations go.

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[14] *Pan-úm-pa'.*

[15] Called *ba-dí'* or *kám-pit.*

[16] *Pang-o-túb.*

[17] One meets occasionally among the peoples of eastern Mindanáo certain individuals who are known by a special name and who are reputed to be incapable of sexual intercourse. The individuals whom I saw were most feminine in their ways, preferring to keep the company of women and to indulge in womanly work rather than to associate with men.

[18] Saí-yung (*Canarium villosum*).

Without the aid of diagrams or pictures it is difficult to describe in an intelligible and comprehensive manner the numerous designs that are used in tattooing. Each locality may have its own distinct fashion, differing from the fashion prevalent in another region. And as the designs seem to be the result of individual whim and fancy it would be an almost endless task to describe all of them in detail. Suffice it to say in general that they follow in both nomenclature and in general appearance the figures embroidered on jackets, with the important addition of figures of a crocodile, and of stars and leaves, as is indicated by the names.[19]

The figures are neither intricate nor grotesque, but simple and plain, displaying a certain amount of artistic merit for so primitive and so remote a people. On close inspection they show up in good clear lines, but at a distance they appear as nothing but dim blue spots or blotches. For durability they can not be surpassed. No means are known whereby to eradicate them. I compared tattoo marks on old men with those on young men and I could not discern any difference in the brightness nor in the preservation of the design.

In men the portions of the body tattooed are the whole chest, the upper arms, the forearms, and the fingers. Women on the other hand, in addition to tattooings on those parts, receive an elaborate design on the calves, and sometimes on the whole leg.

CIRCUMCISION [20]

Unlike the four mutilations already described, circumcision is not for ornamental purposes. According to the Manóbo's way of thinking it serves a more utilitarian purpose, for it is supposed to be essential to the procreation of children. How such a belief first originated I have been unable to learn, but nevertheless the belief is universal, strong, and abiding. To be called uncircumcised is one of the greatest reproaches that can be thrown at a Manóbo, and it is said that he would stand no chance for marriage unless the operation had been performed; the womenfolk would laugh and jeer at him. So it may be said that the custom is obligatory.

The operation is performed a year or two before puberty. No ceremonies or feasts are held in connection with it. The father, or a male relative of the child, takes the small knife (*ba-dí'*) and placing it lengthwise over the lower part of the prepuce, makes a slit by hitting the back of the knife with a piece of wood or any convenient object at hand. It thus appears that it is not circumcision in the full meaning of the word but rather an incision. This operation is confined to males and is the only sexual mutilation practiced.

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[19] *Bin-u-á-ja*, (from *bu-wá-ja*, crocodile), *gin-i-bang* (from *gí-bang*, iguana) and *bin-ú-yo* (from *bú-jo'*, the betel leaf).

[20] *Tú-li'*.

CHAPTER VIII

ALIMENTATION

FIRE AND ITS PRODUCTION

The Manóbo is unable to explain the nature of fire, but he has two very primitive but effective ways of producing it, namely, the fire-saw, and the flint and steel. Owing to the sale of Manila and Japanese matches to such of the Manóbos as come in contact with traders or with trading posts, the ancient methods of making fire are falling into disuse.

THE FIRE-SAW[1]

This might be more properly called the friction method, for the fire is obtained by rubbing edgewise one piece of bamboo at right angles to, and over the back of, another.

The "saw," as it is usually called, or upper piece, must be long enough, say 30 centimeters, to enable one to hold it firmly with both hands. The breadth is immaterial, provided it be broad enough to resist the pressure. One edge must be cut sharp.

The "horse," or lower piece, ought to be at least 10 centimeters broad and of any length. It is essential that the under surface be sufficiently convex to admit the free passage of air when the bamboo is placed upon a solid resting place. In the center of this bamboo is made a hole at least 1 millimeter in diameter. All is now ready for the operation.

The "horse" is set down upon some clean solid piece of wood or stone with its inner or concave side downwards, in such a way that it can not move. The "saw" is placed transversely across the "horse," the sharp edge being right over the hole. Holding it firmly with a hand at each end, it is worked steadily, rapidly and with great pressure across the "horse," precisely as if it were desired to saw it in two. After some 15 strokes, there appears a little smoke, and the operator increases the rapidity of his movement, until he thinks that there is sufficient fire underneath the bamboo. Then he blows down through the hole in order to separate any such bamboo dust as may still remain in or around it. He removes the "horse" applying at once a little lint or other tinder to the glowing particles of bamboo. He then transfers his fire to a piece of good dry wood, preferably to an old firebrand, and in a few seconds has a permanent fire.

For the process it is essential that the bamboo selected be dry and well seasoned, for otherwise the dust produced by the rubbing will not ignite. There are a few varieties of wood that answer the same purpose, but I am unable to give the names though I have seen them used.

THE STEEL AND FLINT PROCESS[2]

The Manóbo method of making fire with flint and steel differs in no wise from that used by our own forbears. The tinder used is a fluff obtained from the sugar palm.[3] It is found around the frond bases and after being thoroughly dried, is kept with the flint and steel in a special bamboo or rattan receptacle.

CONTINUATION OF THE FIRE

Once lighted, the fire in the house is kept up, ordinarily not for any ceremonial reason, as far as I have been able to ascertain, but because it is the custom. It is commonly used to furnish light and is kept burning during the night for that purpose. In the mountainous districts, where there is always the possibility of an attack, the fire is sedulously maintained both for light and heat. On occasions fraught with danger from malignant spirits, fire is kept burning for ceremonial reasons as a safeguard against the stealthy approach of the spirits.

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[1] *Gut-gút-an.*

[2] *Tí'-ti.*

[3] *Arenga saccharifera.* It is called *hi-juip* or *hi-diúp* in Manóbo.

Should the fire become extinguished, a fire brand is borrowed from another house, if there is one in the vicinity, but, if there are no neighbors recourse is had to one of the above-described methods.

LIGHTING

Fire is ordinarily the principal, and not infrequently the only source of light. It is only in districts in close proximity to the settlements of Christianized Manóbos that the luxury of coal oil is enjoyed.

The only source of light in the house, other than that from the fire, is a species of resin which is collected from a tree that is found in great abundance in eastern Mindanáo.[4] The method of obtaining the resin is to make a good cut in the tree about 1 millimeter above the ground and to catch the resin in a bark or leaf receptacle. This is usually done overnight. Broken pieces of the resin are then placed in a conical receptacle, made of green leaves, usually of the rattan, bound with rattan strips or other vegetable fastening. When needed, the larger end of this bundle of resin is lighted at the fire and the torch is set upon the floor supported in a tilted position by the most convenient object at hand, frequently the whetstone.

This torch is a good and economical illuminant. It has, however, two defects: First, the ugly habit of spitting out occasional sparks, which cause a somewhat painful sore if they happen to hit the flesh; and, second, a tendency to extinguish itself at intervals on account of the burnt residue that gradually covers the resin. The ash may be easily removed with a stick and then the light blazes out at once, casting a bright glare on the brown and naked figures of the inmates.

When a light is needed for outdoor purposes, a piece of seasoned bamboo, split at one end, or a firebrand of wood, is carried in lieu of the resin. It is an invariable custom to carry a firebrand, while outdoors at night, not only for the purpose of lighting the way but for daunting the evil spirits that are thought to roam about in the gloom of night.

CULINARY AND TABLE EQUIPMENT

The Manóbo is particularly poor in cooking utensils. With the exception of a very occasional iron pot, and a much less frequent pan, he has none of the kitchen apparatus of more civilized peoples.

The earthen pot of his own manufacture is his mainstay. It resembles the *ollas* or earthen pots used so universally throughout the Philippines. In addition to this there is used, though very rarely among the remote Manóbos, an imported cast-iron pan.[5] It is from 5 centimeters to 10 centimeters in depth and from 25 centimeters to 40 centimeters in diameter, concave, and of the poorest material. It is used for general cooking, for dyeing, and for making a sugar-cane beverage. As it is not provided with a cover, the leaves of the bamboo are used to keep the soot and dirt out and to keep the heat in, especially in steaming *camotes* and taro.

When there are not enough pots for the cooking, as on some exceptional occasion, green bamboo internodes with one end open are brought into requisition. Bamboo of the variety known as *bo* or *bóho*, is preferred, for it gives an extra delicate savor to the contents, as I can testify. Even upon ordinary occasions, fish or meat is sometimes cooked in bamboo for the same reason. The pieces of bamboo are put into the fire in a slanting position, the open end being stopped with leaves. They are turned around occasionally till they are burnt nearly through. The contents are removed by splitting the charred joint into strips. These strips are usually given to the expectant children who scrape and lick them clean.

I once saw the bark of a tree used for cooking rice, but without success. I was assured that for cooking meat or fish it would answer admirably.

A ladle, with a handle of wood or bamboo and a head of coconut shell, is about the only article that the Manóbo ordinarily has to serve the purpose of spoons and forks. In the absence of the coconut ladle, he employs the bottom of a bamboo internode to which has been left attached a strip that serves as a handle. For stirring the rice he uses a little paddle made out of a flat

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[4] Called *sai'-gung* or *saung*. (*Canarium villosum*).

[5] Called *ki-ù-ja*.

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piece of wood, or if he has no paddle he uses the handle of his coconut. A coconut shell is used for a water cup, though, if he has an imported glass, he will offer it to visitors.

No rags are employed in the cleaning of plates and other dishes. At times a few leaves are required to clean out the iron pan, but for plates and bowls and other utensils a little cold water and a little rubbing with the hand are sufficient.

The Manóbo uses no tablecloth nor has he any of the appurtenances that equip a modern table, except plates, bowls, and, perhaps, a glass.

Of plates he frequently has too few for his family. Bowls are still scarcer. Many and many are the houses which I have visited that could not boast of a single bowl; the same may be said of glasses. This is due to the exorbitant prices charged for them.

As a substitute for plates, the Manóbo uses platters of bark from the sago[6] and other palm trees. It may happen on the occasion of some big festivity that he still finds himself short of plates and platters, so he utilizes his low panlike weaving baskets by lining them with banana or other leaves and putting them on the table loaded with rice. Should all these not be sufficient for the number of his guests, he spreads out a few banana leaves in the center of the table, or on the floor, and lays the rice upon them.

A piece of bamboo serves for cup and glass as auxiliary to, or a substitute for, the coconut-shell cup mentioned above.

VARIOUS KINDS OF FOOD

The great staple of Manóboland is the *camote*.[7] During harvest time and for several weeks ensuing rice may constitute the bulk of his daily food, but after that he reserves for feasts, for friends, and for the sick what he does not sell, or part with in payment of debts. Should his *camote* crop fail he falls back upon the sago[8] that abounds in the central Agúsan; or, when sago is not available, he seeks the wild fishtail palm,[9] that affords him as pleasant and nutritious a food as any sago palm that ever grew. In the upper Agúsan the Manóbo plants a fair quantity of taro, and in the middle Agúsan, a small amount of maize in season, or even some beans,[10] so that it is seldom he has to have recourse to the forest for his maintenance. But the mountain Manóbo is occasionally compelled to draw his sustenance from the various palm trees and vines that are found in such luxuriance throughout his forest domain. I have seen poisonous tubers gathered in time of famine by the Manóbos of the upper Wá-wa region and eaten, after they had been scraped on a prickly rattan branch, and the poison had been removed by a series of washings and dryings.

He nearly always has a little sugar cane on the farm but, when it is not intended for making an inebriating drink, it is planted only in sufficient quantity to furnish occasionally a few pieces to the members of the household.

Besides the above-mentioned plants, he has probably only a few banana plants, a few ginger plants, some semiwild tomatoes, a little mint [11] and, perchance, a few other plants intended for seasoning. He is not accustomed to plant more than will supply the bare necessities of life.

As a concomitant of his rice or *camotes*, he must have his *is-da* [12] which he procures from the forest [13] or from the river.[14]

It is not essential that the meat or fish should be fresh. I have seen pig meat eaten after three days' decomposition. Neither is the rawness an impediment, for it is customary in certain localities to eat pork absolutely raw, for ceremonial reasons. Besides pork, venison, and fish, an occasional wild chicken or other bird snared in the forest, or a hornbill killed with an arrow, helps to keep his larder supplied.

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[6] *Lûm-bia.*

[7] *Ipomoea batatas* Poir.

[8] *Lûm-bia.*

[9] *Bá-hi'* (*Caryota* sp.)

[10] Called *bá-tung.*

[11] Called *labwéna* probably from the Spanish *yerba buena.*

[12] This word in its present usage corresponds to the Spanish *vianda*, to the Bisáya *súdan*, and the Tagálog *úlam*. Note that the generic word for *is-da*, "fish," has received a still more general application among the Manóbos and Bisáyas of the middle Agúsan. Originally, no doubt it meant simply "fish," but as the *háu-an* is almost the only fish in the middle Agúsan that is caught with frequency and in numbers, the generic term for fish was narrowed down to this one particular fish. Thence the application of the word expanded and it now corresponds to the Tagálog *úlam* and the Cebu-Bisáya *sú-dan.*

[13] See under "Hunting."

[14] See under "Fishing."

When no fish or meat has been procured, and this is more often the rule than the exception, he may have found on his rambles some mushroomlike fungi,[15] or even mushrooms,[16] or he may have taken a notion to cut down some palm tree, and get a fine palm [17] or rattan core [18] or even young bamboo shoots.[19] While straying along the river bank he may pick some fern tops of an edible variety.[20] Any of these things affords as fair supplement to his rice, as butter does to bread. The palm-tree cores are full of big luscious larvæ.[21] He may have a chance to kill an iguana [22] or monarch lizard.[23] The killing of a monkey with his bow and arrow, or in his traps, affords him a choice piece of meat. And when he has the good fortune to kill a python, he has enough *ís-da* for himself, his relatives, and his neighbors for at least one meal. Occasionally, during the proper season, he locates a bees' nest and therefrom procures an amount of honey, larvæ, and beebread that proves an uncommon treat for himself and his family. Again, on the river at certain periods he has nothing else to do except to scoop into his dugout (if he has one) the exhausted "water-skimmers," [24] or while passing near some sand bank to spy the spot where the water lizard buried her delicious eggs. In the little side streams he may catch a few frogs and go on his way rejoicing.

With these random finds, with wild boar and deer that come from an occasional chase, with such salted and dried fish, including jerked crocodile, as he may purchase directly or indirectly from Bisáya traders or from Christianized Manóbos, and with a casual pig or fowl killed on ceremonial or festival occasions, he manages to keep his family fairly well supplied with an accompaniment for the mess of rice or other staple food.

Salt, the native red pepper,[25] and at times ginger constitute a very important part of the meal, if they are obtainable. The first mentioned article is far from being abundant, especially in certain localities, such as the Baóbo River and the upper parts of the Ihawán, Umaíam, and Bahaían Rivers. In such places as these the writer found such an intense craving for it that it was eaten ravenously and declared to be "sweet."

There is such an inordinate desire for salt, especially the rock salt made out of salt water and ash lye, that the Manóbo will submit sometimes to tyranny and to the most exorbitant rates in order to obtain it. This craving for salt will explain the general preference that is felt for salted food as against fresh meat. The small salted fish, peddled in such quantities by Bisáya traders, are prized above the choicest pieces of venison and jerked crocodile, presumably for the salt that they contain. It may be wondered why the Manóbo does not salt his own meat and fish, but this is explained by the fact that such an operation is strictly tabooed.

Red pepper is a *sine qua non.* It is eaten much as we eat salt, and is said to impart courage. In the regions near the Mandáyas it is put up in a special form,[26] this being nothing more than the dried pepper pounded, mixed with salt, and preserved in bamboo joints in a dry place, usually in the smoke above the hearth. In this condition it acquires an extraordinary strength that makes the plain red pepper taste mild. This is explained, perhaps, by the fact that in the pounding the seeds of the pepper are triturated.

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[15] *Ta-ling-a bá-tang.*

[16] *Líg-bus, sa-ging-sá-ging.*

[17] *Ó-bud.*

[18] *Pá-san.*

[19] *Da-búng.*

[20] *Pá-ko'* (*Asplenium esculentum*)

[21] *A-bá-tud.*

[22] *Gí-bang.*

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] These are a variety of insect called *dá-li,* of a whitish color about 2 centimeters long, and having two threadlike appendages extending from the posterior part. They are eaten raw, usually with vinegar and salt. This insect is said to be, probably, one of the Neuroptera or Pseudoneuroptera.

[25] Ka-tum-hä (*Capsicum* sp.).

[26] *Dú-mang.*

THE PREPARATION AND COOKING OF FOOD

PREPARING THE FOOD

The remote preparation consists in getting a supply of sweet potatoes or rice from the farm. This may be a mile or more from the house, so that once a day at least the women, with baskets on their heads and paddles in their hands, if they live on navigable water, leave for the farm. In localities where an ambush is a possible contingency, a few men with lance and shield, and hunting dogs accompany the women as a guard, for the *camote* field is a favorite spot for the enemy to wreak his vengeance, according to the recognized laws of Manóboland. The women and girls dig up the *camotes* with a bolo or with a small pointed stick, and get a little rice from the granary.[27] After performing any necessary work such as weeding and planting, they return and prepare the meal, the men taking no part except to clean and quarter the game or other meat that may have been selected for it.

The preparation of pigs and fowls is such a frequent occurrence in Manóboland, as also among Bisáyas, Mañgguáñgans, Debabáons, and Mandáyas of the Agúsan Valley, that it merits a detailed description.

In preparing a pig, wild boar, or deer, a rough support, consisting of four vertical pieces of wood and a few horizontal parallel pieces, is erected outside the house, if the weather permits. A fire is built beneath the frame and the whole animal, minus the entrails, is laid upon it. Two men or more then set to work with pieces of wood, sharpened lengthwise, and scrape off the hair as fast as it becomes well singed. The operation lasts only about 15 minutes in the case of a large animal. When the hair has been removed the carcass is given a washing more or less thorough, according to the amount of water conveniently available, and the quartering begins.

The game is laid upon leaves; the four legs are removed in order; the head is chopped off; the ribs and remaining parts are hacked crossbone. During this operation the family dogs usually cause an infinite amount of trouble by their incessant attempts to secure a piece of the meat.

If the meat is for distribution, as it always is, except on occasions of festivity or of sacrifice, it is scrupulously divided at this moment. If it is for a feast, it is hacked up into small pieces and loaded into earthen pots, iron pans, and bamboo joints. The dogs are then allowed to lick the blood-stained leaves and to clean the floor.

The preparation of a domestic fowl is also left to the men and deserves a few words. When the fowl is not killed sacrificially, it is burnt to death. Catching the chicken firmly by the feet and wings with one hand and by the head and neck with the other, the owner singes it over the fire till it shows no more signs of life. It may be thought that this is a cruel way of killing an animal, for it kicks and twists and flutters unless firmly held, but the Manóbo is not allowed by his tribal institutions to kill the fowl as other peoples do. To cut off the head is strictly tabooed, a cruel and unbecoming procedure, for there is no one "to revenge the deed," he will tell you. So he chokes and burns it to death. All signs of life being extinct, he pulls out a few of the tail and wing feathers. I can give no reason for this procedure, but as the custom is so universal, I think it has a peculiar significance of its own.

As the singeing proceeds, the feather ends are plucked out and a cursory washing given the fowl. The entrails, even the intestines with the exception of the gall bladder, are removed and utilized. Finally the head, the ends of the wings, and the lower parts of the legs are cut off, and ordinarily are given to the children who have been anxiously awaiting such delicacies.

The pounding and winnowing of the rice is such a common and important operation in the whole of eastern Mindanáo that it deserves special mention.

As the rice used by the mountain Manóbos is exclusively of their own harvesting, it must be hulled, a process that is performed just before every meal wherein it is used. The implements are a wooden mortar and a few heavy wooden pestles. The mortar is a piece of wood of varying dimensions, in the center of which is hollowed out, by burning and cutting, a conical hole, whose depth averages 24 centimeters in height and whose diameter is about 20 centimeters.

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[27] *Tam-bó-bung.*

One sees from time to time a mortar with two holes, or one on which there is evidence of an attempt at artistic effect by means of primitive carving, but, in the main, the mortar is a rough-hewn log with a conical hole in it and with the upper surface so cut that the paddy or rice will have a tendency to fall back into the hole.

The pestle is a pole, preferably and usually of heavy hardwood, about 1.5 meters long and 20 centimeters in circumference. It is a marked exception to find pestles decorated in any way. On the Umaíam River I saw one the end of which had been carved in open fretwork with a round loose piece of wood within the fretwork, a device that was as useful as it was ornamental, for the wooden ball by its rattling within the fretwork cage served to animate the holder and her companions to vigorous and constant strokes.

The following is the process of hulling: The mortar is more than half filled with unhulled rice. One or more women or girls grasp the pestles in the middle with one hand. One begins by driving down her pestle with force upon the paddy. Then another, and still another, if there be three. It stands to reason that, since the hole in the mortar is small, the most exact time must be kept, otherwise the pestles would interfere with one another. The sound made by the falling pestles often resembles that general but strange beat so prevalent in Manóbo drum rhythm. A visitor who has once seen three Manóbo women dressed in gala attire, with coils of beads and necklets, ply their pestles in response to the animated tattoo on the drum will never forget the scene. The pestles are tossed from one hand to the other to afford an instant's rest. They bob up and down with indescribable rapidity and in perfect rhythm as if they were being plied on some imaginary drum.

In a few minutes, from 5 to 15, the hull is shattered from the rice and one of the women bends down and with her hands removes the contents of the mortar to the winnowing tray. After winnowing, they repeat the process till all the husk has been separated from the grain. They then pound a new supply until there is enough rice for the purpose in view. The husk has been shattered from the grain as perfectly, though not as quickly, as if it had been done by a machine.

The winnowing tray is a round shallow tray, 40 centimeters in diameter and usually of plaited rattan strips with a rim of thicker rattan. It is held in both hands and by a series of shuffling motions, which are better seen than described, accompained by a peculiar movement of the thumb of the left hand, the chaff and the little broken fragments of rice are thrown off into another receptacle for the family pigs.

COOKING THE FOOD

Rice is not usually washed before cooking. It is put into a homemade earthen pot,[28] which is often lined with sugarcane leaves, not only to prevent the rice from burning, but to impart to it a finer flavor. It is covered with water, the rice being about 5 centimeters below the surface of the water. The pot is set on a hot fire until the water evaporates to the level of the surface of the rice, whereupon the greater part of the fire is removed and the rice is allowed to steam dry. These remarks also apply to the cooking of a variety of millet,[29] which is sown sparingly with the rice.

Another method of cooking rice, especially when on the trail, is in green bamboo. Joints of green bamboo are filled with rice and water, or rice is wrapped in rattan leaves and then packages are put into the water. Rice cooked in this latter way will keep for three days.

There are two orthodox methods of cooking fish and meat and no other is admissible, under penalty of infringing a very important taboo. One method consists of boiling them in water, with a little seasoning of red pepper, ginger, and possibly lemon grass and one or two other ingredients. The second method consists of broiling the pieces of meat and fish in or over the fire. Meat and fish already cooked are thrown into the fire in order to heat them. The fact that they may be burnt and covered with ashes does not detract from the flavor. The most usual method of broiling, however, is to put the meat on skewers of wood or bamboo a few inches above the fire.

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[28] *Kó-don.*

[29] *Daú-wa.*

When large game has been secured at such a distance from the house that it must be cooked in the forest, it is cut into quarters, and broiled over a heaping fire. This is the invariable method of cooking the heads even of domestic pigs. Chicken heads, legs, and wing ends are invariably broiled, while the intestines are wrapped up in leaves and cooked better than might be supposed, though the flavor, to my taste, is not the most delicate. They seem, however, to be a choice morsel to the majority of my Manóbo friends. Monkeys, frogs, and the forest carrion lizard are always broiled.

Camotes and taro are usually cooked unpeeled in the common earthen pot. About a half a liter of water is used in an ordinary pot, so that the process is practically one of steaming. If the pot has no cover, or if the imported pan be used, leaves are employed to confine the heat.

A favorite dish of the Manóbo and an indispensable one of the Mandáya is the famous *á-pai.*[30] This consists of taro tops (stem and leaves) cut up fine and cooked with water, red pepper, mint, semiwild tomatoes, and any other vegetable seasoning which may be on hand. This makes a very palatable and wholesome dish.

FOOD RESTRICTIONS AND TABOOS

Certain birds such as the hornbill, wild chicken, varieties of wild pigeons, and a few others, must not be divided and given to anyone else before eating. They must be cooked by the broiling method [31] and not in water. After cooking, these birds can not be partaken of by anyone who is not a relative or a member of the household. Neither should a part of a bird belonging to a stranger be accepted or partaken of. The whole bird or nothing must be offered. An infringement of these restrictions would lead, it is believed, to serious results,[32] such as ill luck to the hunting dogs, tangling of the snares, and other misfortunes.[33]

An unmarried man who has ever made indecent suggestions to a woman is prohibited from eating wild-boar meat. The guilty one must free himself from this restriction by making a small present to a priestess. A violation of this taboo would be prejudicial to the success of the hunting dogs.

The use of lard in cooking is interdicted, but it may be eaten raw, even when its smell is not the most wholesome.

On a few occasions, I noticed that some individuals abstained from rice or from chicken. I was unable to elicit any other reason for the abstinence than the good pleasure of the persons concerned. As they admitted that they had been accustomed to use these foods and would use them again after certain periods, I suspect religious motives for the abstinence.

MEALS

ORDINARY MEALS

Though it may be said that three meals a day are not the rule among the Manóbos, yet they eat the equivalent of three or more, for between pieces of sugarcane and munchings of wild fruit,[34] they keep replenishing the inner man pretty constantly. They eat breakfast at about 9 o'clock in the morning, dinner about 1 p. m., and supper at any hour between 6 and 9 p. m.

All being ready for the meal, the inmates of the house squat down upon the floor, the husband with his wife and children apart, male visitors and the unmarried portion of the house eating together. Slaves eat when all have finished, and get what is left in the pots.

Just before beginning to eat, the host and, in fact, everybody except the women, tenders to visitors and others who have come in an invitation to join in the meal and nobody will begin to eat till everybody else has squatted down and is ready. Once the meal is begun, no one leaves, nor is it good etiquette to call anyone from his meal.

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[30] Mandáya, *ug-bús.*

[31] *Dáng-dang.*

[32] *Ma-ko-li-hi.*

[33] In the upper Agúsan the partition of such small birds would lead, I was told, to a dismemberment of the family.

[34] There are many wild fruits in the Agúsan Valley, the most common of which are: The famous durian (*Durio zibethinus*), the jackfruit, *lánka* (*Artocarpus integrifolia* l. f.), *lanzones* (*Lansium domesticum* Jack.), *makópa* (*Eugenia javanica* Lam.), *mámbug, támbis, kandíis, kátom* (*Dillenia* sp.), and the fruit of the rattan (kápi). Most of these are of a sour acid nature but for this reason seem to be relished all the more.

The hands are washed by pouring a little water upon them from a bowl, tumbler, coconut shell, or piece of bamboo; the mouth is rinsed, the water being ejected, frequently with force, through the interstices of the floor. Then all begin to eat. It is the invariable rule for men to eat with the left hand, and where others than relatives are present, to wear a weapon of defense, the right hand resting upon it in anticipation of a possible attack.

The various articles of food have already been set on the floor in the various receptacles heretofore described. Each one falls to with an appetite that can hardly be described. One or more of the womenfolk keep the wants of the diners supplied. The method of eating rice among the mountain Manóbos differs from that prevalent among the Christian tribes. A good-sized mass of rice is pressed together between the five fingers of the left hand and pushed up into the palm where it is made into a ball. Thence it is conveyed to the mouth. At intervals the rice (or *camote*) is flavored with a little accompaniment of meat or fish, and all is washed down with the soup of the meat or fish.

The custom of sipping, with a sucking sound, the scalding soup from a plate or bowl and of then passing it on to one's neighbor is almost universal. Great predilection is shown for this soup, even though it be, as happens in a great many instances, practically nothing but hot water. In the upper Agúsan, the taro-top soup previously mentioned is the ordinary soup and substitute for meat and fish.

Another peculiar feature in eating is the method of cutting meat from the bone. The carver, who is in a squatting position with his feet close to the body, holds the bolo with the handle between the big first toe in a vertical position, the back of it being toward him. He draws the meat over the edge, thereby doing the carving in a quicker, more convenient, and more effective manner than do a great many more civilized men.

No one may retire from the meal without giving notice to his neighbors. A violation of this custom constitutes a gross breach of Manóbo etiquette. The reason for this custom is that the chances for a sudden attack are thereby lessened.

It is not polite to remain seated in the same place after a meal. If the place can not be changed, it is necessary to rise and then sit down again. I can give no explanation for the practice, unless it be a precaution against treachery.

FESTIVE MEALS

Festive meals are indulged in more especially on the occurrence of the great religious and social celebrations that recur with such frequency in the Manóbo world. The arrival of a visitor, or even an unusual catch of fish, is also an occasion for such enjoyments. I have had ample opportunities of witnessing them, because during a trading expedition I was frequently honored with invitations, the reason for which was, of course, to secure from me good bargains, or credit.

Before the meal the house is a scene of indescribable animation. The guests, together with the members of the household, rarely number less than 20 and may reach 100 or more. The pig is cooked in bamboo joints, earthern pots and iron pans, both in the host's house and, if necessary, in neighboring houses. The same may be said of the rice and *camotes*. If the host has enough drink, and if there is a little meat or fish to serve as a lunch, he has the food brought out and orders a part of the drink to be distributed to the guests according to their importance. Joyous laughter and loud conversation, together with chewing of tobacco and betel nut, fill up the interval before the meal.

When all is ready, the available number of plates, bowls, glasses, bark platters, and leaves are set out and the boiled meat is apportioned in small pieces, with great exactitude as to size and quality, to the several plates. The same thing is done for the broiled meat after it has been hacked into suitable sizes. No one is forgotten, not even the children of the guests, nor the slaves. The rice is then brought along in bamboo joints, in pots, and even in baskets lined with leaves, and to each person is assigned a heaping portion. When all has been impartially and equally distributed, the guests are bidden to take their places on the floor, each one at his appointed plate, for where visitors other than relatives are present, no precaution is omitted to safeguard the guests against trouble. Experience has proved that the festive board may be tinged with blood before the end. This even distribution of the food and the collocation of the guests often occupies the better part of an hour. If these duties are not properly performed envious feelings and a quarrel might ensue before the end of the meal. The guest of honor is always given preference and the host may also especially favor others whom he may have reason to honor but he always makes public the reason for his partiality.

All being seated the meal begins with a goodly quaff of homemade brew. Then all begin to eat. As the feasters warm under the kindling influence of the drink, they express their good will by giving material tokens, each one to his friend or to one whose friendship he desires to gain. These tokens consist of handfuls of meat—lean, fat, bone, gristle, or anything—smeared with salt and pepper, and bestowed by one friend into the mouth of another without any consideration of the proportion existing between the size of the mouth and the size of the gift. It is not good etiquette to refuse this gift or to remove it from the mouth. This offering is followed probably by a bamboo jointful of beverage which must be received in the same friendly spirit and is gulped down with a mumbled expression corresponding to our "Here goes." The recipient of these favors returns the courtesy in kind, and so the meal goes on in mutual goodfellowship and congeniality till the food has completely disappeared, for it is against the conventionalities of Manóbodom to leave a scrap on the plate. Indeed the Manóbo loves a good eater and drinker. It is an honor to gorge and a glory to get drunk. Now it happens at times at a Manóbo banquet, as it does in all drinking bouts the world over, that a quarrel ensues and recourse is had to the ever present bolo to settle an argument that wild shouts and frantic gestures can not decide. For this reason the Manóbo eats with his left hand and rolls his eyes from side to side in constant vigilance.

These remarks do not apply to the women and children, who sit apart in little groups of their own, and, while feasting one another in their own gentle way, attend to the shouts for more food when they are heard above the din of the revellers.

During the course of a feast of this kind an observer is struck with the hearty appetite exhibited by these primitive people. Man vies with man in holding out. Friend honors friend with plenteous bestowals of food and drink and the host strives to induce his guests to eat to their utmost capacity. Rarely does one see a Manóbo troubled with nausea but, if he is, he returns later to the feast, to finish his appointed portion. I have seen this happen on occasions.

CHAPTER IX

NARCOTIC AND STIMULATING ENJOYMENTS

DRINKS USED BY THE MANÓBOS

Intoxicating drinks are of four kinds: Sugar-palm wine,[1] *bá-hi* toddy,[2] sugarcane brew,[3] and mead.[4]

SUGAR-PALM WINE

Sugar-palm wine is obtained by tapping the fruit stem of the *cabo negro* palm. The process is very simple. At the time of efflorescence the spadix is cut off and the pithy stem is tapped. This operation lasts from 15 to 30 minutes each day and is continued for from 7 to 14 days. After the tapping the stem must be bent into a downward position. This is effected by inclining it downward every day, a piece of rattan or vine being used to retain it in position. The gentlest of force must be used in this operation, as a forcible strain will prevent the sap from flowing. Once the sap begins to flow from the stem, it is caught in a bamboo receptacle, the mouth of which must be carefully covered to prevent the entrance of the myriads of insects that are attracted by the odor and sweetness of the liquid. Day after day the end of the stem must be pared as otherwise the sap would cease to exude. A tree will produce daily anywhere from 10 to 30 liters according to the fertility of the soil and the humidity of the atmosphere. The humidity determines the duration of time that the tree produces toddy. This time varies from one to three months.

The sap has the color and transparency of water to which a little milk has been added. When fresh, it is a sweet, refreshing laxative, but the fermentation is so rapid that after a few hours it acquires the inebriating qualities of ordinary coconut toddy. In order to promote fermentation and to eliminate the laxative quality of the sap, the bark[5] of a tree is added. On the third day acetification begins to take place, unless a handful of the ordinary native red pepper is thrown into the beverage, in which case the further fermentation is withheld for a period of about four more days.

The palm from which this sap is obtained is found in great abundance on the eastern[6] side of the lower and middle Agúsan Valley and is universally tapped in this region. On the western side, however, it is not found with such frequency. The Manóbo is therefore obliged to seek other means of satisfying the craving which he, like a good many of his fellowmen the world over, feels for a stimulant.

BÁHI TODDY

Túng-gang is the sap of the *báhi* palm. The method of extraction is identical with that of the sugar-palm wine. It is neither as pleasant nor as strong as the previously described drink, but it is not by any manner of means unwholesome. It is employed as a beverage only when no other is obtainable. I have been reliably informed that sometimes the tree is cut down as a preliminary to the extraction of the sap. Incisions are made in the trunk for the purpose of permitting the flow of the sap.

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[1] *Tuba* or *sai-yan* or *san*, the sap of the *hi-di-up* (*Arenga saccharifera*) commonly known in the Philippines as *cabo negro*.

[2] The fishtail palm (*Caryota* sp.). The extracted sap is called *túng-gang*.

[3] *Ín-tus*.

[4] *Bá-is* or *bi-ai-lis*.

[5] Called *la-gúd*.

[6] In the vicinity of Tudela, Simúlau River, there are groves of sugar-palm. I estimated that they contained 5,000 trees.

SUGARCANE BREW

In-tus is a beverage made out of the juice of the sugarcane. It is the most common and the most popular drink, so much so that it is deemed worthy of being presented to the spirits on sacrificial and other occasions.

Extraction of the juice.—The sugarcane is first peeled and then crushed, stalk by stalk, or piece by piece, under the *li-gi-san*. This is a very primitive mill, consisting of a round, smooth, heavy log usually of *palma brava*[7] or of the fishtail palm, set horizontally about 1 meter above the ground on two crude frames. It is provided with a vertical handle, by means of which it can be rolled from side to side over a flat piece of wood. The cane is introduced gradually between this latter piece and the log, which is kept in constant motion. As soon as the whole or a part of a piece of cane has been crushed, it is doubled up into a mass about 30 centimeters long and is again crushed. By this method about 20 liters of juice are obtained in a day.

Boiling.—The iron cooking pan described in a previous chapter is preferred for preparing the drink, unless an empty kerosene can has been secured. In the absence of both, the ordinary pot answers the purpose. In the center of the cooking utensil is placed a small cylinder made of slats of bamboo to serve for gaging the amount of evaporation. The boiling vessel is filled with small slices of the root of a gingerlike plant[8] and sugarcane juice is added to fill the interstices.

The amount of boiling determines the quality of the resulting liquor. If the sap is boiled down only one-fourth, the drink produced is of a sweetish taste and of a whitish appearance and, in my estimation, is not palatable. The more the sap is evaporated, the more it mellows and browns. The Manóbos of the upper Agúsan make a better drink than those of the lake region for the reason that they evaporate the juice one-half, while those of the latter-mentioned district only give it a cursory boiling. It is usual to employ a little gaging rod of bamboo for measuring the amount of evaporation, this being done by inserting it into the bamboo cylinder in the center of the pot, but an old hand at brewing can gage by the smell.

Fermentation.—After cooking, the decoction is unfit for immediate use. It must be left to undergo fermentation for at least three whole days. Five days are sufficient to render it fairly drinkable. The longer the period of fermentation, the finer the quality of the resulting liquor, *ceteris paribus*. When well-cooked brew has been kept for a few months, it assumes a translucid amber color, smells and tastes strongly of rum, and is highly intoxicating. The liquor during fermentation must be kept in closed jars or earthen pots in a cool moist place. If kept in bamboo joints, it will spoil.

In general, the drink is more intoxicating than coconut toddy, but it is wholesome, and its use is not attended by the after effects that are the result of overindulgence in certain other alcoholic drinks like *vino*. In this connection it may be well to remark that I have never observed a case of delirium tremens nor of any of the other serious consequences that in other parts of the world frequently afflict the habitual drinker. The only ill effects I have seen are the proverbial headache and thirst, but even these are very rare and usually occur only after periods of long and uninterrupted indulgence. As a rule such effects are at once dispelled by taking hot taro-top soup or by munching sugarcane.

MEAD

This is probably the finest beverage produced in Manóboland, but as the honey season is short and as the honey is consumed, both in the forest after taking the nest and in the house by the members of the family, the drink is scarce.

The preparation of the drink is identical with that of sugarcane brew. The same ferment is used, the same method of cooking is employed, and in general the same remarks apply, with the exception that in place of the sugarcane juice, honey and water are used. The honey is mixed with water in varying proportions. It is the proportion of water to honey that determines the strength, quality, and flavor of the final drink. A mixture of half and half is said to yield the best beverage. If fermentation is allowed to continue for a few months, the resulting liquor is of a clear crystalline color, and will compare both in flavor and strength with those more up to date.

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[7] *An-a-hau* (*Livistona* sp.).

[8] *Lan-kwas* (*Cordeline terminalis* Willd.).

DRINKING

GENERAL REMARKS

Though the Manóbos invariably drink during religious feasts, yet neither during the feast itself, nor in the preparation of the toddy, have I ever observed any religious ceremony nor were any magic or other preternatural means employed. It is true that when the crushing appliance[9] is set up, the fowl-waving ceremony, followed by the blood unction, is performed. I witnessed this ceremony myself in several parts of the Agúsan River Valley. But such ceremonies are customary on the erection of houses, smithies, and so forth, and bear no relation to the actual production of the drink.

During religious ceremonies a bowlful of the brew is set out with the usual viands, such as meat and rice, for the *di-u-a-ta*, *tag-ba-nu-a* (lords of the hills and the valleys), and for other spirits, for they, too, like to be regaled with the good things of this world.

Drink is taken on the occurrence of all the great religious and social feasts and upon the arrival of a distinguished friend or visitor—also when it is desired to make a good bargain or to secure any other end by convivial means. The acquisition of an unusual amount of fish or of meat is a common occasion for the making of the brew and gives rise to the following practice:

THE SUMSUM-AN

The *sumsúm-an*, i. e., the eating of meat or fish with an accompaniment of drink, a universal practice throughout the Agúsan Valley, the Salúg Valley, and the whole Mandáya country, is a thing that appeals especially to the true Mandáya, Manóbo, and Mañgguáñgan. When a man of one of these tribes has secured a good catch of fish, or has trapped a wild boar, he procures a supply of beverage and meets his guests at the appointed place, usually his little farmhouse. As soon as all are assembled, the fish or the meat is broiled on sticks of wood over the fire. When it is cooked, the women lay it out and it is slashed into pieces, usually by the host, and apportioned with great precision as to weight, quality, amount of bone, and quantity of meat. During this operation, a few bamboo jointfuls of brew are brought from some hiding place and a relative of the householder sits down with one under his arm. Before him are set such articles as glasses and bowls, if obtainable, or in lieu thereof, small pieces of bamboo joints, each holding about a tumblerful, and not very different in shape from handleless German steins. These bamboo cups admirably fulfill the purpose. The distributor of the liquor slices a little strip from under the mouth of his bamboo deposit to prevent loss of the liquor during pouring, then he inserts two fingers into the mouth of the bamboo and makes an opening through the leaves for the drink, but not so large as to give free exit to such insects as may have found their way into the liquid. He then fills up the vessels at hand, taking care to give to each an equal amount.

It is to be noted that it is an inviolable custom that the host drinks first. This is because of the widespread belief in secret poisons. After drinking the host passes the cup to those whom he wishes to honor, unless they are already provided, and using some expression corresponding to our English "Here goes," the guest or guests quaff the brew. The bowls or other vessels are returned to the distributor, and the process is repeated until all have had a drink.

DRINKING DURING RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL FEASTS

During religious and social feasts the drinking customs are as above described, except that the beverage is set out in sacred jars, when on hand, and with such an array of bowls as the host may possess. One of these feasts, notably the marriage feast, may be attended by as many as

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[9] *Li-gi-san.*

200 persons and last from 3 to 7 days and nights, so that to hear of 20 jars or 100 bamboo [10] jointfuls of sugarcane brew being consumed on the occasion of a great festival is not strange.

The amount of drink used, both individually and collectively during one of the feasts, gives one an idea of the great capacity which these primitive peoples enjoy. The average white man in my opinion would be deliriously drunk before the Mandáya or Manóbo would be feeling merry. It is not according to tribal customs to refuse food and drink as long as the host has them to set before his guest. On a few occasions I have seen a tribesman rise, quietly empty the stomach, and calmly return to the feast to finish his appointed portion and wash his hands and his plate as an evidence of that fact.

With regard to women and children, it may be said that they drink little, not from any religious or moral principles, but simply because they do not care to. The men, however, are inveterate drinkers. No disgrace is attached to drunkenness. On the contrary to take the allotted portion is considered a duty and a virtue.

EVIL EFFECTS FROM DRINKING

It goes without saying that quarrels sometimes result from these drinking bouts, though not oftener, I venture to say, than among more highly cultured peoples in other parts of the world. The custom of carrying weapons on all occasions where others than relatives are present has a deterrent effect on quarreling, yet there are occasions when daggers or bolos terminate an argument that wild shouts and frantic gestures can not settle.

With regard to the amount of drink consumed, I could as well venture an approximation as to the number of stars in the firmament. This will be readily understood when one is told, that according to the social institutions of the Manóbos, it is considered no breach of manners to ask a neighbor for any thing of his to which one may take a fancy. A refusal on his part, unless couched in the most diplomatic terms, might give rise to unneighborly feelings and prompt a reprisal in kind on some other occasion. Hence drink is almost invariably kept deposited in the grass outside of the settlement. When it is needed it is brought to the appointed place secretly or at night, for were others than the invited ones aware of the existence of drink in one's possession they, too, would flock to the scene. In view of the secrecy maintained about the possession of drink it is impossible to give an estimate of the amount of liquor consumed in Manóboland. Suffice it to say that the Manóbo drinks on every possible occasion and will travel many a mile to secure a little of the flowing bowl.

TOBACCO PREPARATION AND USE

When the tobacco is ripe, it is gathered, cut fine with a sliver of bamboo, and dried in the sun for a day or two. It is then frequently pounded into bamboo internodes and laid away in a cool, dry place, often in the rice granary, for fermentation. Before using the tobacco it is customary to set it out in the grass for a night or two. This causes a sweating and makes the tobacco fit for chewing.

This is the only form in which tobacco is prepared among the mountain Manóbos. The quantity of tobacco raised is insignificant, being a little more than is sufficient for their personal use. As they dispose of a great deal of it during harvest time, it not infrequently comes to pass that there is a dearth long before the next crop.

No harmful effects are attributed to the use of tobacco, though from childhood to the grave it is made use of by men, women, and children.

Only men and boys smoke. The pipe employed for this purpose is commonly a little cone made out of a piece of imported tin or of a piece of steel. The stem is a piece of small bamboo. One occasionally finds wooden pipes, but they have probably been acquired from Christianized Manóbos or from Bisáyas.

The first-mentioned pipe holds about one thimbleful of tobacco. It is usually lighted with a firebrand, unless it is used when the people are on the trail; at such a time the flint, steel, and tinder are called into requisition.

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[10] *Sugúng.*

There are two forms of tobacco chewing: First, the *bal-ut* method. In this a mixture is made of minced tobacco, lime, the juice of a vine,[11] and pot black. This combination, which in bulk may be the size of a large marble, is carried between the upper lip and the upper gums but resting upon the lower lip and projecting out of the mouth, thereby keeping the lips apart. It is made use of principally for its narcotic qualities, but at the same time it serves as an ornament and tends to blacken the teeth. It is carried in the mouth until its strength is exhausted. During meals it is placed behind the ear. When tobacco is scarce, the same quid receives several additions of lime, pot black, and vine juice, so that it may be used for a whole day. The women are more accustomed than the men to the use of this *bal-ut,* for the reason that the former do not smoke, and also because they usually have hidden away a less limited supply of tobacco than the men. The second method of using tobacco is known as the *la-gút.* This consists of chewing a little pinch of tobacco in combination with betel nut. Tobacco is seldom chewed alone.

THE BETEL-NUT MASTICATORY

INGREDIENTS AND EFFECT OF THE QUID

The betel-nut quid is to the Manóbo more than the cigarette, cigar, or pipe is to his more civilized fellow man. With him the use of it is a universal, eternal habit. By day and by night, in the house and on the trail, in health and in sickness, he turns for stimulation to the quid of betel nut, betel leaf, and lime. A visitor comes to his house and the first act of hospitality is the offering of the betel-nut quid. He meets an acquaintance upon the trail, and he sits down and offers the soothing chew. He is anxious that his omen be good and he lays a tribute of betel nut upon the trail for the forest deity, and goes on, confident that his desires will be fulfilled. And when he calls upon his gods, the first and most essential offering must be the quid of betel nut, for the fragrance of the nut and the redolence of the blossom are said to be the chief delicacy of the spirits.

The betel nut[12] is obtained from the palms found in the forest. These palms were planted either by the Manóbos themselves or by their ancestors. The nuts are found in scarcely sufficient quantity to supply the demand. When they can not be obtained, other plants[13] are used, but they are an inferior substitute. In taste the betel nut is exceedingly astringent and can not be used except in combination with the betel leaf and lime. As a rule the green and tender nut is preferred by the mountain Manóbos, but the ripe nut seems to be the choice of those who have come in contact with Christianized Manóbos or with Bisáyas.

The betel leaf[14] is from a species of pepper, of which there are innumerable species both domestic and wild. A domestic variety is preferred but, since the supply is not always equal to the demand, as in the case of the betel nut, the wild species afford a tolerable substitute. The tender leaves are preferred as being less pungent. For the same reason domestic species are used in preference to the wild ones, these latter possessing a highly acrid taste.

The lime is made from the shells of shellfish found in the rivers, streams, and lakes. The shells are burnt in a very hot fire, usually of bamboo strips, the fire being fanned continually. The shells are then slaked with a sprinkling of water and the lime is ready for use.

To prepare the quid, the betel nut, frequently stripped of its fibrous rind, is cut into small slices. One slice is laid upon a piece of betel leaf, and a little lime is shaken upon it from the lime tube. The leaf is then wrapped around the nut and the lime, and the pellet is ready for use. The amount of lime must be such that the saliva will turn red, and depends upon the size of the betel nut and the betel leaf. An excess of lime burns the integuments of the mouth and tongue, but this is avoided by increasing immediately the amount of leaf. A little pinch of tobacco, the stronger the better, completes the ordinary quid.

There are sometimes added to this masticatory certain other aromatic ingredients, such as cinnamon, lemon rind, and other things.

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[11] *Maú-mau.*

[12] *Areca betel.*

[13] *Kan-in-yag,* cinnamon, is one of the substitutes. Also called *kanéla.*

[14] *Betel* sp.

The first and immediate effect of chewing this combination is to promote salivation. Following this is the reddening of the saliva by the chemical action of the lime upon the betel nut and the leaf. However, the most important effect produced by the quid is the soothing sensation that follows its use. In this respect it far exceeds tobacco chewing, both in the Manóbos' opinion and in my own. The sensations which I experienced on my first trials were a feeling of inflation of the head and a transient sensation of weakness, accompanied by a cold sweat upon the forehead. This was followed by a feeling of exhilaration and quickened vitality. It may be said in general that betel-nut chewing acts as an efficacious restorative, especially during a journey, and as a harmless narcotic which it would be hard to replace. The addition of tobacco intensifies this narcotic effect considerably, other additions such as cinnamon serving only to soften the astringency and the piquancy of the leaf and to impart an aroma to the quid.

BETEL CHEWING ACCESSORIES

The Manóbo man carries on his back, in a little bag [15] of *abaká* or other cloth, all the requisites for betel-nut chewing. The woman deposits them in an open basket unless she is on a journey, in which case she carries them in a little closed basket.

The betel nut and the betel leaf are put into the bottom of the sack for the purpose of concealment, for there is a continual clamor for one or the other, and should it be known that a certain individual has a supply, the Manóbos' social regulations would oblige him to part with it upon request. Hence he keeps it out of view, and is always ready to excuse himself, when asked for one or the other, on the ground that he has no more.

He keeps a few nuts and leaves for immediate use in a Moro brass box,[16] if he is so fortunate as to possess one. Otherwise he puts them in a cylindrical receptacle [17] usually made out of a small bamboo internode, or in a little round receptacle [18] of plaited rattan coated with the pulp of the seed of a tree.[19] His tobacco for immediate use he keeps in another similar receptacle, the main supply being hidden away in the bottom of the knapsack.

The lime is invariably kept in a small internode [20] of bamboo. This is open at one end and has a spherical plug of plaited rattan inserted into the mouth for the purpose of preventing an excess of lime from issuing. This spherical network resembles in miniature the football seen so commonly throughout the Philippines. When it is desired to add lime to the quid, the tube is taken in one hand and held in a downward position with the thumb and little finger underneath it and the other fingers above it. The first finger is then made to slide with force from the middle finger down to the tube, thereby tapping out the lime. This tapping motion is similar to that performed when winnowing rice.

The men use their bolos to cut up the betel nut, but the women have a small knife [21] which also answers the purpose of a general utility implement corresponding to our scissors.

When the chewer's teeth have deteriorated from age, the quid is mashed in a small mortar made of hardwood, a piece of steel serving as a pestle. In this way the betel nut and leaf are rendered sufficiently soft for mastication.

In conclusion, it may be said that though the habit seems a dirty one, owing to the discoloration of the mouth and lips of the chewer and to the ruby expectorations that tinge his surroundings, yet on the whole it is a necessary and beneficial practice. From my observation and experience, I believe that the habit eliminates toothache and other disorders of the teeth. Christianized Manóbos and Bisâyas who have relinquished the habit suffer from dental troubles, whereas the inveterate chewer of the mountains is free from them. The Manóbo can not endure the long and frequent hikes, nor carry the heavy loads that he does, without this mild but efficacious restorative.

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[15] *Pú-yo.*

[16] *Ka-pú-yan* or *ka-pú-an.*

[17] *Lú-ka'* or *yû-ka.*

[18] *Lin-úm-bung.*

[19] *Ta-bon-tábon* (*Parinarium mindanaense* Perkins).

[20] *Táng-tang.*

[21] *Ba-di'* or *kam-pit.*

CHAPTER X

MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE

AGRICULTURE

GENERAL REMARKS

Agriculture is in a very primitive condition. It is true that most of the Christianized Manóbos living in the river settlements have a few hundred *abaká* plants each, yet the care of them is left practically to nature, their productivity depending upon the soil. But the true mountaineer plants nothing except the bare necessities of life—rice and *camotes,* some taro,[1] a little sugarcane in season, a little patch of maize, and sometimes ginger and other spices.

His system of agriculture is in perfect adaptation to his social and political institutions. Living as he does in a state of eternal vigilance, and knowing that the first death in the house or an unlucky combination of omens or the menaces of his enemies may drive him from his home and from his farm, he is content with a small clearing. He builds no embankments, no irrigation ditches, no terraces. He has no plows, nor draft animals. He selects a patch of the virgin forest every year, and with the bolo and rude axe, clears and cultivates the land. For a permanent crop he keeps his *camote* patch, on which he may plant a few bananas and also invariably a sprinkling of sugarcane. Scattered around this small farm may be found some native tomatoes, more often planted by the birds than by the hand of man, a few ginger and other plants that serve to season the food. A betel-nut palm is planted occasionally, and some betel leaf, but with these exceptions no trees, not even those whose fruit is dearly relished, are planted.

THE TIME AND PLACE FOR PLANTING RICE

The time for planting is at hand when the voice of the bird *kuaháu* first breaks from the forest and the leaves of *lanípau* tree begin to fall.[2] Then the farmer hies to the woods to select the site for the rice field, calling upon the omen bird to direct him in his choice. Of course he is governed in his selection by reasons of proximity to water, safety from floods, distance from the settlement, etc., but the omen bird's cry must be favorable. Having decided on the location he makes an offering of betel nut to the *tagbánua* and to such other spirits as may dwell in the neighborhood. This act of homage is performed in order to make friends with these forest lords so that they may not be displeased on account of the usurpation of a part of their domain. Then he selects a spot for the house and clears it, if he has time, but if not, he cuts down a few small trees as a public notice of his proprietorship. Special attention is here called to the fact that the spot selected must be one of virgin forest. The Manóbo never plants his rice in the same place during two successive years, because it would not yield a plentiful harvest.

The following day, or when all is ready, he and his household begin the work by erecting a small shack sufficiently large to accommodate them. In the middle of the farm[3] is erected a small platform for the seed and, near the house, the usual offering house[4] and other sacrificial perquisites. Then he is ready to perform the rice-planting sacrifice.

THE SOWING CEREMONY[5]

Tăphágan is a female *diuata* under whose special superintendence are placed the rice crop and all that pertains to it. She is thought to guard the crop against man and beast, even reveal-ing, it is said, to her chosen ones the names of all trespassers. In return for this she must be frequently feasted from the beginning of the rice season up to the harvest, for at that time her duties cease, and she yields the field to Hakiádan.

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[1] In districts close to the Mandáya country the use of taro is more common, but even in the upper Agúsan it is not a permanent crop. The Mandáyas subsist to a great extent on it whenever the soil is adapted to its growth. Taro is the *Colocasia antiquorum.*

[2] Certain trees, such as the *ná-to'* and the *ba·ró-bo',* begin to fruit at this season, and are also signs of the approach of the rice-planting season.

[3] *Ŭ́-ma'.*

[4] *Ka-má-lig.*

[5] The *tăp-hag* sacrifice

The officiant in the rice-planting ceremonies is either one or more family priests. The victim is either a pig or a fowl, sacrificed in a special manner. The invocations consist of the same interminable supplications, promises, and repetitions that are characteristic of all Manóbo prayers. One variation is observed during this ceremony. The fowl, on being killed, is thrown on the ground and left to flutter around, thereby, it is thought, removing from the soil with its blood such evils as might harm the rice or lessen its production. If a pig, however, has been killed the blood lustration is performed in the ordinary way by smearing a near-by log, the priest bidding the evil [6] of the earth begone. I have often been told that a special ceremony is necessary at the time of rice planting. This ceremony is called *hú-gad* to *sá-ya* or *hú-gad to sä* which means "to cleanse the sin." I am inclined to think that this rite is a purificatory one, as the name of it indicates. I suppose that it is a secret expiation of such transgressions as might be punished by a failure of the future crop.

As in all undertakings of import, the entrails of the victim are carefully observed. Other forms of divination, especially the egg omen, are employed to determine whether the supernal powers approve the site or not.

Among the offerings to Täphágan is a handful of unhulled rice taken from the last harvesting and now set out in the religious shed. It is customary during this feast to give a little rice to such animals and insects as are liable to harm the crop later on. Among these may be mentioned rats, ricebirds, crows, parrakeets,[7] and ants. A little rice is set out on a log for them and they are bidden welcome, and requested not to commit any future depredations. Nor are the omen birds, prophets of plentiful crops, and the *kuahâu*, harbinger and companion of the rice crop, forgotten.

During the growth of the rice the above practices are observed from time to time. No special rule is observed, but it may be said, in general, that the occurrence of ill omens, or the suspicion of danger, urge the owner of the crop to feast Täphágan and thereby obtain immunity from evil. The priest is the best judge as to the necessity of such things.

THE CLEARING OF THE LAND

The omens being favorable, the farmer, assisted by his relatives and friends, begins the clearing without delay. It is essential that at least a little work be done in order to clinch the bargain with the powers above, for should a delay occur the omens might go awry and necessitate a repetition of the ceremonies and even an abandonment of the farm. I heard of several cases where prospective farms were abandoned under these circumstances.

The clearing, like all other agricultural operations, is done on the mutual-help system,[8] that is, the farmer's relatives and friends unite to help him clear the land, which favor he and his family is expected to return in kind.

The average clearing does not comprise more than a few acres, and is completed ordinarily in from two to five days. The first step [9] in the clearing process consists in cutting down the underbrush and small trees. In this the men are assisted by the women and children who gather these into heaps for burning. This may take only a few days, if no inauspicious omens occur, but, according to my observation, it is seldom that some omen or other does not interfere with the work. Thus a dead animal, such as a wild boar, or snake, found on the farm makes blood lustrations necessary. The rumbling of thunder means a temporary discontinuance of the work, and often a purificatory ceremony, of which I can give no details, becomes necessary and delays the work.

The next operation consists in the felling of trees.[10] For this purpose, scaffolds, usually of bamboo, are erected around the tree at a height several feet above the buttresses of the tree or at such a point as is considered expedient. Trees are cut down high above the base because the wood at the bottom of the tree is usually exceedingly tough. Standing on his perch at a distance of about 8 feet from the ground, the feller plies his native axe[11] until the tree yields and crashes down in its fall such of its fellows as may stand in its way. It may be observed here that the Manóbo as a rule is an expert at tree felling and takes great pleasure in it. Practically all the felling and clearing of Bisáya land in the Agúsan Valley is done by Manóbos of Christian or of pagan persuasion and at a merely nominal cost.

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[6] *Ka-dù-ut.*

[7] *Abùkai.*

[8] *Pag-a-bai-yùs-an.*

[9] Called *gás* or *gái-as.*

[10] *Gù-ba.*

After the trees have been cut down, all branches and parts of the tree that would be too much of an obstruction in the farm are cut[12] and mounted into heaps for future burning.[13] This burning, of course, can not take place till after the hot weather,[14] which comes at this period and lasts about a month. Unless the clearing was exceptionally free from heavy timber, the ground remains encumbered with the larger trunks and branches, even after the burning, but this is no impediment, for the rice and *camotes* can be planted between the stumps.

THE SOWING OF THE RICE AND ITS CULTURE

It is essential that the sowing take place between the time of the burning and the next full moon. But the exact date varies according to the locality. Thus, in Umaíam district, the time for sowing is said to be the ninth day after the first waning moon that follows that spell of hot weather, known as *guyábang*, whereas in the upper Agúsan 12 nights are counted from the first new moon after the *guyábang* and the sowing takes place the following day. It is thought that this procedure will insure a plentiful crop.

The method of sowing is simple. The owner of the farm takes a handful of rice from the woven-grass[15] bag in the center of the clearing and scatters it broadcast. Then the members of the family complete the sowing. There seems to be a knack in so scattering the seed that it may not cover the ground too closely. Once cast upon the surface, the seed is covered[16] immediately so as to get it under the ground and away from the ravages of vermin. This is done by breaking the ground slightly with bolos.

As a protection against weeds, *camotes*, sugarcane, and even maize are planted in places where the rice is not so close, and especially where the weeds have sprung up. These latter must be removed from time to time until the crop is sufficiently tall to shade the ground. This and all subsequent work connected with the farm, except the making of wild-boar traps and the caring for them, falls upon the women and children.

The growth of the rice is carefully observed, and the owner of the farm must be ever ready to counteract evil indications and to feast Täphágan upon their appearance. Thus finding a dead animal, such as a large bird, lizard, or monkey, is considered of ill import and lustration of blood must be resorted to. Again the appearance of certain birds in the vicinity of the farm is looked upon as of evil omen, and it becomes necessary to drive away the impending evil by proper ceremonial means.

Drought, though an uncommon occurrence, is especially feared. I once witnessed a peculiar method of rain making. It was performed under the auspices of Täphágan and in the following manner: The rain makers[17] each secured a frond of some palm tree and went to the bank of the stream near by. Here they beat their fronds upon the surface of the water until the leaves were torn. Then each one stuck his frond upon the bank in a vertical position and went his way, certain that rain would follow.

There are, on the other hand, divers good omens and indications of a plenteous harvest. The swarming of bees on the farm is one of these. So is the continuous cry of *kuahau*. There are many other omens both good and evil that render the growing season one of constant question and answer between nature and primitive man. As the time for the harvest approaches, means must be taken to protect the crop against its enemies. Traps and light fences are the principal defense against wild boar. Scarecrows, consisting of pieces of palm frond, tin cans, and other things, are suspended from long rattan cords that diverge in all directions from the watch house[18] in the center of the field. The waving of these rattan strips, when manipulated by the young person on watch, accompanied by loud yells, serve to frighten away the ricebirds,[19] parrakeets, and monkeys. A little offering of rice is frequently made by way of gaining the good will and speedy departure of the latter.

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[11] *Hu-wá-siu.*

[12] *Gú-ang.*

[13] *Sáng-ag.*

[14] *Gu-yá-bang.*

[15] *Kam-bu-yai.*

[16] The process of covering the seed is called *hi-la-bón.*

[17] *Mig-pa-áyao.*

A final feast, similar to that described in the preceding pages, is given to Täphágan by way of thanksgiving, when the crop is nearly ripe for the harvest, and she then passes out of the Manóbo's memory for another year.

THE RICE HARVEST

The harvest time is the merriest of all the year. It ends, in most cases, the long period of abstinence from rice, and many times terminates a period of actual hunger. It is the season for the celebration of marriages, with their attendant festivals; for hunting and for fishing, especially with poison. And yet it is fraught with religious fear and safeguarded by severe taboos and other restrictions that make it to some extent a season of mystery. In many places it is a time of vigilance against the attacks of the enemy.

The first thing that must be done when the rice is ripe enough to harvest is to close all trails leading to the house and farm. No one may now, under penalty of a fine, enter the precincts, nor may any one but an inmate of the household be present, for otherwise the crop might never come to maturity.[20] Should any one trespass upon the farm, it is imperative that work be discontinued until the following day. This gives a good opportunity to collect the fine imposed on the trespasser. I did not care to violate this taboo, and for this reason can offer only second-hand information as to what takes place from the time of the closing of the trails till the harvest feast.

The owner makes solemn invocation to the omen bird and, if the omens are satisfactory, proceeds to cut some of the ripe heads of rice in the center of the farm. These are then put into a grass bag prepared especially for this purpose. This bag is said to have bezoar stones[21] placed in it in order that the rice may not only not diminish but may even increase in quantity. For the six following days the women and children reap a little every day and deposit the rice in the above receptacle.

The rice thus harvested is carefully preserved as seed for the following year, though a little of it may be employed for ceremonial purposes during the sowing and harvesting celebrations. The new rice must on no account be eaten before the harvest feast is ready, and it must not be given away, for that would certainly result in a mysterious decrease.[22] In fine, it has such a sacred character that it must be pounded at night and never in the presence of anyone who is not a member of the household, for should anyone visit the house at this time the rice would be found to have much chaff[23] in it.

THE HARVEST FEAST

The harvest feast must take place before the real work of harvesting begins. It usually occurs on the seventh day after the closing of the trails, if everything is in readiness. The importance of this feast is such that he who can not kill a pig for the occasion has no title to aristocracy in the tribe. All being ready, the trails are opened and the drum and gong boom out to announce to relatives and friends that they are welcome to the feast of Hakiádan, the goddess of grain.

The ceremony differs but little from that to Täphágan, as described on previous pages. The invocation to Hakiádan is most elaborate, lasting for several hours in the few instances which I witnessed. It is taken up by one priest after another and every inducement is offered to Hakiádan to prevent the rice from being stolen, or destroyed by their enemies, carried away by floods, wet by rain, raided by rats and ants, or stolen by Dágau, that fickle mischievous spirit whose pleasure seems to be to bring hunger[24] to humankind. The dead, whose final feast[25] has not yet been celebrated, are given a betel-nut offering and requested most devoutly not to tamper with the rice. Even the greedy parrakeets, the gregarious ricebirds, and other enemies of the rice have portions of the first fruits set out for them in little leaf packages. Hakiádan is asked to instruct these creatures to behave themselves during this delicate season.

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[18] *Ban-taí-an.*

[19] *Máya.*

[20] *Makadúya* is the term used to express the evil that might befall the crop.

[21] *Mút-ja* or *mút-da.*

[22] *Ka-gu-yú-dun*, i. e., literally, that it would be pulled away.

[23] *Á-pa.*

The pig is killed in the ordinary way, and the feast ends with the usual revels. When the farmer is unable to procure a pig, a chicken is substituted, specious excuses being made for the failure to provide a larger victim.

After the celebration the women and children of the household, assisted by such of their friends and relatives, women and children, as have agreed to harvest the rice, begin the work in real earnest. Each one starts out with her basket hanging upon her back, supported by the string which passes over her head. In her hand she carries the harvesting knife, which is a clamshell set at right angles in a palm's length of rattan, or in lieu of the shell a similarly shaped piece of tin. With this she snips off a ripe ear with a few inches of the stalk and throws it into her basket, which now hangs from her shoulder. When her basket is full she returns to the place where a larger basket[26] has been set and deposits her load in it. Thus the process goes on for the few days (three to five) necessary to harvest the crop.

The men in the meantime make the granary[27] somewhere in the clearing, usually in the center. It is ordinarily a crude structure consisting of four small posts, upon which rests a roof of rattan leaf thatch. Intermediate between the roof and the ground is a floor either of bamboo slats or of bark, upon which are set the cylindrical bark or grass receptacles for the rice. Sometimes wooden disks or inverted cones of bamboo slatwork are attached to the posts of the rice granary to prevent the entrance of rats and mice.

The rice in the larger baskets is brought to the granary and in the course of a few days is put on coarse mats of grass and threshed with hands and feet. It is then spread out thinly on these same mats and dried in the sun for one day. After it is dried it is cleaned of chaff by being tossed into the air from the winnowing tray. It is then ready for permanent deposit in the granary, to be disposed of later either by sale or by home consumption.

A field 1 hectare in area will yield, at a low estimate, 25 sacks, but where the soil is particularly well adapted for rice culture, as it is on the upper parts of nearly every river in the Agúsan Valley, 50 sacks are not considered an extraordinary yield.

THE CULTURE OF OTHER CROPS

The rice straw that stands upon the field is burnt down, and sweet potatoes, some maize, a score or more of sugarcane plants, a patch of taro, and sometimes a few banana plants are put in at intervals after the harvest entertainments. The time selected for the planting of sugarcane and bananas is around noon. It is thought that, if planted then, they will grow taller and bigger than if planted at any other hour. Taro and corn, on the contrary, must be planted during the morning hours, probably for some reason analogous to the above. If the rumbling of thunder is heard during the planting of these crops, it is an intimation that the planting should be discontinued till the following day, or, in case of urgency, till proper omens be taken to ascertain the attitude of the powers above.

Fruit trees of divers kinds are found scattered throughout the broad expanse of forest that covers eastern Mindanáo, but they are not of man's sowing nor does the Manóbo ever lay claim to them. He takes the fruit, frequently branch and all, eats it, throws the seed away and goes his way rejoicing.

HUNTING

The Manóbos are excellent hunters, keen, clever, determined, and enduring, but by no means incessant. In fact, it is only under the stress of hunger or when a few of them rally together that they start off with hunting spears and dogs. Occasionally one meets a professional who takes pride in the business, as may be observed by the trophies of wild-boar tusks and jaws hung in his house.

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[24] *Ma-ka-bun-tas-úi.*

[25] *Ka-ta-pús-an.*

[26] *Diwitan.*

[27] *Tam-bó-bung.*

HUNTING WITH DOGS

The dogs used are of the usual type seen throughout the Philippines, except that only the better and pluckier or luckier ones are chosen for hunting. These are recognized by the size and relative position of the nipples on the breast. It is said that from these and other marks the fate of the dog can be foreseen. I was frequently instructed in these signs, but found it impossible to master them for the simple reason that no two experts seemed to agree. Thus in one case, where I consulted those versed in this matter, they respectively informed me that a certain dog would be mangled [28] by a wild boar, swallowed by an alligator,[29] and devoured by a cobra, and advised me not to purchase it. Good hunting dogs are often valued as highly as a human life (30 pesos) and sometimes more so. I have seen dogs that seldom returned without having run down a deer or wild boar.

The ordinary Manóbo house has at least a few dogs, and these are allowed the liberty of the house. They share the family mats, and sometimes have a special ladder provided for their ascent and descent. Their food at the best is somewhat scanty. They have names such as "Diguim,"[30] "Sâpas,"[31] and are addressed by their masters with the greatest familiarity. A dog, however, that howls in its sleep, is thought to forebode the death of its master or of some inmate of the house. It must be sold, else the owner or one of his family might die. Dogs are supposed to be messengers of the blood spirits [32] and to be under the protection of the god of hunting,[33] for whom the following ceremony must be made by the hunter if he desires continued success in the chase and the safety of his dogs from the perils thereof.

OFFERING TO SUGÚDUN, THE SPIRIT OF HUNTERS

A triangular tray of *bayug* or of *ilang-ilang* wood decorated with palm fronds is made and suspended from the rafters of the house. The owner of the dogs then calls upon Sugúdun, offers him a quid of betel nut, and promises to kill a fowl if only he will be so kind as to assist in getting a wild boar or a deer the following day. The fowl must be a male and of a red color. This invocation occupies the better part of an hour, and, when the hunter is satisfied that he has convinced Sugúdun of the necessity and expediency of being propitious, he slays the red fowl in his honor. The blood is caught in a sacred saucer [34] and placed upon the oblation tray [35] for the special entertainment of the hunting deity. In one case I saw the blood anointment [36] made on the principal dog in order to remove from him some evil influence that he was thought to possess. After the fowl is cooked, a piece of the meat, a little cooked rice, and a few eggs are put upon the sacrificial tray and left there.

THE HUNT

On one of the ensuing days, provided he has observed no ill omen, the hunter starts off, usually with one or more companions, for the selected hunting grounds. As the forests of the Agúsan Valley teem with wild boar and deer, the hunters usually do not have to travel far before the dogs get on the scent. This they announce by their continuous yelping. The hunt then begins. The game strives to elude its pursuers by constantly doubling on its path, so that the hunters do not have such a long run as might be imagined. They never cease to encourage their dogs with a peculiar monotonous cry that resembles a long-drawn *u* sound. The dogs keep on the heels of their prey and worry and harass it with repeated snaps and bites till it finally comes to bay with its back to a tree. The hunters at once become aware of this by the change in the cry of the dogs, and, accordingly, hasten their steps. Upon arriving at the scene, they cautiously steal up behind the game and put it to death with their spears.

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[28] *Pan-ti-gón-on.*

[29] *Si-bad-ón-on to bu-a-ja (buáda).*

[30] "Black."

[31] "Cotton."

[32] *Tagbú-sau.*

[33] *Sugúdun.*

[34] *Apú-gan.*

[35] *Su-gú-gan.*

[36] *Lím-pas.*

Accidents are uncommon during the hunt, but I have seen several in which both men and dogs were mangled by some fierce wild boar that on being wounded had proved a dangerous enemy.

Where several hunters have participated in the hunt, the game is divided in the forest according to the number of dogs engaged. If the hunters are relatives of the same household, as generally happens, the distribution is made after they reach home. The game is carried back by one of the party, and, if there are other relatives in the settlement, they, too, receive a share. Thus a wild boar or a deer is sufficient for just about one meal.

HUNTING TABOOS AND BELIEFS

The following taboos in connection with hunting are of interest:

(1) The mention of such things as are displeasing to the local forest deities must be positively avoided, such as the mention of salt, of fish that are not found in the region, and of the name of the quarry.

(2) The meat must not be cooked with lard, garlic, or in any other way except in the orthodox Manóbo manner of broiling it, or cooking it in water.

(3) The meat must not be salted and dried.

(4) The game must not be skinned, but singed, for the former act would be one of rashness that would incur divine displeasure and result in lack of success on the part of the dogs during all ensuing hunts.

(5) The bones of the game must not be rapped on the floor to remove the marrow. They must be broken with a bolo.

(6) During the process of boiling the water in which the meat has been placed must be allowed to run over.

(7) The bones of the game must not be thrown into water. Such an act would, it is thought, bring sickness on the transgressor or on a member of his family.

(8) An unmarried man, who has had clandestine relations with a woman, may not partake of the meat before he has made an expiatory offering to the owner of the dogs. This offering need not be of any great value and is usually given in an informal way. The infringement of this taboo is said to be attended with the same baneful effects on the hunting dogs as that mentioned above.

(9) For the same reason a married man must make a compensatory offering of some little thing to his wife in case he has been unfaithful to her. However, the majority of those whom I questioned knew of no such counteracting practice.

A consideration of the above restrictions will explain the reluctance that the Manóbo feels in dividing his game with those who are not of his persuasion. He is afraid that the meat may be cooked in lard or that some other regulation may be broken, thereby bringing down upon himself the displeasure of the spirit owner of the game and upon his dogs ill luck or total lack of success in future hunts.

There are various traditional accounts of people who have been charmed [37] by deer and never heard of again. It seems that, at first, they were approached by a circling herd of deer, which they did not fear and allowed to come close. But among the deer was a transformed *búsau* or demon that advanced and devoured the solitary hunter. It is said that a dog will not follow a deer of this description.[38]

OTHER METHODS OF OBTAINING GAME

The ordinary bow is used but the arrow frequently varies from the regular fighting arrow in being heavier, thicker, and not provided with feathering. An arrow with a forked point is occasionally used for small birds, while for hornbills sharp spikes of *palma brava* are used at times to perforate their tough skins. Dart arrows are favorite for monkeys. The blowpipe (*sum-pí-tan*)[39] is not used. Little game is obtained by the bow and arrow, except when the hunter builds a shelter in a fruit tree and picks off, unseen, such birds as come to feast themselves.

"Birdlime," made out of the viscid sap of certain trees, is occasionally used to capture small birds.

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[37] *Pag-u-sa-hán.*

[38] Called *ma-paí-yag.*

[39] I found a long slender blowpipe all over Mandáyaland used for shooting birds, but it is not a very successful weapon, nor is it used in fighting.

TRAPPING

TRAPPING CEREMONIES AND TABOOS

As on all occasions, the invocation to the turtledove, the consultation of its cry, and the betel-nut offering to the forest deities of the locality are performed at the outset by the prospective trapper. The omission of the last ceremony might expose him to the danger of being speared by his own trap.

I observed in several districts the use of an ordinary toy magnet,[40] as a charm [41] to insure success in trapping, but I suspect that belief in the efficacy of the magnet was inspired by some inventive trader who wanted to dispose of his magnets with more dispatch and at a bigger gain. The use, however, of magic herbs [42] is said to have been learned from the Mamánuas and is resorted to in the eastern parts of the middle and lower Agúsan. I was afforded no information either as to the names or the nature of the herbs used. They are carried around the neck carefully concealed.

The male priests and the warrior priests invoke their respective tutelaries before a trapping expedition and the *manikiad* [43] calls upon the emissary [44] of the war deities. The trapper sets a sign [45] near his house upon his departure. This consists of a bunch of grass or twigs tied to a stick, and is an intimation to passers-by of his absence and of the reason for it. He then sets out for his trapping grounds, but if on the route he meets anyone he must return to the house at least temporarily,[46] for otherwise he would catch nothing in the traps.

In his absence the following are a few of the taboos that must be observed:

(1) The trapper's wife must neither do work nor leave the house until his return, or, in case of protracted absence, until sunset.

(2) No one, not even a dog, may enter the trapper's home unless the visitor leaves, or unless there is left for him on his departure, an object of personal use, such as his bolo. This is intended as a deposit and will be returned. The dog must be tied till sunset or a similar deposit made for it.

(3) The mention of the words *pig* and *deer* must be sedulously avoided, and no one must refer to the purpose of the hunter unless it be in a periphrastic way.

I observed on several trapping expeditions in which I took part, that the trapper built a little offering house [47] near his shelter house, and at first was very regular in his offerings and prayers to the spirit lord of the forest. His religious fervor, however, decreased in direct proportion to the bountifulness with which heaven rewarded his prayers. When he found game becoming scarce, he decided that probably the local forest spirit was displeased, and tried his luck in other parts.

THE BAMBOO SPEAR TRAP [48]

A common method of trapping among the Manôbos, more especially practiced during the rainy season, is by the use of the bamboo spear trap that is in very common use throughout the Philippine Islands. Without entering into details, it may be described as a trap in which a spring of bent wood, upon being released, drives a bamboo spear that has been attached to it into the side of a passing pig or deer. The whole apparatus is laid horizontally about 1 foot above the ground, and is carefully concealed. It is a simple contrivance, speedily and cheaply made, and in the rainy season very successful. Accidents to human beings from these traps are rare, due to the keen sight and forest instinct with which the Manôbo is endowed. As the pig or deer passes along the trail, it releases the spring and is speared in the side. It is seldom that a wild boar dies on the spot or in the vicinity. It usually has to be tracked for hours and sometimes is never found.

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[40] *Bá-to bâni.*

[41] *Sûm-pa'.*

[42] *Sin-lá-ub.*

[43] A title conferred upon a man who has one or two deaths to his credit. The number depends upon the locality.

[44] This class of spirits is called *pan-ai-yang.*

[45] *Ba-li-ûg.*

[46] Manôbos claim that the violation of this taboo would bring about a condition that is expressed by the word *ma-ka-dû-ya;* I can not state definitely what this condition is. I never have had a satisfactory explanation.

[47] *Bai-yui-bai-yui,* literally, a little house.

[48] *Ba-tik.*

OTHER VARIETIES OF TRAPS

Bamboo caltrops are sharp bamboo slats [49] between 2 and 3 feet long set in the ground, usually at an angle of about 45° in places where the wild boar have to make a descent. It is not a very successful contrivance, as these animals are endowed with such extraordinary sight and scent.

The *pa-yu-pa-yu* trap consists of a set of bamboo slats as described above, set on each side of a pig trail, and of a good-sized log held in a slanting position by a trigger. When released by the boar, the log falls down behind him, and, by the sudden noise, frightens him and causes him to jump into the bamboo spikes.

The pitfall [50] is little used. It consists of a hole large enough for a wild boar or deer, carefully covered so as to deceive the animal. The bottom bristles with sharp bamboo stakes.

The monkey spring trap [51] is on the style of the bamboo spear trap described above but is much smaller, being set on the branch of a tree without any attempt at concealment. The poor, simple-minded monkey, on catching sight of the bait, walks up innocently, seizes it, and is wounded by the spear. He does not travel far after that, for monkeys succumb quickly to a wound.

An ordinary noose trap [52] consists of a string with a piece of wood bent back and held in position by a trigger. When the trigger is released, the bent piece of wood draws up the noose tight on the bird's leg. It is used for catching wild pigeons, jungle fowl, and other birds.

The circle of nooses [53] is a series of rattan nooses placed around a decoy cock. This bird, by his lusty crowing, challenges his wild fellows to fight. When the fight begins the champion of the woods soon finds his feet enmeshed in the nooses, and within a short time his whole body safely lodged in the trapper's carrying basket.

FISHING

The Manóbo fishes more than he hunts, yet he can by no manner of means be said to be an incessant fisherman. The following are the methods commonly employed for catching fish.

SHOOTING WITH BOW AND ARROW

In shooting fish an arrow [54] that has a detachable head is used. The fisherman conceals himself in a tree or on the bank of a stream or lake, and upon spying the fish lets fly a two-pronged arrow which has a steel or iron point.

This method is in universal use in the lake region of the Agúsan Valley and in rivers which are too deep for other methods, especially during floods, when the fish roam around over the inundated land. It is ordinarily not attended with great success, three or four fish being an average day's catch. The common catfish, called *dalág* in Manila, is the ordinary victim, other species being rare victims to the arrow.

FISHING WITH HOOK AND LINE

The hook [55] is a stout one and is made out of the iron handle of the ordinary kerosene can or out of a piece of brass wire of similar size. It is attached to a substantial *abaká* cord,[56] 45 meters long, more or less. A piece of lead or a stone for sinker and a suitable bait complete the outfit. The fish caught with this apparatus are the swordfish [57] and the sawfish. The fisherman seats himself in his boat or on a sand bank, and with the line tied to his foot or to his arm awaits a bite. He immediately pulls in his victim, never giving him a chance to tire himself out as our fishermen do. Of course the fish is always pulled upstream.

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[49] *Pa-dúg-pa.*

[50] *Tu-ki-bung.*

[51] *Pú-kis.*

[52] *Lit'-ag.*

[53] *Ka-li-as.*

[54] *Bág'-ai.*

[55] *Kaúad.*

[56] *Ha-pón.*

[57] *Ta-gá-han*

FISH POISONING[58]

Poisoning is a common and successful method of fishing, practiced more frequently on the upper reaches of a river. There are four methods, all of which I have witnessed frequently throughout Manóboland.

The túba[59] *method.*—A quantity of *túba* varying from one-half to two sacksful is put into a dugout and brought to the spot selected. Everybody comes provided with a fish spear, fishing bow, bolo, boat or raft, and conical traps[60] made for the occasion. The *túba* is then pounded as it lies in the boat, a little water being added. This process occupies the greater part of an hour, and is a very animated one, everybody being in high hopes of a grand feast. Where there are no boats, the *túba* is pounded in the rice mortars and brought in bamboo joints to the selected spot.

At a point possibly a mile or more down the stream from the place in which it is decided to cast the poison, the women and girls, aided by a few men, fix their conical traps across the stream so that no large fish may escape. When all is ready the *túba* is thrown into the river, and everyone dashes downstream with loud exclamations, some in boats, some on rafts, or, where the water is shallow, wading or jumping from rock to rock.

It is some 15 minutes before the poison begins to take effect and then the women and children at the traps may have a busy time removing the fish in order to keep their traps free for the entrance of more. During this time the men and boys scurry around jabbing, hitting, missing, and rushing from side to side with mad shouts of joy and exultation, sometimes two or three after some fine big dazed fish of extra size. Thus they may continue for a few hours if the river is a good sized one and the fish plentiful, for at the beginning a great number of fish probably dart up side creeks, thus escaping from the effects of the poison, and when all the fish in the main stream have fallen a prey, these lurkers must be sought out.

Túba has a deleterious effect on man, producing colic and diarrhea, if taken in fairly strong solution. Yet the fish that die from the effects of it are perfectly harmless in that respect. The famous *ís-da* of the Agúsan Valley is the only fish that does not succumb to the effects of this poison.

The túbli method.—The root of the *túbli* plant is used for poisoning. It is a quicker-acting poison and more universal than the preceding, in the sense that nothing, not even shellfish, escapes its baneful effects. As the plant has to be cultivated, it is obvious that it is not obtainable in large quantities, and for this reason is not used as a rule on the main streams, the quantity available not being sufficient to have an effect. It is used in the same manner as *túba.*

The lágtañg method.—The *lágtañg* is the seed of a tree that is not found in the middle and upper Agúsan Valley. I never witnessed the use of this poison on a large scale, due undoubtedly to the absence of it in the middle and upper Agúsan. The following was the procedure followed in using it as witnessed by me.

A few handfuls of the seeds are toasted in a frying pan and then pounded in a rice mortar. Then ordinary earthworms, or even the intestines of a bird, are cut into small bits and mixed with the poison. A deep quiet pool in a river or a likely place in a lake is selected and the mixture of worms and *lágtañg* dropped into the water at the edge of the pool. In less than five minutes the minnows and small fish rise to the surface, and begin to circle around giddily. These are followed by the larger ones but it is not an easy undertaking to catch them till they have exhausted themselves in their giddy circles or die in the tall *runo* grass that grows along the banks.

This poison affects only such fish as eat the worms. People who eat fish caught in this way seem to suffer no ill effects.

There are other vegetable poisons used in killing fish, but I remember only the name of the tree called *tigaú.*

DRY SEASON LAKE FISHING[61]

The mass of lakes and channels in the central Agúsan dries up into mere pools once a year, or once in a few years, and affords an admirable opportunity for fishing on a large scale. Thousands of people from as far south as Lankiláan, and from as far north as Guadalupe, from Los Arcos on the east and from Walo on the west, troop to the lake region in their boats. They bring with them their entire families, a supply of salt, a little rice, if they have it, or the usual substitute (sago and bananas), their earthen pots and pans, and their bolos. Upon arriving at a suitable place, they erect a rude shack and start to work. Wading into the mud and water now half-boiling under a torrid sun, they slash at every fish that by his hurried dash makes known his presence. After the fish have been chased in this manner for some time, some of them bury themselves in the mud, whence they are easily removed with the hand. In this manner a few men may secure hundreds of fish in a few hours, but these are only of two species.[62] Other varieties of fish do not remain in places that dry up to mere ponds. The *haú-an* are known to leave the torrid water by wriggling up on land and making their way to other water. The fish after being caught are taken to the temporary shack and placed in water[63] until such time as the owners are ready for the cleaning and salting operations.

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[58] *Pag-tu-bá-han.*

[59] *Túba* is the Croton Tiglium or croton-oil tree.

[60] *Sán-au.*

[61] *Lingig.*

The heads, except such few as are used for the family meals, are discarded, but the roe and the intestines are carefully preserved as a delicacy. The body is so cut that it can be spread out into one thin piece and then salted, usually in a rather stingy way, about 3.5 liters of salt being used for as many as 90 fish. The fish are then set up on an elevated bamboo frame and left to dry for a whole day or more, according to the strength of the sun.

Though the fishing season is one of the merriest of the year, yet it is a time of work and of stench. It is no unusual thing for the whole family to work till the late hours of the night in order to prevent the fish from putrefying. The odor that prevails where thousands of fish heads—that have not been consumed by the crocodiles that infest the main channels—are rotting under a blazing sun is left to the reader's imagination. The season may last as much as one month and one family may have thousands of dried fish.[64] Ordinarily the lack of salt makes it impossible for any of the Manóbos, except those of the better class, to remain long, unless they choose to work for the Bisáyas.

FISHING WITH NETS, TRAPS, AND TORCHES

Fishing with nets is not practiced except by a few Manóbos on the seacoast or by the Christianized Manóbos who have learned the practice from Bisáyas, though I have seen cast nets used on the upper Tágo, upper Simúlao, and upper Agúsan.

The *búbo* is a cigar-shaped trap made of slats of rattan, from ½ to 1 meter in length. The swifter the current, the smaller the trap used. The large end has a cone with its apex pointing inward. It is made of bamboo slats which are left unfastened at the apex of the cone so that the fish may enter but not get out. This trap is set with its mouth facing either up or down stream.

Another form of this trap [65] is cylindrical and not conical like the *búbo*. It is set in swamps with an evil-smelling bait and quickly becomes filled with a very savory mudfish.[66]

The *hí-pon*, *u-yáp*, and *u-yáp tá-na* are varieties of small fish that at fixed intervals make their way up the Agúsan to a distance of from 20 to 30 miles in innumerable quantities. It is said that they arrive at the expected date and hour. They are scooped into dugouts with scoop nets in immense quantities and salted for sale. This method of fishing is confined practically to Bisáyas, but a goodly number of Christianized Manóbos who live in the vicinity of Butuán take part in it.

A fairly common method of fishing among the Christianized Manóbos, as also among the pagan Manóbos who do not live in too warlike a country, is by the use of a spear and torch. Going along the banks of the stream, the fisherman lures the fish with the light and secures them with a jab of his three-pronged spear. In this way he may secure enough for a meal or two. Where the water is deep enough, this method of fishing is attended with great danger from crocodiles, especially in the lake region where they abound in numbers beyond conception.

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[62] The *is-da* or *haú-an* and *pu-yo'-pu-yo*.

[63] It is believed that the flesh of fish will harden if they are left in water after being caught.

[64] *Dá-ing*.

[65] *Bág-yas*.

[66] *Pán-tat*.

CHAPTER XI

WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

There is no knowledge of a former use of stone implements in Manóboland. During my peregrinations throughout eastern Mindanáo I saw no stone implements except the ordinary whetstone, so universally used for sharpening steel weapons and knives, the cooking stones upon which the pots are placed, and the flint used in the production of fire. It is true that there is a common rumor as to the existence of stone missiles hurled in wrath by Anítan[1] at irreverent mortals, but I have never seen these tokens of divine anger.

Weapons and implements will be subdivided, the former into offensive and defensive weapons, and the latter into agricultural, hunting, and fishing implements.

OFFENSIVE WEAPONS

THE BOW AND ARROW

As the use of the bow and arrow in the Philippines is generally considered by ethnologists to indicate Negrito influence, the subject requires more than passing notice, especially as the geographical distribution of this primitive weapon extends to not only every non-Christian tribe and group east of the central Cordillera of Mindanáo, except perhaps the Banuáons,[2] but, according to various rumors, to the Manóbos occupying the central portion of Mindanáo in the subprovince of Bukídnon.

The bow is a piece of *palma brava*,[3] or less frequently of bamboo [4] varying in length between 1.2 and 2 meters and in thickness between 7 and 12 millimeters. In the center it is about 30 millimeters broad and gradually tapers to a breadth of about 12 millimeters at each end. Except on the upper Agúsan [5] no means are taken to strengthen this stock by winding rattan around it, unless the bamboo or wood shows indications of splitting, in which case a girdle of plaited rattan obviates the danger. No attempt at ornamentation is made except the smoothing and polishing of the wood. In the case of bamboo stocks, the projecting pieces of the joints are not removed on the proximal side of the bow. At about 2 or 3 centimeters from the extremities, two notches are made to hold the string. At the extremity, which we will call the upper one, from its being held up during use, one often sees a few concentric incised circles in one of which is set a little ring of steel, iron, or brass wire. The object of this is to increase the twang of the bow upon the release of the arrow.

The bowstring is nearly always a strip of rattan about 3 millimeters broad. This is attached to the lower end of the stock by a simple series of loops. To the upper extremity it is attached by a loop that slips along the stock into the upper notch when the bow is strung for shooting. It is needless to remark that the bowstring is about 2 or 3 centimeters shorter than the stock, which in the moment of stringing must be bent to enable the upper extremity of the string to reach the upper notch and thereby acquire a sufficient tension to propel the arrow.

Arrows are of several kinds according to the purpose for which they are used, such as hunting, fishing, and fighting. Those intended for hunting and fishing will be described in their proper places. The following description applies exclusively to the offensive arrow used in fighting.

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[1] One of the powerful spirits of the sky world.

[2] I am very much inclined to think that it exists among them as well.

[3] *An-á-hau.*

[4] Of the species called *pa-túng.*

[5] Mandáya and Mañgguáñgan bows are smaller and neater than Manóbo bows. They are made commonly of a piece of betel-nut palm and have graceful lashings of rattan strips on the stock for the purpose of imparting strength thereto.

The shaft of this arrow consists of a reed of bamboo[6] about 8 millimeters in diameter and somewhat over a meter long, with a bamboo head. The head is a sliver of bamboo [7] varying in length from 20 to 36 centimeters. On the upper Agúsan, where the Manóbos seem to have assimilated much from the Mandáyas, both the head and the shaft of the arrow are much shorter, much neater, and, in general, much handier. The arrowhead is broadest at about two-thirds of its distance from the point. From this broad part, or shoulder, as we might call it, the head tapers to a sharp point at one end and to such a size at the other that it can be inserted into the natural socket of the shaft. In this socket it is retained by a lashing of fine rattan, which serves at once to retain it in place and to prevent the frail bamboo shaft from splitting. A coating of *tabon-tábon* [8] seed pulp over the lashing prevents it from loosening or slipping and at the same time preserves it from atmospheric action. Occasionally one sees arrowheads with square shoulders that act as barbs. I have never seen steel arrowheads in use among Manóbos, though it is certain that they are used by Mañgguáñgans between the Agúsan and the Sálug.[9] It is not unlikely, moreover, that they are used by the people of the Ihawán and Baóbo Rivers.

A very important feature from an ethnological standpoint is the feathering of the arrow. The object of this is to steady the arrow in its flight and thereby prevent windage. The method of feathering is as follows: The quills of the wing feathers of a hornbill, or sometimes of a fish eagle, are parted down the middle. Then three, or sometimes only two, of these parted quills with their adhering vanes are placed longitudinally at equal distances along the arrow shaft so that their extremities are about 6 centimeters from the butt of the shaft and their webs stand straight out from the surface of the reed, forming equal obtuse angles to one another. These vanes are retained in this position by windings of very light, flexible rattan at their extremities. As a security against slipping or change of relative position, a coating of the above-mentioned fruit pulp, often mixed with pot black, is applied. The final preparation of the arrow consists in chopping off with a bolo or small knife the outer edges of the vanes. This is done in a slightly slanting direction within about 1 centimeter of the butt end of the vanes, at which point they are cut in a direction transverse to the length of the arrow shaft.

The feathering of the arrow is always done with precision, as the accuracy of its flight, the uniformity of its rotation, the length of its trajectory, and the consequent penetrative power are known to depend upon proper care in this respect.

Unlike other bowmen, the Manóbo makes a notch in the butt end of his arrow, but as far as my observations go, there are never any decorative incisions and tracings on Manóbo arrows.[10]

There seem to be no special arrow makers. Nearly every adult Manóbo, who has not relinquished the use of the bow and arrow, with no other tool than his bolo and perhaps a small knife, can complete a bow and a bunch of arrows in a relatively short time.

In stringing the bow it is grasped by the center of the stock with the left hand and the top, where the loose loop of the bowstring is placed, is held with the right hand. The bottom of the bow rests upon the ground and is supported by the right foot. The right hand then, by a movement toward the person, bends the stock sufficiently to allow the loop of the bowstring to reach and slip into its notch, the left hand and foot retaining the bow in a bent position. The bowman then grasps the central part of the stock between the thumb and the four fingers of the left hand and seizing the feathered part of the arrow between the first and middle fingers of the right, he places the end of it at right angles to, and in contact with, the center, or thereabouts, of the string. The part of the arrow in front of the feathering rests upon the thumb and middle finger and under the index finger of the left hand. Raising up the bow and holding it inclined at an angle of about 20° from the vertical, the top being toward the right, the string, with the arrow butt always pressed against it, is drawn back sufficiently (about 30 centimeters) to give the requisite tension. The string is then allowed to fly back, while at the same time the bowman releases his hold upon the arrow butt, and thus the arrow speeds on its way. When ready to be released the end of the arrow points to the bowman's right shoulder.

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[6] Of the species known as *la-hí'*.

[7] *Da-mu-án* species.

[8] *Parinarium mindanaense* (*Rosaceae*).

[9] I purchased for the Bureau of Science Museum a unique specimen which, besides having a steel head, is provided with an ugly spur. The owner claimed that it was one of the arrows that had been shot at him and the party that accompanied him by the people of a Mañgguáñgan settlement. I was one of his party.

[10] Among the Mandáyas arrow shafts frequently have ornamental wavy lines and concentric circles incised along the length of the shaft, but this decoration has been observed among no other tribe that I know of in eastern Mindanáo.

The greatest range of a good arrow is about 75 meters. Its effective range, however, is only about one-third of that.

I can not laud the expertness of the Manóbo as a bowman. Here and there one meets a really good shot, but the average man can not score 50 per cent at close range.

No quivers worthy of the name are used. When a war raid is undertaken, the arrows are placed in a bamboo internode, which is carried in a horizontal position at the bowman's side. Arrows are never poisoned. The bamboo of which the spearhead is made seems to have a somewhat poisonous effect as a wound caused by it is very painful and hard to cure.

THE BOLO AND ITS SHEATH

The next important offensive weapon used by the Manóbo is the bolo. It is his inseparable companion by day and, in regions where the influence of civil or military authority is not strongly felt, also by night.

As there are but two Manóbo blacksmiths that I know of, all bolos used are imported, either from the Mandáyas or from the Banuáons, though one sees from time to time a weapon that has made its way from the Bagóbos. The prevailing bolo is of Mandáya workmanship and merits a more detailed description.

It is a substantial steel blade varying in length from 30 to 45 centimeters. At its juncture with the handle it is about as broad as the handle but narrows gradually on top, and less so on the lower edge, to a breadth of 25 millimeters [11] at a point one-sixth of the length of the blade from the handle. At this point the back of the bolo changes its direction, running off at an angle to its previous direction of 15°. The lower part or edge of the weapon gradually bellies out until the blade, at a point one-fourth of its entire length from the tip attains its maximum breadth (7 to 10 centimeters) whence it curves like the segment of a circle to the point of the weapon.

The type of bolo that is considered more pretentious, and that is more common on the upper Agúsan, has a thin straight back [12] up to within 6 or 7 centimeters from the handle, at which point the direction of the back is slightly changed. In other respects this bolo is similar to the one described above.

At the narrowest part of the bolo and on the underside there is occasionally a serrated decoration in the steel, the significance of which I do not know.

The handle is occasionally of ebony, but more commonly of some other wood. The grasp for the hand is cylindrical. The handle is often bound with a braid of rattan, or a band or two of steel or of brass, to prevent splitting, or less commonly with silver bands for ornament's sake. Curving downward beyond the grasp is a carved ornamentation that suggests remotely the head of a bird with an upturned curving bill. This is one continuous piece with the grasp. It is rare to find brass ferrules and hand guards at the juncture of the blade with the handle.

The sheath, which is of Manóbo production, consists of two pieces of thin light wood a little broader than the bolo. It is almost rectangular in form for a distance equal to the length of the blade, and then the edges become gradually narrower up to a point that is about 3 centimeters from the end; at this point they expand into a small square with incurving sides.

The two pieces are held together closely by bands of rattan coiled around them at equal intervals. A coating of beeswax serves to preserve the wood and at the same time to impart a finished appearance to the sheath. Frequently pot black is mixed with the beeswax, and on the upper and central parts, and on the ends and edges, symmetrical bands of this black paint are applied according to the fancy of the wearer. Other decorations of beads, cotton tassels, and strips of a yellow parasitic plant, are not at all infrequent.

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[11] Figures given are approximate only. They vary in different bolos.

[12] Hence it is called *li-kúd-li-kud*.

The girdle, which is nearly always of braided *abaká* fiber, frequently multicolored, and which holds the weapon to the left side of the wearer, passes through a hole on the outer side of the sheath. This hole is made through the central embossed part of the outer piece of the sheath.

A noteworthy feature of the sheath is that it is so made that by pushing the handle to the lower side of the aperture of the sheath, the weapon remains locked and can not fall out or be withdrawn until the handle is pushed back to the upper side of the aperture.

A MAGIC TEST FOR THE EFFICIENCY OF A BOLO

It is very interesting to observe the method pursued in determining the value of the bolo. A piece of rattan the length of the weapon is cut into small pieces, each one, excepting perhaps the last, exactly as long as the maximum width of the bolo. These pieces are then placed in the following positions and in the order indicated by the number. (See fig. 1.) It is obvious that, as a rule, there is one piece of rattan that is not as long as the others. This piece is always set down last, and its position is the determining factor of the test.

In Figure 1 *a* all the pieces of rattan happen to be equal, there being no short piece. Moreover, there are enough pieces to complete the figure. This combination is not inauspicious in so far as it does not augur evil, but it is thought to be a sure indication of a failure to kill.[13]

In Figure 1 *b* all the pieces are of equal length, but there are not enough to complete the figure as in figure 1 *a*. This is a doubtful configuration. On the one hand the weapon may or may not kill, on the other it will prove efficient to the owner in matters not connected with fighting.

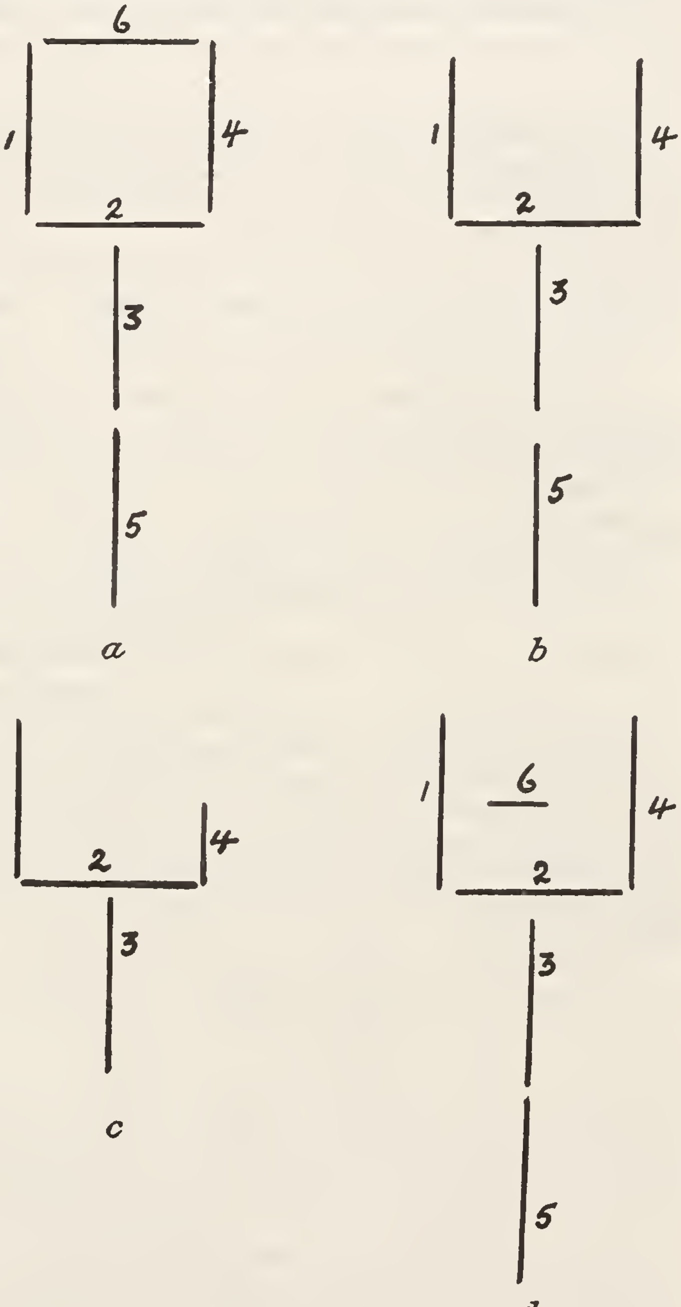

FIGURE 1

In Figure 1 *c* we have only four pieces of rattan, three of which are equal to the maximum width of the bolo and one of which is short. This is a good combination. It indicates that in a fight the enemy will suffer loss.[14]

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[13] This combination is called *li-mut.*

[14] This formation is called *sá-kab.*

In Figure 1 *d* we have the best conformation possible. The fact that the short section falls, as it were, inside, indicates that a short fight and speedy death may be expected. The owner of a weapon that passes this test is reluctant to part with it unless very advantageous offers are made to him.

A form of divination in which a suspended bolo, especially a consecrated one, takes the part of the *deus ex machina* is described in the chapter on divination.

THE LANCE

The lance, like the bolo, is imported. It is of two kinds: (1) The Mandáya lance, which is found everywhere except on the lower Agúsan and on the upper reaches of the Umaíam, Argáwan, and Kasilaían, and in the eastern Cordillera; (2) a lance, probably of Moro production, which is said to come from the Pulángi River, and which is used in the regions just mentioned where the Mandáya lance is not considered lucky or effective. In general, lances consist of a steel head and a long shaft, usually of *palma brava*, but rarely of some other species.[15] The head is firmly attached to the shaft with a viscous substance.

The lance is the inseparable companion of the Manóbo in his travels through dangerous places, of which there are not a few in remote regions. When he arrives at a house he sticks the lance in the ground, head up, near the ladder. In traveling he carries it upon his right shoulder, head forward, in a horizontal position and is ever ready to throw it if he fears an ambush. I have frequently startled my Manóbo friends while they were engaged in some occupation, such as fishing, just to study their demeanor. The result was always the same—a quick turn and an attitude of offense, with lance poised and defiant eye.

The lance is held during the poise in the upturned right hand under the thumb and over the first and second fingers. The arm is extended in a slight curve just in front of the line of the shoulders. In making a thrust, the lance is darted parallel to the line of the shoulders and on a level with them, the left side of the person being presented to the adversary. The lance is not thrown, but is nearly always retained in the hand.

The Mandáya lance merits most attention, as it is more generally used, and is usually of better mechanical and ornamental workmanship. The shaft is a piece of either *palma brava* or of *kulipápa* palm, varying from 1.8 to 2.4 meters in length. It has a uniform diameter of about 16 millimeters for a distance equal to one-half of its length from the head; the other half tapers very gradually to about one-half of its original thickness, ending in a fairly sharp point, which may be capped with a conical piece of tin or of steel to protect the wood against injury from stones.

The head is a long, slender, pointed blade. From the shoulders, which are from 4 to 7 centimeters apart, it may taper uniformly to a point; much more commonly, however, it tapers gradually to within about 25 millimeters of the extremity. Here its width is about 25 millimeters. At this point the edges converge at an angle of 45° to the axis, until they meet, forming the point of the lance. From the shoulders of the blade the edges likewise slant inward to the neck at an angle of 45°. The neck is a solid cylindrical piece, about 3 centimeters in length, nearly always ornamented with embossed work, and ends in a rod or in a conical socket about 7 centimeters long. It is very common to see ornamental chisel work along the axis near the neck. The general outline of the engraving is that of the spearhead in miniature, within which there are often little leaflike puncturings.

When the lance head has a socket it is attached to the shaft with a resinous substance similar to that used for bolos. When the lance head ends in a solid cylindrical piece and must be inserted in the hollow shaft, the end of the shaft is reinforced with a Moro brass ferrule, if the possessor of the lance has been so lucky as to have acquired one, or with coils of *abaká* fiber over which has been wound *abaká* cloth stuck with the above mentioned resin.

Lances of the better style have ornamental rings of beaten silver, sometimes amounting to as many as 15, placed at equal distances along the shaft for a distance of as much as 30 centimeters from the juncture of the head and the shaft.

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[15] Wood of the tree *ku-li-pá-pa* is used occasionally.

A lance of another style is common among the highland Manóbos of the central Cordillera, and is not infrequently found among the Manóbos of Kantílan and Tágo. Though not so striking in dimensions and in general appearance, it is preferred by the Manóbo, because it is said to cause a more severe wound and because it is less liable to have the head detached when driven through the floor or wall of a house. Its head is much narrower at its broadest part than the one just described, is not so long, and nearly always tapers to a point. It is without any shoulders. It never has the conical steel socket that the Mandáya lance sometimes has, is always straight edged, and is set into the shaft in identically the same manner as the socketless Mandáya weapon. Another point of distinction is the decorative scallop that runs parallel to the edges of the head on each side. There is very seldom any decorative work within the periphery of these scallops.

THE DAGGER AND ITS SHEATH

A weapon, whose distribution among Manóbos is limited almost exclusively to Manóbos south of the 8° of latitude, is the Mandáya dagger, of Mandáya workmanship, and indicative of Mandáya influence.[16]

Its component parts are a thin laminated piece of steel from 15 to 25 centimeters long with a thin, tapering rod somewhat shorter, projecting in the line of the axis, and a hilt of *banáti* through which the projection of the blade passes. It is carried in a sheath which is held at the wearer's right side by a girdle.

The blade is two-edged, widening from a sharp point to two shoulders from 3 to 4 centimeters apart, whence the edges incurve gradually and finally end in two projecting spurs 3 or 4 centimeters apart. The rod for the reception of the hilt extends from this point along the line of the axis for a distance of from 6 to 8 centimeters.

From time to time one finds a blade that is inlaid with tiny pieces of brass or silver, but there is never any other kind of ornamentation.

The handle is of a type that is unique, as far as I know, in the Philippine Islands. In using the dagger the body of the hilt is seized in the right hand, the index finger is inserted between one horn of the crescent and the central steel tang, and the thumb between the latter and the other point of the crescent, while the other three fingers hold the weapon within the palm. This method seems clumsy, but nevertheless it is the orthodox way of holding it. Fastened to the right side of the wearer in a more or less horizontal position and with the handle projecting forward, it is always at the owner's disposal for prompt and deadly action, especially so as only a mere thread or two of *abaká* fiber running from the handle to the under part of the sheath retains the weapon in its sheath.

The handle is usually strengthened at the neck with plaited rings of *nito* fiber and may have ornamental silver work, both at that point and on the horns, or even at times on the whole outer surface of it.

The sheath consists of two pieces of wood of an elongated rectangular shape, spreading out at the extremity. Strips of rattan wound at intervals hold the two pieces together and a paint of blended beeswax and pot black is ordinarily employed to give a finish to it. But occasionally one sees bands of beaten silver at the head of the sheath, and, less frequently, a profusion of beautiful, artistic silverwork set over the whole sheath.[17]

Manóbos in general, with the exception of those who live on the upper Agúsan, take but little care of their weapons, except to sharpen them. In this respect they are very unlike the Mandáyas and the Debabáons, who are most conscientious and incessant in the care of their bolos, lances, and daggers. They keep these weapons burnished by rubbing them on a board that has been covered with the dust from a pulverized plate, or if they have rusted, by filing them with an imported file. A final touch is given to them by rubbing them with the leaves of what we might call the sandpaper plant.[18] Once burnished they are protected from rust by applications of hog fat, a little piece of which is suspended from the roof whenever a pig is killed.

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[16] It is the Mandáya tribal weapon that never leaves its wearer's side by night or by day, on the trail or in the house, whenever there is apprehension of danger.

[17] The steelwork and silverwork are nearly always the production of Mandáya smiths living in and beyond the southeastern Cordillera, though on the Agúsan there are a few silversmiths.

Another point of difference between the Manóbos, not including those of the upper Agúsan, and the above-mentioned peoples is the infrequency with which the former make use of racks for their fighting weapons. The Mandáyas and the Debabáons very commonly have ornamental racks in which they keep their weapons.

DEFENSIVE WEAPONS

THE SHIELD

Two varieties of shield are in use, the Mandáya and the Manóbo. The diffusion of the former is limited to the district south of the 8° latitude, not including the Ihawán and Baóbo River district; the latter, to the rest of the Agúsan Valley with the exception of the portion where Banuáon influence is prevalent,[19] such as the upper Agúsan and rivers to the north of it, which are the western tributaries of the Agúsan. In general, shields are made of *kalántas* [20] wood, varying from 90 to 100 centimeters in length. In the center is a projecting knob resembling a low truncated cone about 4 centimeters high and varying in width at the base from 8 to 15 centimeters, and at the truncation from 7 to 8.5 centimeters. The inside of this knob is hollowed out in such a way that a longitudinal piece is left on the inside of it for holding the shield. The upper end has a transverse piece of the same material as the rest of the shield dovetailed into the main body, the object being to prevent the body of the shield, whose grain runs longitudinally, from splitting as a result of a blow.

As a further protection against splitting, two strips of *palma brava* or of bamboo in upper Agúsan types, and in other types three strips as wide as the shield itself are set horizontally on each side, facing each other, and are held in position by sewings of rattan slips passing through perforations in the wood.

The ornamentation of all shields consists of a coating of beeswax, and of thin scallops painted with beeswax and pot black, passing in a single series around the shield and near its edge, and in a double series longitudinally down the center.

The operculum,[21] of a seashell, or very occasionally some bright object, may set off the knob. Not infrequently tufts of human hair secured in some war raid are stuck into holes at distances of about 3 centimeters on both sides of the shield, and are considered highly ornamental and indicative of the valor of the owner of the shield. One might be inclined to think that the employment of human hair is a relic of head-hunting, but I was unable to find a single tradition of its practice in eastern Mindanáo and I doubt if such ever existed.

The typical Manóbo shield has a straight top about 35 centimeters broad. From the corners the sides gradually curve inward for a distance (measured upon the central longitudinal line of the shield) of about 25 centimeters, at which point they curve out to the original width at a distance of about 10 centimeters farther on, where the strengthening strips are fastened on both the inner and outer surfaces. Thence the sides curve in to form the second segment, in the center of which is situated the knob, and at the end of which are placed two more sustaining crosspieces. Beyond this section, the sides gently curve to the bottom of the shield, which is about 25 centimeters broad and practically straight.

The Mandáya type, as adopted from the Mandáyas by the Agusánon Manóbos [22] differs from the Manóbo shield in being generally narrower—about 17 centimeters at the top and about 22 centimeters in the central section. From the top, where the transverse protective piece is placed the sides slope out gently to the first sustaining crosspiece placed at a distance from the end of about one-fourth of the entire length of the shield; thence they run parallel for a distance equal to one-half of the shield length, forming to the eye an elongated rectangle, in the center of which is the knob. The remaining quarter of the shield is hyperbolic in form with a small lozenge-shaped protrusion at the focus. The upper edge of the shield is not quite straight, an ornamental effect being produced by slight curves. In the center of the upper edge is a very small projection or sometimes a round incision, that might serve as an eyehole.

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[18] *Ficus fiskei* and *Ficus fiskei adorata* (*moracae*).

[19] The Banuáon types of shield seen by the writer were circular in form, concave on the proximal side, and made of plaited rattan painted with *tabon-tábon* pulp.

[20] *La-níp-ga.*

[21] Called *pas-lí-tan.*

[22] Also by the Mañgguáñgans and by the Debabáon and Mansáka groups. The Manóbos and other peoples of the upper Agúsan call themselves Agusánon.

Another difference in this type of shield is the addition of ornamental toothlike tracings. These serrations are done with beeswax and pot black, and are ordinarily set in groups of four at right angles to and along the central and the lateral scallops.

The last distinction is the more noticeable longitudinal bend which the Mandáya type has as compared with the Manóbo style, the top and the bottom being inflected uniformly inward at an angle of about 15° to the vertical.

Among the Mandáyas it is interesting to note that a broad shield is looked down upon as indicative of cowardice, and that a narrow shield is considered evidence of valor in its owner.

In using the shield it is held in the left hand by the grasp that is located in the inner part of the hollow knob in the center. It is always held in an upright position, the transverse piece being on top, at the left side of the warrior, who never presents the front of his person to the enemy. To protect the feet and legs he must crouch down.

I was a constant witness of mimic encounters, and occasionally of what appeared to be the preliminaries to more serious affairs, and can bear witness to the skill displayed in the manipulation of the shield. The rapidity with which the warrior can move about, now advancing, now retreating, now thrusting, now parrying, and all the time concealing the whole of his person except a part of the head and one eye, is a marvel.

ARMOR

Another article used for defensive purposes is the *abaká* armor.[23] Whenever the warrior has been able to procure a piece of Mandáya skirt fabric, he sews it into an ordinary coat with sleeves and, in lieu of imported buttons, uses little slivers of bamboo or wood to keep it closed. When, however, the Mandáya cloth is not to be had, his female relatives braid for him a number of multicolored cords of *abaká* fiber, 6 millimeters broad, which are sewn together in the form of an American or European coat and answer the purpose perhaps better than the Mandáya cloth.

This armor is intended to resist arrows, and is said to be efficient when the wearer is at long range. At short range, however, it helps only to lessen the penetration, as I had occasion to observe after an attack on the upper Agúsan, in which one of my warrior friends was wounded on the shoulder by an arrow. A band of Debabáons went to make a demonstration at the house of one of their enemies on the River Nábuk. The particular warrior chief referred to, desiring to initiate his young son into the art of warfare, carried him on his back to the scene of the demonstration. After surrounding the house, the attacking party broke out into the war cry and challenged their foes to a hand-to-hand combat. The surrounded party replied with a shower of arrows, one of which struck the chief on the shoulder. As he explained to me, he was so solicitous about guarding his child that he exposed his person and received the arrow in his shoulder. The point, he said penetrated to a depth of about 3 centimeters.

I once saw another form of protective clothing on the River Argáwan. It was a very long strip of cotton cloth which, it was said, was used for wrapping around and around the body before an attack. This article, as I later ascertained, was of Banuáon manufacture and use.[24]

TRAPS AND CALTROPS

The dwellings of Manóbos who live in actual fear of attack are always surrounded by traps and by bamboo caltrops of one or two varieties. These form an efficient and common means of defense.

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[23] *Lim bolung.*

[24] As a further protection in war there is used, it is said, a conical piece of wood on which the hair is bound up. I never saw this device in use and doubt if it is employed commonly by Manóbos. It was reported to me as also being of Banuáon origin and make.

The trap is of the type described in the chapter on hunting. When this trap is used as a means of defense, the spear is set at such a height that it will wound a human being between the shoulders and the thigh. The traps are set in varying numbers in the immediate vicinity of the house, though if an attack is considered imminent they are set on the trails leading to the house and some distance away. They may be so set that they will not strike the one who releases them but the first or second person following him. It is always prudent for a white man in a hostile country to so safeguard himself and his men that no one will be injured by these traps.

The bamboo caltrops referred to are slivers of sharpened bamboo, about 60 centimeters long, set in the ground at an angle of 45°, and at some point where the enemy has to descend to a lower level. A favorite spot is behind a log or at the descent to a stream. They are carefully concealed and, to a white man not aware of the use of such traps, a dangerous device.

Another form of caltrop, very common indeed, and very treacherous in its character, consists of small spikes made of slivers of bamboo, about 18 centimeters long, or of pointed pieces of hardwood. These are set in goodly numbers in the trails that lead from the adjoining forest to the house. The peculiar danger of these is that they protrude only about 2 or 3 centimeters above the ground, the soil being loosened around them so that the pressure of the wayfarer's foot presses down the loose soil, thereby giving the treacherous spike an opportunity to pierce the foot to a considerable depth.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

Implements of husbandry are few and far between. As there are no draft animals in Manóboland, no plows, harrows, or other implements which require animals are made use of.

THE AX

For felling the larger trees a simple steel ax is used. It is set in a hole in a hardwood handle, usually of guava wood, and is retained in place by a couple of plaits of rattan. The edge of the ax is only 6 or 7 centimeters long and yet it is surprising what the average Manóbo man can accomplish with this insignificant-looking implement. Mounted upon his frail scaffold he attacks the mighty trees of his forest home and with unerring blow brings them down in a surprisingly short time.

THE BOLO

For cutting off the branches, the bolo, which may be at the same time his weapon for attack or defense, is used. The work bolo is in no wise distinguished from the fighting weapon except that the former has a broad straight back. It is more usual to find a bolo of Bisáya manufacture in use by Manóbos of the lower Agúsan. These bolos come from Bohol or from Cebu and, being comparatively cheap and answering the purpose equally well, are readily purchased.

THE RICE HEADER

During the harvest time the rice heads are cut with a header made of a small piece of rattan or wood about 1.5 centimeters in diameter and between 4 and 6 centimeters long. In the center of this and at right angles to it is lashed a piece of tin or one of the valves of a common shellfish.[25]

FISHING IMPLEMENTS

THE FISHING BOW AND ARROW

The bow and arrow are used for fishing, wherever the Agúsan peoples, Christian and non-Christian, have access to the lakes and pools that abound in the central Agúsan.

The bow used in fishing and its accessories in nowise differs from the more serious article intended for warfare, except that, due to its more frequent use, it may be more dilapidated in appearance.

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[25] *Bi-bi.*

Fishing arrows, however, are different from those used in fighting. The shaft of the former is a piece of bamboo,[26] varying in length from 1.2 to 1.5 meters and in maximum diameter from 7 to 12.5 millimeters.

The head is a 2-pronged piece of iron or steel about 17 centimeters long, with barbs on the inner side of each prong, equidistant from the extremity and facing each other. These two prongs unite to form a solid neck that runs into the natural hole in the shaft, a ferrule of brass, or more frequently a winding of rattan coated with *tabon-tábon* seed pulp, serving to prevent the splitting of the frail bamboo tube. The head is attached to the shaft by a substantial string of *abaká* fiber, about 1.5 meters long, which is wound about the shaft, but which is unwound by the fish in its frantic efforts to escape, leaving him with the arrowhead in his body, and with the shaft breaking the water and indicating to the fisherman the whereabouts of his victim. On the far upper Agúsan the arrowhead is not of the 2-pronged type but is a thin, laminated steel point that expands gradually to form the two lateral barbs. It is of Mandáya manufacture and origin.

THE FISH SPEAR

The fish spear,[27] except on the far upper Agúsan, consists of a long bamboo shaft from 1.5 to 2.25 meters in length with a heavy 3-pronged barbed head set into a node at its larger end and with strengthening girdles of rattan strips serving to reinforce it. The iron head is of Bisáya or of Christian Manóbo workmanship. On the upper Agúsan the head is 2-pronged and the shaft is frequently somewhat longer than that of the spear used on the lower river. In other respects it is identical.

FISHHOOKS

Large hooks are much more commonly used than small ones. Both are made out of either brass wire or of iron, the latter often from the handle of a kerosene can, and in general they resemble ordinary fishhooks such as are made in civilized countries. The method of using the hook has been described already under "Fishing."

For crocodiles a peculiar hook is used. It consists of a piece of *palma brava* sharpened at one end, and provided with a spur projecting backward at an angle of about 30°. To this piece of wood is attached a stout rope of *abaká* fiber, which in its turn is tied to a piece of stout bamboo about 1.8 meters long. The bamboo is then set firmly in the ground, and the bait is allowed to hang within about 60 centimeters of the water. The hungry crocodile, lured by the odor, springs at the bait, and gets the hook between his jaws. It is seldom that by dint of frantic pulling and wriggling he does not free the bamboo and rush off to one of his favorite haunts, where, by the presence of the bamboo float above him, he is discovered and dispatched.

HUNTING IMPLEMENTS

THE SPEAR

The chief weapon used in the chase is the spear. It consists of a stout, wooden shaft between 2.1 and 2.4 meters long, which is set into the hollow conical socket of a spearhead. The blade in general appearance resembles the more serious weapon of war, but it is only about 10 or 12 centimeters long and makes no pretense to beauty, being fashioned solely for utilitarian purposes. As a necessary accessory to the spear the inseparable bolo is carried.

THE BOW AND ARROW

In the chapter on hunting reference has been made already to the hunting bow and arrow. It is an ordinary bow, but the arrow differs in not being feathered and finished like the arrow intended for human game.

A very effective and easily made arrow consists of a piece of bamboo about 85 centimeters long and 3 to 4 millimeters in diameter, with a sharp tapering point. In lieu of feathering, four or five tufts near one extremity, set at a distance of about 2.5 centimeters from each other, are made by scraping the surface so as to form little tufts of shavings. This style of dart arrow is used principally for monkeys, but a supply is always on hand for warlike purposes, when the more finished and efficient arrows become exhausted.

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[26] Of the variety called *lá-hi* or *da-ga-sá'*.

[27] *Sá-pang.*

Another difference in the hunting arrow is the 2-pronged bamboo head formed either by splitting a regular bamboo arrow or, more commonly, by lashing together two arrows. I saw on a few occasions *palma brava* spike heads used by the Manóbos of the far upper Agúsan. These latter forms are used exclusively for hornbills whose tough hide and abundant plumage require something stronger than the ordinary arrow.

THE BLOWGUN

The blowgun [28] is used sporadically and perfunctorily on the far upper Agúsan, but I have never seen it anywhere else among Manóbos.[29] It is used for shooting small birds, chickens, and mice. It is made of an internode of a variety of bamboo [30] about 1.2 meters long and 12.5 millimeters in diameter, to which is joined another internode about 20 centimeters long and of slightly larger diameter. This forms the mouthpiece. I have never seen any decorative work on a blowpipe. The dart is a thin tapering piece of bamboo about 35 centimeters long and 1.5 millimeters in diameter at the butt. Enough cotton to fill the bore of the gun is fastened at the butt end of the dart. It is discharged by the breath. The point is never poisoned, nor is there any tradition as to the former use of poison on these darts.

The blowgun, when in use, is held to the mouth with the right hand. The maximum range is about 20 meters. I have seen very small birds killed at a distance of about 8 meters.

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[28] *Sum-pi-tan.*

[29] Its use by the Mandáyas of the Kati'il, Manorígau, and Karága Rivers is very common, but so far as I know it is neither a defensive nor an offensive weapon.

[30] *La-hí'.*

CHAPTER XII

INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES

DIVISION OF LABOR

It is to be expected that among a people whose women have been obtained practically by purchase the burden of work will fall on the woman. The Manóbo man, however, at times performs an amount of heavy, hard work that makes the division somewhat equitable.

MALE ACTIVITIES

House building, hunting, fishing, and trapping fall to the lot of the man. When the rice-planting season is at hand, he fells the trees and does the heavier work of clearing. An occasional war raid or an occasional visit to some distant settlement for trading purposes may impose upon him a few days of hard travel. Outside of these occupations his work is comparatively light. He attends to his weapons, makes such objects of wood or of bamboo as may be needed, and decorates them after his style. He splits the rattan and does nearly all the plait work in basket making. All the necessary implements for fishing, hunting, and trapping are made by him, with the exception of steel weapons. He strips the *abaká* for the family clothes and procures the dye plants. In certain districts he is the miner and in others he is the boat builder, and in all districts he conducts trading transactions.

FEMALE ACTIVITIES

The Manóbo woman certainly has her share of work. She does all the dyeing, weaving, and tailoring, besides attending to the various household duties of providing fuel, food, and water. These latter occupations impose upon her at least one trip daily to the *camote* field, and several to the watering place, which in the mountainous districts is ordinarily at a considerable distance down steep and rugged trails. She attends to the children and cares for the sick, and day after day dries, pounds, winnows and cooks the rice. When her helpmate has felled the trees for the new farm, she does the looping, lighter clearing, burning, sowing, weeding, tilling, and harvesting. In her spare moments she makes mats, rice bags, and earthen vessels, braids an occasional armlet, does the beadwork, and a thousand and one little things according to the exigency of the moment or the requirements of her spouse.

MALE INDUSTRIES IN DETAIL

The various operations of fishing, hunting, trapping, house building, agriculture, and trading have been already described so that there remain to be considered only boat building, mining, and plait work.

BOAT BUILDING

The art of boat building is known only to Manóbos who have been in contact with Banuáons, so that one would be led to think that the art is of Banuáon origin. It is confined practically to the Kasilaían, Líbang, Maásam, Óhut, and Wá-wa Rivers, though one finds a boat builder here and there on the Híbung River and on the Simúlau River, but only an occasional one, if any, on the Argáwan, Umaíam, Ihawán, and upper Agúsan.

The boat is a dugout usually made of *magasinó'*, *kalántas*, or some light durable wood. The tree is selected, hewed down with the simple ax, and by dint of hard chopping hollowed out and shaped. In this way are made nearly all the skiffs, canoes, and boats that ply up the network of rivers in the Agúsan Valley. It is not uncommon to see a *banca*, or large boat, 10 meters long by 1 meter beam.

MINING

Mining is confined to the Híbung River and its tributaries, to the Wá-wa River, and to the Taligamán district, a few hours' walk to the southeast of Butuán. It is a desultory occupation followed more at the request of Bisáya traders, or in fulfillment of a contract, than out of any desire for gold.

The time selected is usually after a flood. The gold is washed out with a circular, hollow, wooden pan.[1] The operation has an established religious procedure which must be followed if one wishes to be successful in the acquisition of the gold. The theory is as follows: The gold is the property of a gold spirit, whose place in the Manóbo pantheon I can not state. To enter upon his domains and to remove the ore which is his without feasting him and making him a present of a living victim for a future repast would provoke his wrath and result in failure to obtain the object of the search. Hence the leader of the miners upon arrival at the mining ground turns loose a white fowl and kills a white pig in honor of the gold spirit. He also presents to the spirit leaf packages of boiled native rice. The mining operations then begin, but the peculiar feature of the whole procedure is that the rice packages are purchased from the leader at the rate of 1 *ku-len-tás-on* [2] for two packages. Noise and merriment are interdicted during the mining operations as being displeasing to the gold spirit, but if, upon infringement of this taboo, further oblations of rice are made to him he resumes his good humor and permits the gold to be found.

I found these beliefs to be held as far over as the upper Tágo River, on the eastern side of the Pacific Cordillera.

PLAITING AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

The plaiting and braiding of such objects as arm and leg ligatures out of *nito* or other vegetable fiber nearly always falls to the lot of the women. The plaiting of baskets out of rattan, as well as the making of fish traps and pack baskets, is generally a male occupation.

The process of basket making is fairly simple. A more or less cylindrical, solid piece of wood with flat bottom and top forms the mold upon which the strips of rattan are interlaced. A circular band of bamboo strengthens the upper rim, a coating of the pulp of the seed of the *tabon-tábon* fills up the crevices and makes the basket almost perfectly water-tight.

Pack baskets that are used for carrying game and for general utility on long voyages are of the open wickerwork description.

I know of only two Manóbo blacksmiths in the whole of Manóboland. They learned the trade from Bisáyas and produce bolos much like the Bisáya or Bohol type seen in the Agúsan Valley. Here and there one meets a Manóbo who understands how to beat out a fish spear or a fishhook, or to make a crude pipe, but, with these exceptions, the Manóbo knows nothing of steel or iron work.

As to the decoration, it is manifest from what has been said that he can do simple but creditable work. The ornaments on bamboo tubes, combs, baskets, and certain other things are evidences of his skill. So are the tattoo and embroidery designs described in a previous chapter.

FEMALE INDUSTRIES IN DETAIL

WEAVING AND ITS ACCESSORY PROCESSES

Abaká fiber is stripped by men and delivered to the womenfolk. The women pound it for a long time in a wooden mortar to soften it, then patiently tie strand to strand, placing it carefully in small hollow baskets, where it is free from danger of entangling. Sand is often sprinkled on it as a further means of preventing tangling.

Cotton yarn is prepared from the native plant by means of a very primitive spindle, which consists of a small rod of wood at the end of which is a top-shaped piece of the same material which serves to sustain the necessary rotation. A tuft of cotton is attached to the end of this bar, and, as the top rotates the thread is twisted. When the thread is sufficiently long it is wound around the handle and the operation is repeated. By this slow and tedious process a sufficient amount of yarn is spun for the requirements of the spinner.

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[1] Bi-ling-án.

[2] *Ku-len-tás-on* are said to weigh one-half of the gold piece that was in circulation in the Philippine Islands, in pre-American days, and which was valued at 12½ cents United States currency.

The dyeing process consists in boiling the *abaká* yarn with finely chopped pieces of various woods.[3] In order to produce a permanent dye, the process of boiling must be repeated more than once with new dyeing material. As the boiling apparatus consists nearly always of small earthen pots and the boiling is continually interrupted by culinary operations, it is obvious that the process is an inordinately slow and unsatisfactory one. I am of the opinion that to produce a fast red dye on sufficient yarn for about seven skirts, the boiling occupies the better part of two weeks.

Cotton yarn is never dyed. Whenever colors are desired, imported cotton must be obtained through Christian or Christianized intermediaries.

The weaving is performed on a simple, portable loom, consisting of two internodes of bamboo, one at the back part and one at the front part. The warp threads pass serially around these two pieces of bamboo and between the slits of a primitive comb situated within arm reach of the posterior bamboo internode. The comb consists of an oblong rectangle about 80 by 5 centimeters, having a series of little reeds set parallel at a distance of 1.5 millimeters from each other. Through these interstices pass the warp threads. Just beyond this comb and farther away from the weaver is a hardwood rood, as wide as the weft, around which are single loops of *abaká* or other fiber. Through these loops pass alternately the warp threads in such a way that when the batten is inserted the upper and lower alternate warp threads are reversed, thereby holding the weft threads in the position to which they have been driven by the batten.

The weft thread is wound upon a bobbin made out of a slender piece of rattan which has two slits at each end, through which the weft thread passes. The bobbin is driven through by the hand from side to side and between the upper and the lower warp threads. The heavy, hardwood, flat, polished batten is then worked by the hand, driving the weft thread into juxtaposition with the part of the fabric finished already. The weaver then inserts the batten between the warp threads at the point where they alternately pass up and down through the previously mentioned loops on the distal side of the comb, and between it and the rod that holds the loops. By pulling the comb back to the finished part of the fabric, the warp threads are reversed and the last weft thread is securely held in place. Thus the process is repeated over and over again until the fabric is finished.

The setting up of a piece of skirt cloth would occupy some two whole days of uninterrupted work and the weaving some three days, but as multitudinous household duties call the woman away constantly, she spends the better part of at least two weeks on one piece, this period not including the preparation of the yarn by tying and dyeing.

In weaving the woman sits upon the floor and keeps the warp threads stretched by a rope that passes round her back from each extremity of the yarn beam. When not in use, the web and the finished fabric are folded up around the beam.

The products of the Manóbo loom are not as numerous and artistic as those of the Mandáyas. The cloth produced is of four kinds: (1) The ordinary skirt or mosquito-bar cloth made out of *abaká* fiber and having white and black longitudinal warp stripes, alternating with the stripes of the red background; (2) a closely woven but thin cloth of *abaká* having sometimes, as in the case of men's jackets, straight weft stripes of imported blue cotton; (3) a cloth of the same material, but so thin as to be diaphanous, and not adorned with any stripes; (4) a cloth for trousers made out of an *abaká* warp and a native cotton woof.

In the chapter on dress reference has been made to the elaborate and beautiful effects produced by the Mandáyas on *abaká* cloth. The Manóbo woman has no knowledge of the process by which such effects are obtained.

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[3] *Si-ká-lig* root for red effects, pieces of *kanai-yum* tree for black and pieces of *du-au* for yellow effects.

It is interesting to note that the two yarn beams are cut in such a manner as to emit a booming sound at each stroke of the batten. I have seen an additional internode attached to the end yarn beam in a vertical position, with a view to increasing the resonance. The object of these sounders is to call attention to the industry and assiduity of the weaver.

POTTERY

The whole pottery industry consists in the making of rude earthen pots out of clay. It is confined to places near which the proper clay is found. A piece of clay is kneaded and mixed with fine sand till it attains the proper consistency. A piece is then laid over a round stone and beaten gently till it becomes sufficiently dry and rigid to serve for a bottom to which clay is added strip by strip, at first thick but gradually thinned with the fingers, until the pot is completed. It is in the union of these strips that defects are liable to occur. Hence the best workers patiently sit for hours beating their pots with a little wooden mallet. The pots are then put into a hot fire and burnt several times till they become sufficiently brittle to resist the fire, but the manufacturers seem to lack a proper test, because the cracking of a new pot is an ordinary occurrence.

The pot is spherical in shape with a wide mouth and a neck which, by its incurving, makes it possible to hang it up by means of a piece of rattan when it is not in use. There may be a few indentations running around the neck for the purpose of decoration. It is customary to provide the pot with a crude cover, also made of sand and clay.

TAILORING AND MAT MAKING

Tailoring is such a simple affair in Manóboland that it hardly deserves mention. Whenever an imported needle of European or American make is not to be had, a piece of brass wire is filed down and an eye made in it. With the simple utensil and with a thread of *abaká* fiber, the garment is sewn with a kind of a transverse cross-stitch. When imported cotton is on hand, nearly all seams are covered with either a continuous fringe of cotton in alternate colors or with neat wavy stitches, all of which serve both to conceal the seams and to embellish the garment.

In making a garment the piece of cloth is folded into a rectangle which forms the body of the garment. A piece large enough to make the sleeves remains. No piece is thrown away, there being no superfluous clippings. All cutting is done with a bolo.[4]

Mats and bags are made out of *pandanus*. The same methods so commonly used throughout the Philippine Islands are employed by the Manóbos.

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[4] In the chapter on dress reference has been made to the method of embroidery and to the various designs in common use.

PART III. GENERAL SOCIOLOGICAL CULTURE

CHAPTER XIII

DOMESTIC LIFE AND MARITAL RELATIONS

ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

Manóbo marriages, in general, may be said to be unions of convenience sought with a view to extending the circle of relatives in such directions as may result in an increase of power, prestige, protection, and sundry other material advantages. An instance passed under my notice in 1909 in which the daughter of a Mañgguáñgan warrior chief was captured in marriage for the purpose of securing his aid against the captor's enemies. The captor was a Manóbo-Mañgguáñgan of the upper Agúsan.

SELECTION OF THE BRIDE

In the selection of his future wife, the Manóbo consults his own tastes as far as he can, but he is influenced to a great extent by the opinion of his parents and near relatives, all of whom ordinarily look to the advantages to be derived from connection with powerful members of the tribe. Hence rank and birth are nearly always a determining factor, and where the wishes of the man's elders are in opposition to his own natural choice, he yields and is contented to take the helpmate chosen for him.

COURTSHIP AND ANTENUPTIAL RELATIONS

Sometimes the young man is bidden to take up his residence in the girl's house, observe her general character and especially her diligence, find out if she has been bespoken, gain the good will of her father and relatives, and report to his people.

No communication of any kind takes place between him and his prospective wife. When the subject is broached to the girl, she simply bids him see her relatives. I have known of cases among the upper Agúsan Manóbos where improper suggestions to the girl were at once reported by her to her parents, and the author of them was at once brought to order with a fine, the equivalent of ₱15 or ₱30. One white man is reported to have met his death at the hand of a Manóbo for a mistake of this kind many years ago. In deepest Manóboland, when the offense passes, however slightly, the boundaries of suggestion, it becomes the source of many a deadly feud. Happily, however, such cases are extremely rare.

BEGGING FOR THE HAND OF THE GIRL

Three, four, or five of the nearest male relatives of the man, after procuring a little beverage, repair early some evening to the house of the nearest relative of the girl. After they have partaken of the inevitable betel-nut quid, and have offered a drink of sugarcane brew or other beverage to the household, and have discussed a few topics of daily life—it may be about the last wild boar killed, or the capture of a polecat in the snares[1]—the prologue begins. This lasts from one to two days, including often the better part of the nights. Each of the visitors comes in his turn and rattles off, with many a significant haw and cough, in good Manóbo style a series of periphrastic platitudes and examples that apparently give no clue to the object of their visit. The owner of the house and father, let us say, of the girl quickly understands the situation and then assumes a most indifferent air. The visitor who has taken up the discourse continues, with never a care for the various household sounds, such as the chopping of wood, or the yelping of dogs; and not even the announcement of supper, and the partaking thereof, can stay his eloquence. The householder at times emits a sleepy grunt of approval, relapses apparently into a drowse, and after several hours, rolls into his mat and feigns sleep. At this juncture one of the visitors hastens down the notched pole and gets the silver-ferruled lance or silver-sheathed knife that has been left concealed near the house. The spokesman of the visitors then offers it to the father of the hoped-for bride on condition that he rise and listen, for they have come with an object in view—to beg for the hand of his daughter. It is then his turn to begin a painfully drawn-out discourse, to which the visitors assent periodically with many an humble and submissive "*ho*" and "*ha*," "*bai da man*" (yes, indeed), and so forth. He strains and racks his brains to think of every imaginable reason against the marriage, and finally, after he has exhausted every resource, he bids his visitors go home and come back on such a day, because he has to consult his relatives; but he can not get them to stir until he gives them a counterpresent, which he claims is of much more value than their present to him.

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[1] *Litag.*

On the appointed day the young man's relatives again proceed to the same house, but in this case reinforced by all the relatives within reach, each one carrying his present.

Upon the arrival the same performance is repeated and the same tactics pursued as before, except that this time the visitors kill their fatted pig and set it out, inviting the householder and all his relatives to partake, but, lo and behold! no one will eat. No amount of persuasion will induce them—they have eaten already—they are all sick—they do not like to be invited to eat by their visitors, it being against all the rules of hospitality, etc. To all of these objections the visitors by turn answer, offsetting one reason by another and all the while trying to put the other people into good humor and soften their hearts. But no, the owner of the house and his party refuse, and all this while the fatted pig lies in big black chunks on the floor, surrounded by rice in platters, baskets, and leaves. At this point a few of the visitors again hasten down the notched pole, and gather up out of the grass or underbrush in the adjacent jungle the concealed presents. The arrival of the presents is a grand moment for the father and relatives of the young man. Even the future bride, who up to this time has coyly hidden away in a corner, can not help stealing a few peeps at the display of spears, bolos, daggers, plates, and jars.

Picking them up one by one the owner descants on their beauty, their value (naming an outrageous sum), and his relatives express their sorrow at parting with them. "But," he goes on to say, "it matters not, provided that you see our good will and will join us in this banquet." Whereupon he distributes among his guests according to the order of their standing the array of presents, after which all squat down and begin to eat, the visitors giving an extra dose of wassail to their friends in order that under its warming influence they may soften and yield.

During the course of the meal, the discussion is continued and every appeal made to motives of friendship and self-interest, but in vain—the other side shows no signs of yielding; they say that they can not yet make a fixed contract, that the girl is too young, or that she does not want the suitor; and so the hosts are bade to have patience and to go their way. But now that they have spent an amount varying from ₱30 to ₱50 they are not minded to lose it, but will persist in their suit for years. I have heard of marriage transactions that covered 10 years and have personal knowledge of numerous cases that have extended over 6.

The case of a Manóbo in Pilar, upper Agúsan, will illustrate the point. His father, during the interregnum of 1898, first made the proposal for the hand of the girl. It was refused until toward the end of 1904 the parents finally yielded, but on condition that 10 slaves be paid. A few months subsequently, after a course of hard haggling and cunning bargaining, the contract was modified to four slaves plus the equivalent of the value of six. Three slaves were delivered after a raid on a Mañgguáñgan settlement on the middle Sálug (about April, 1905). The 6 "thirties,"[2] or ₱180, were paid in lances, knives, and other things before the demise of the father toward the latter part of 1905, so that one slave still remained to be delivered. On my last visit to Pilar (February, 1910) the poor fiancé was still doing chores around his mother-in-law's house, and the slave was still unpaid. If he can not procure that slave it will probably cost him, in other effects, several times the value of the slave.

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[2] *Kat-lo-án*, meaning 30, is a monetary unit, representing the value of a good slave.

Proceedings of the kind described before are repeated at frequent intervals for a number of years, but with this exception, that on the ensuing visits presents of no great value are bestowed on the father of the expected bride—a bunch of bananas, a piece of venison, or a few chickens, or some such offering are made, with a reiteration of the petition. A capacious porker with a bounteous supply of sugar-cane brew in big bamboo internodes is brought along occasionally to break down the obdurateness of the householder's heart, until one fine day, under the benign influence of "the cup that cheers," he yields, but intimating that his petitioners can never afford the marriage payments.[3] He will then probably recount the purchase price of this own wife, always with exaggerations; descant on the qualities of his daughter, her strength, her beauty, her diligence, her probable fecundity; and deplore the grievous loss to be sustained by her departure from her parents' side. Whereupon the visitors respond that they are willing to substitute a number of slaves to make up for the loss of the daughter, but that in any case she will not leave the paternal home and that the bridegroom will take up his residence there and help his father-in-law in all things; and so the matter is discussed and the payment of a certain number of slaves is determined in the following manner:

DETERMINATION OF THE MARRIAGE PAYMENT

Determination of the marriage payment is the very soul of the whole marriage proceeding. Years and years of service on the part of the would-be husband, presents innumerable on the part of his relatives, and feigned indifference or opposition on the other side have led up to this moment. For the sake of clearness, let us call the father or nearest male relative of the future bride A and the father or nearest male relative of the bridegroom, B.

A, aided by all the cunning of his relatives, lays down as a condition, let us say, seven slaves and one female relative of B, who is to be a substitute for his daughter. To this B rejoins that it is a high price and impossible of fulfillment, that he is not a warrior chief, nor a *datu*, nor such a wealthy person as A, and that he can never satisfy such a demand, giving a thousand and one reasons, such as sickness or debt. A responds and belittles him for being so deficient in resources, asks if B wants to get a wife for his son gratuitously, and tells him to go home and buy a slave girl for him. He yells indignation at the top of his voice, probably with his hand on his bolo, in a very menacing way.

B and his party, seeing that it is unavailing, go home, consult over the matter, and during the course of a year or two take every possible means to procure the necessary slaves. They may be successful in securing one or more, let us say two, and at the same time may manage to get together, say, 5 lances, 6 bolos, 2 jars, 30 plates, and 5 pigs; and so one fine day they start off to A's for another trial.

B proceeds to make A feel merry before he reports his failure to comply with the demand. This report is usually a tissue of the most atrocious "oriental diplomacies" that the human mind can concoct. A listens to this prologue, interlarded as it always is with ejaculations of corroboration from B's party. Then A begins: It is an outrage, he will have none of the pigs; the idea of selling his daughter for a bunch of pigs! He gets up and says he will first kill the pigs and then the owner, but his relatives make a pretense at restraining him. After a few hours of this simulation, by which he has induced B to make many gifts, he softens, but as the demand was not complied with to the letter, the payment must be increased, he says, by 4 more pigs, a piece of Chinese cloth, 8 Mandâya skirts, and 2 jars. At this point his relatives interfere. His sister wants three pigs and four skirts. She was midwife at the birth of the girl in question and, due to her contact with the unclean blood, was approached by a foul spirit and fell sick. Surely she deserves a big payment—1 female slave, 2 pigs, 2 shell bracelets, and a piece of turkey red cloth. And the third cousin claims that she nursed the child, the future bride, two months during the illness of its mother, and demands two Mandâya skirts. And so the haggling is continued, A and his party doling out the marriage effects as sparingly as possible, taking care to make presents to the more vehement and unyielding parties on the other side.

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[3] *Ábat.*

This operation always lasts a few days, during which B keeps his prospective relatives in high glee with pork and potations, until A consents.

THE MARRIAGE FEAST AND PAYMENT

The marriage feast almost invariably takes place during the harvest, for the simple reason that food is more abundant and also because the harvest days are the gladdest of all the year. When the time for the marriage is close at hand the father-in-law makes an announcement to friends and neighbors, sending out messengers and leaving at each house a rattan strip[4] to indicate the number of days to elapse before the marriage. If his own house is not sufficiently large for the expected attendance, he changes to another and awaits the eventful day.

The whole country flocks to the house at the appointed time, the relatives of the bridegroom being loaded down with the marriage presents, which are all carefully concealed in baskets, leaf wraps, etc., and are deposited secretly in the woods adjoining the house. Of course the omen bird must be consulted. On this occasion above all others it is essential that the omens be favorable, as there are no means, so I have been informed, to counteract an inauspicious marriage omen. While preparations are being made for the banquet by the bridegroom's party, the interminable parley[5] is continued. The bride's father and relatives make their last efforts for securing all they can in worldly effects. They almost repent of the bargain—it was too cheap—think of the price paid for the bride's mother—the expenses incurred during a long illness of the bride in her infancy—and compare the modicum demanded for her marriage; it is outrageous! no, the marriage can not go on, the girl is not in good health, and the ordeal might increase her ailment. Every sort of trick is resorted to in order that the other side may be more generous in the bestowal of gifts. The discussion is thus one big tissue of simulation, and is carried on in succession by the elders on each side. The bridegroom's father keeps offering betel nut and brew to his new "cofather-in-law"[6] and selects a favorable moment to make him a big present, possibly of an old heirloom, a jar, or a venerable old spear, the value of which he estimates at ₱50, although it may be worth only ₱8.

The meal is finally spread out on the floor. The roasted part of the pig has been hacked into small chunks and is piled up on plates, leaves, bark platters, and shallow baskets. The boiled portion remains in charred bamboo internodes placed close at hand. The rice is loaded on plates, or placed in large baskets lined with leaves, and the beverage is put in the ancient family jars, or is left in long bamboos: The host, in this case the bridegroom's father or nearest male relative, assisted by a few others, distributes the meat, carefully selecting the pieces according to weight, size, and quality, so that no one can complain of not having had as good a share as his neighbor. Such toothsome parts as the brains, heart, and liver are divided among the relatives who enjoy greater prestige, the tougher and more gizzly pieces falling to the lot of the people of lesser importance. This operation takes up the better part of an hour. It is needless to say that a hubbub of voices helps to give animation to the occasion. The Manóbo speaks in no angelic whisper on ordinary occasions, but at a solemn time like this his vocal chords twang with all the intensity of which they are capable.

Finally all squat down on the floor, armed with the inseparable bolo if suspicious visitors are present. Hands are washed by pouring a little water out of a bowl, tumbler, or bamboo joint; the mouth is rinsed, and the meal is begun. With their right hands on their bolos, if they have not ungirded them, they lay their left hands over their portions of rice, knead handfuls of it into a compact mass, and raising their hands to their mouths ram it in with the palms.

The two "cofathers-in-law" pay special attention to each other, each trying to get the other intoxicated, and each feeding the other with chunks of fat and other things. This custom is called *daiyápan* and is universal among the non-Christian tribes of the Agúsan Valley. It is a mark of esteem and the highest token of hospitality. A few pieces of fat and bone are scooped up, dipped in a mixture of red pepper, salt, and water and thrust, nolens volens, into the mouth of the good fellow whom it is desired to honor. And it is not good etiquette to remove it. It must be gorged at once and the fortunate man must proceed to reciprocate in the same way. The brew is distributed in tumblerfuls or in bamboo joints holding about a tumblerful each. To refuse the allotted portion would degrade one in the eyes of everyone, for here it is a sin to be sober and a virtue to get drunk. Gluttony finds no place in a Manóbo dictionary—one is merely full,[7] but always ready to go on; friend divides his rice with friend, when he sees that the latter's supply is getting low, and his own is immediately replenished by one of the womenfolk, or slaves that attend to the culinary work. Nor must one finish before anybody else. It is not polite. Nothing must be left on the plate, a fact that each one makes clear by washing the plate clean with water.

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[4] *Ba-lén-tus.*

[5] *Bi-sā.*

[6] *Bá'-i.*

The pandemonium increases in direct proportion as the brew diminishes. One's neighbor may be yelling to somebody else at the other end of the house while the latter is trying at the top of his voice to reach the fellow that sits far away from him. Goodnatured, though rather inelegant, jokes and jests are howled at the bride, who coyly conceals herself behind a neighbor, and at the bridegroom, who does not seem at all abashed. The women, who eat all together near the hearth, carry on the same operations but in their own more gentle way, never falling under the influence of the liquor. The meal is usually finished in about three hours, when the pig and rice are exhausted.

After a chew of betel nut, comes the supreme moment for payment,[8] ushered in by many a "*ho*" and "*ha*," with another discussion. The tenor of this is that the father of the bridegroom is not as well provided with goods[9] as he had desired to be, owing, let us say, to a failure to obtain certain effects he had ordered from so-and-so, together with numerous other pretexts and excuses that on the face of them are untrue. Pointing out his slaves, he descants on them; and goes on to explain how much trouble he had to get them; he could not value them for less than ₱80 apiece. Or, if they are captives, he describes the fatigues of his march and the imminent danger to which he was exposed during the attack, together with such other reasons, mostly fictitious, as would tend to enhance their value and thereby avoid subsequent haggling. He then delivers the other goods demanded.[10] Where two slaves had been asked he gives two kinds of goods,[11] say a lance and a bolo, whereupon there is invariably a howl of dissatisfaction, according to custom. But things are settled nicely either by granting a few plates or some such thing for a solace, or by playing on the good will or simplicity of the person who objected. The distribution is not completed in one day. Usually about one-third of the entire amount of goods is held over with a view to observing if there is anyone who is not quite pleased with his portion, and also for the purpose of keeping up their hopes.

THE RECIPROCATORY PAYMENT AND BANQUET

The following day, or whenever the payment has been completed, begins the reciprocatory payment [12] in which the bride's relatives return to those of the bridegroom a certain amount of goods varying in value, but approximately one-half of what has been paid as the marriage portion. As a soother, they also kill a pig and right earnestly set about putting their new circle of relatives in good humor. It may be noted that the duration of these feasts depends on the rapidity with which the pig is dispatched. I have known a marriage feast to cover a period of seven days, though it may be said that it is generally terminated the second day, at least in the case of less well-to-do Manóbos.

The reciprocatory payment being successfully carried through, it now remains for the bridegroom's relatives to give the farewell feast and carry off the bride. But it often happens that the girl's relatives have ascertained that there are still a number of goods in the possession of their new relatives and it is considered proper to secure them.

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[7] *Mahántoi.*

[8] *Á-bat.*

[9] *Máng-gad.*

[10] By his cofather-in-law and relatives.

[11] *Da-dú-a no baiyo no máng-gad.*

[12] *Sú-bak.*

A few hours before departure the bride is decked out with all available ornaments. Bead necklaces, with pendants of crocodile teeth and strips of mother-of-pearl; bracelets of seashell,[13] large, white and heavy; bracelets of vegetable fiber and of sea wood; a comb inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and adorned with beads and tassels of cotton; leglets of plaited jungle fiber—all these constitute her finery. During the process of dressing, the bride's female relatives usually weep, while the more distant ones set up a howl, often, I think, of ficticious grief, in which the children, babies, and dogs may join. At this juncture the female relatives of the bridegroom intercede and endeavor to assuage their grief. It is only after numerous presents have been given them that they become resigned, but at the last moment, when the bride is about to be led away, they surround her and hold her and perhaps repeat the wail till they receive more material consolation. This necessitates another supply of presents. Then the children have to be appeased. Finally the girl is led down the pole, but as her father may have espied, let us say, a fine dagger, or a lance that struck his fancy, nothing will satisfy him except to order them all back and tell his cofather-in-law that he must needs have the lance or dagger, giving some sly reason, as, for instance, that his wife had an ominous dream last night. In one marriage feast that I witnessed, after all the bridegroom's people had left the house, the bride's father told his son to beat the dog. Whereupon he ordered the party back and told his cofather-in-law that it was passing strange that the dog should have howled just as they left the house and that he should leave his lance and bolo as an offering to one of the family deities. It was done accordingly and in all good nature. Then they started off again, but were recalled because the old fox happened to remember that his cofather-in-law had on several occasions during the early marriage proceedings displeased him, and so it became necessary to atone for the sin [14] by another gift. Finally they got a start, filched of all they had. It happens frequently that the marriage suitors are deprived even of their personal weapons and of part of their clothes. It may be remarked that the bestowal of a person's upper garment is considered an act of deep friendship, and is of fairly frequent occurrence.

The above is a description of the upper class marriage feast, but that of the poorer class is carried on in much the same style, except that the proceedings are much briefer. The bride's father and people on the one hand strive by might and main to get the highest payment obtainable, while the bridegroom's folk exert themselves to hold the price down. Whatever is given in payment is overvalued—it is a keepsake, an heirloom, would never be given away under any other circumstances—in fact, may result in evil to the giver. On the other hand everything that is received is depreciated—it is old, or of no use to the receiver. An old trick is to return it, whereupon a little additional gift is made for a consolation. But even then it is never admitted that the gift is received for its intrinsic value, but rather out of good will.

MARRIAGE AND MARRIAGE CONTRACTS

THE MARRIAGE RITE

We will now follow the bride to her father-in-law's house and witness the religious ceremony by which the hymeneal tie is indissolubly knitted. It is essential that the omen bird should be favorable on the trip to the bridegroom's house, otherwise the party must return. Usually the parting injunction of the bride's father to his cofather-in-law warns him to watch for the omen bird.

A pig is killed as soon as possible and set out in the usual style at the house of the bridegroom. The bride and bridegroom sit side by side on an ordinary grass mat. No special decorations have been made; no bridal chamber has been prepared, except sometimes a rude stall of slatted bamboo or of bark.

When the meal is ready, the bridegroom takes a handful of rice from his plate and offers it to the bride while she also gives a similar portion to him. Then he passes his rice from hand to hand behind his back seven times, after which he says in a loud voice: "We are now married; let our fame ascend."[15] The bride imitates him. Whereupon loud howls of assent proclaim the consummation of the marriage contract.

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[13] *Tak-ló-bo* (*Tridacna gigas*).

[14] *Húgad to sal-ya.* This is another instance of that peculiar belief in an atonement rite of which I can give no details.

The meal goes on in the same riotous style as described before. I seldom witnessed a marriage during which the bridegroom did not become rather hilarious toward the end of the meal, but never displayed anything but feelings of delicacy and respect toward the bride. Instructions of a kind that would be considered highly indecent, according to our standards of morality, are howled out in the most candid way, so that this ordeal proves embarrassing for the bride. She eats hastily and retires to her female friends in the cooking portion of the house. I have seen several cases where the girl, being a mere child continued to weep during the whole proceeding.

The feast being concluded a female priest takes the betel-nut omen. Seven quids of betel nuts are placed by one of the family priestesses upon a sacred dish.[16] She then sets it upon the head of the bridegroom and falls into an ecstatic condition, steadying the plate with her hand. Should one of the betel-nut slices become separated from its betel leaf, the omen is considered unpropitious and is followed immediately by the prophylactic rite—the fowl-waving ceremony.

The matter of overcoming the delicacy of the newly married maiden is not infrequently attended with considerable difficulty. It is accomplished, however, by means of an elderly relative of the girl, who occupies night after night the mat between the newly married couple, until such time as she thinks that her ward has become well enough acquainted with her husband so that she will not run away. The go-between returns the following day and claims her guerdon. Several cases passed under my observation, in which the husband was unable to use his marital rights for weeks owing to the timorousness and bashfulness of his youthful spouse. In no case was anything but patience and gentleness displayed by the husband.

MARRIAGE BY CAPTURE

The custom of wife capture is fairly frequent, especially in the upper Agúsan where the Manóbo is within the Mandáya culture area. During my last visit to the upper Agúsan (September, 1909, to February, 1910) three cases occurred, and I had the pleasure of taking part in the settlement of one of them.

The capture is effected by a band of some four to eight friends of the party interested. They repair to the vicinity of the *camote* patch, which is almost invariably situated at some distance from the house of its owner. Here a watch is kept until the intended captive, in company probably with a few of her own tribe, appears upon the scene. Probably it has been already ascertained that the male relatives have gone on a hunting or fishing expedition, but to make assurance doubly sure one or two of the party advance toward the women unarmed and make inquiries in an offhand way. If the absence of the male relatives is confirmed, they thereupon seize the girl, and their companions rush out in full panoply from their hiding places and carry off the fair prize. By the time the girl's relatives become aware of the occurrence, the captors have eluded all chance of discovery and the captive has probably resigned herself to her fate, if she had not already consented by connivance.

With regard to wife capture it may be remarked that it is generally resorted to under the advice and protection of some more powerful and affluent personage. If undertaken on one's own initiative it might be risky, and certainly always is a highly expensive affair. Even when carried out with the connivance of a *datu* or a warrior chief, it has on occasions proved fatal, so I was assured.

The case referred to was that of the son of an influential Manóbo of the Nábuk River, in the upper Agúsan Valley. His son had a few months before my arrival lost his first wife in a raid made by a neighboring settlement. He determined to avoid the prolixities and delay of the ordinary matrimonial course, and, accordingly, captured the daughter of a Mañgguáñgan warrior chief who lived near Pilar. I was in Compostela at the time and on hearing that an expedition [17] to recapture the girl or to collect the marriage payment would take place, I asked that I might be allowed to accompany the party.

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[15] *Kanámi no miño nakalíbto ang bántug námi*

[16] *A-púg'-an.*

We arrived at the house of the *datu* and found everything and everybody prepared for war. This *datu* informed me that he anticipated trouble, as the Mañgguáñgan was of a different breed, being at times altogether unamenable to reason. During the rest of that day nothing occurred, but no one ventured out of the clearing without a strong guard, and during the night the strictest watch was maintained. The *datu* said that among Manóbos and Mandáyas a wife capture was easy of arrangement and was never attended with any trouble, provided they had the wherewithal to pay the marriage price, but that the Mañgguáñgan was an unruly character and in a fit of rage or drunkenness was liable to commit acts of atrocity even against his nearest relatives. He cited the case of a Mañgguáñgan from Sálug who discovered the whereabouts of his son-in-law and of the captured bride and killed them without further ado.

About 2 a. m. we were disturbed from our slumbers by one of the watchers who had heard a distinct crackling in the adjoining forest. This report brought everybody to his feet and provoked a chorus of yells of intimidation, that never ceased till sunrise.

About 6 a. m. we espied forms in the forest, approaching from all sides. When they, some 60 altogether, had taken up their positions on the edge of the clearing wherein stood the house, they sounded their weird and wild war whoop,[18] and four warriors, headed by the warrior chief referred to, and armed with all the accouterments of war, rushed forward toward the house, yelling, prancing around, defying, challenging, and cursing. The warrior chief speared one of the two large pigs under the house and proceeded, aided by his three companions to cut down the house posts, never ceasing to yell in the most stentorian voice I ever heard. At this juncture the *datu* let down with a long strip of rattan a silver-banded lance, a silver-sheathed war knife, and a silver-sheathed Mandáya dagger. As everybody was howling, it was difficult to follow the tenor of conversation, but I observed that the warrior chief accepted the gift though he did not apparently relax his fury. He jumped around, menacing, and animating his companions to fire the house. The *datu* kept letting down presents of lances, Mandáya cloth, pigs, and other things until everyone of the assailants had received a token of his good will. Their fury very visibly diminished, and the *datu* was finally able to hold a colloquy with his new cofather-in-law, in which he persuaded him to come up into the house and hold a conference [19] over the matter. The latter, after numerous reiterations that he would never enter the house except to chop heads off, finally ascended the notched pole, followed by his braves. We of the house retired to the further half, all armed, while the newcomers squatted in that portion of the house near the ladder. Then began the conference which lasted till breakfast was ready. It resembled in all respects the usual marriage haggling, except that the warrior chief asseverated persistently that the act of the *datu's* son was deception and robbery, and that only blood would atone for it. His companions howled assent and clutching their bolos, half rose as if to begin a massacre. They were invited to sit down and regale themselves, but that only made them howl all the more. Finally the *datu* ordered out a stack of weapons and other presents, and made another allotment to the visitors, in due proportion to relationship. This had a soothing effect and induced them to drink copious draughts of sugarcane brew, which kept on soothing them more and more as the end of the meal approached. During all this time special attention was paid to the warrior chief, so that before long he was feeling so happy that he ordered his followers to remove all weapons from their persons, and began to feed huge chunks of half-raw hog meat into the mouth of the *datu* according to the immemorial custom.

After the feast I returned to the Agúsan but learned later that everything had been settled amicably, the *datu* having provided a superabundance of wordly effects, in payment for the captured woman. Among them were two slaves valued at ₱30 apiece.

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[17] *Duk-i-ús.* (Mandaya, *dúk-lus*).

[18] *Pa-nad-jáu-an.*

[19] *Bisa.*

PRENATAL MARRIAGE CONTRACTS AND CHILD MARRIAGE

Prenatal marriage contracts have been made in the upper Agúsan, especially when it was desired to secure the friendship of some more powerful chieftain. I was informed by a *bagáni* of the upper Sálug that it is not an uncommon thing for two warrior chiefs or other powerful men to make such contracts in order to cement the friendship between themselves and between their respective clans. He cited several instances, in some of which the sex of the child proved an impediment to the carrying out of the prenatal marriage contract. Child marriages, however, are not uncommon. I know of two cases in Compostela, in one of which the boy husband was minor, the girl having already attained the age of puberty at the time of the marriage. In the other case both were mere children. It is needless to say that cohabitation was not permitted in the latter case. The marriage payment had been made in the usual way and the bride delivered over to her father-in-law.

According to my observation, the young man is married somewhere between the ages of 17 and 20, and the woman from 13 to 16. The effect of these early marriages is very apparent in the physical appearance of the wife after a few years of married life. On account of the onerous duties that fall to the lot of the woman, only a staunch constitution can maintain unblemished the bloom of youthful beauty. I am of the opinion that the average woman reaches her prime at about 25 years of age.

POLYGAMY AND KINDRED INSTITUTIONS

It may be said that the Manóbo is in practice a monogamist, but polygamy is permitted with the consent of the first wife and, in cases that I have known, by her direction and even according to her selection. She finds her work too burdensome and directs her husband to get another helpmate. As a rule, however, it is only a warrior chief who has more than one wife, as he is in a better position to procure the wherewithal to pay the purchase price, namely, slaves. I am acquainted with a number of warrior chiefs, both Manóbo and Mandáya, who have as many as four wives, all dwelling in the same house, each having her little stall [20] and living in perfect peace and happiness with her sister wives. There appear to be no jealousy and no family broils, the wish of the first wife being paramount in all things.

I found the abhorrence to polyandry so great and so universal that all tribes that I came in contact with throughout eastern Mindanáo branded the practice as swinish.

Concubinage is unknown. In a country where a woman is worth a small fortune to her relatives, and where she can not offer her love according to her own choice, but must follow her relatives' desires,[21] it is not likely that she would be delivered over temporarily to even a warrior chief, nor is she likely to be repudiated except for strong reasons. Hence divorce is never allowed, as far as my observation and knowledge go, being considered an infringement of tribal customs that would provoke divine wrath and bring disaster on the settlement.

Among the non-Christianized Manóbos I never heard of a case of prostitution. The mere suggestion of it would probably result in a fine. Fornication, however, probably takes place, but only very rarely and under very abnormal circumstances, as when the sexual temperament of the girl and a very favorable opportunity encourage the transgression. I know of cases where Manóbo maidens actually recounted to their relatives improper suggestions on the part of Bisáyas, and in every case these relatives, with wild yells, and with menacing movements of bolo and spear, collected a sufficient compensation to atone for the imprudence. In one instance I paid the fine imposed upon a half-blind paddler of mine for a very innocent joke that was not appreciated by the relatives of a certain woman.

When, however, the Manóbo is removed from the stern influences of his pagan institutions he goes the way of all flesh, as may be observed by a study of conditions in *conquista* towns.

I heard of a few cases of adultery among Christianized Manóbos but, though the guilty wife was reported to have received a heavy punishment in the form of a good beating, she was not divorced.

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[20] *Sin-á-bung.*

[21] I heard of a case in Guadalupe in which the girl, not being allowed to marry the man of her choice, took *tuble* poison and ended her life.

ENDOGAMY AND CONSANGUINEOUS MARRIAGES

I found no vestige of endogamy nor of the totem system that is such a remarkable and widespread feature of Polynesian, Melanesian, and cognate peoples in Oceania. Neither is there any theoretical endogamic institution which obliges a Manóbo to marry within his tribe, but, in practice, such is his custom.

The only impediment to marriage is consanguinity. Consanguineous marriages are everywhere regarded as baneful. It is a universal belief that unless such marriages are consummated under the special auspices of the goddesses Ináyao and Tagabáyao, they result in physical evil to both the parents and the children.

The following are the persons between whom marriage is forbidden:

(1) All carnal relatives closer than first cousin.

(2) First, second, and third cousins, unless the proper ceremonies to Tagabáyao and Ináyao have been performed, various omens very carefully taken, and, after marriage, the yearly offering of a pig or chicken made in order to avoid the ill effects that might follow the marriage.

(3) Stepmothers and stepfathers.

(4) Mothers-in-law and fathers-in-law.

(5) Daughters-in-law and sons-in-law.

(6) Captives and their captors. This marriage is believed to bar the way to warriorship and to otherwise result in evil.[22] Captives may, however, be married by others than those who captured them.

(7) Slaves; marriages among them are not tabooed absolutely, but they are regarded as something unbecoming, and the person who marries a slave girl is spoken of as *áyo-áyo* (no good).

Marriage with a sister-in-law is fairly common, and may take place during the wife's lifetime, usually at her instigation, but never without her consent.

INTERTRIBAL AND OTHER MARRIAGES

It may be remarked that in the case of marriages between cousins within the forbidden degrees, the actual marriage payment is much less, as the matter is considered a family affair, but on the whole such a marriage is a most expensive affair. In the first place, before the marriage, the priest instructs the prospective husband to dedicate a number of objects to Tagabáyao, the goddess of consanguineous love. This presupposes a sacrificial ceremony in which, as in one case which I witnessed, a white pig was killed, and a lance valued at ₱15, a bolo valued at ₱10, a dagger valued at ₱10, and sundry other objects were formally consecrated to Tagabáyao. The consecration was followed by a sacrifice to Tagabáyao, after which the marriage payment was made. Then came a similar series of offerings to Ináyao, goddess of the thunderbolt, that she might not harm the newly married. I was told that year after year the newly married cousins had to repeat this ceremony, and thereby keep in Ináyao's good graces.

Intermarriage with a member of another tribe occurs occasionally but is not looked upon with favor owing to the differences of religious belief as also to the fact that it might not be possible for the husband to take away his wife. In the cases that have come under my notice of marriages between Manóbos and Mañgguáñgans, Mañgguáñgans and Mandáyas, and Mandáyas and Manóbos, the man almost invariably married a girl belonging to what was considered a higher tribe; for instance, Manóbo man to a Mandáya girl, or a Mañgguáñgan man to a Mandáya girl. The reason assigned was in nearly every case the assurance that the girl would not be taken from the paternal roof, and that a bigger marriage price would be forthcoming.

Gratuitous marriages occur rarely. In the few cases that passed under my observation, all the expenses of the wedding feast were borne by the bride's relatives, and the bridegroom took up his residence with his father-in-law, and virtually entered a state of slavery. His children also become the property of the father-in-law.

It is not intended to give the impression that the recipient of a gratuitous wife has to perform the duties of an ordinary slave. On the contrary, he is treated as one of his wife's family and is expected, in view of the favor that he has received and the debt that he has incurred, to help his father-in-law when called upon. If he should happen on a definite occasion to prove recalcitrant, he is gently reminded of his debt and of the sacredness with which a good Manóbo pays it, and so he goes off on his errand and the matter is concluded.

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[22] *Ma-li-hi.*

Remarriage takes place frequently, owing to the fact that a widow does not command so high a price as a maiden and that she has something to say in the selection of her new husband. She can not, however, be married if a funeral feast [23] for a near relative of the family is still unfulfilled.

There is absolutely no trace of a levirate system by which the nearest male kinsman must marry his deceased brother's widow. On the contrary, a marriage with any relative's widow is absolutely tabooed, and this taboo, as far as my observations warrant the assertion, is never violated.

MARRIED LIFE AND THE POSITION OF THE WIFE

Married life appears to be one of mutual good understanding and kindliness. The husband addresses his wife as *búdyag* (wife) and leaves to her the management of the establishment in everything except such little business transactions as may have to be carried on. The wife gets the wood and water every day, toiling up and down the steep mountain sides. She goes off to the farm once or twice a day and returns with her basket of *camotes.* In the meantime the husband whittles out his bolo sheath or his lance shaft, or occasionally goes off on a fishing expedition or a hunt, if the omens are good. Every once in awhile, especially during the winter months, he sets up his wild boar traps, and they may keep him busy about two days a week. Then comes the news of a wedding feast, two days' journey hence, and off he goes for perhaps a week, or there may be a big question to settle in another part of the country and he must attend the discussion because there is a relative of his involved; anyhow, it will end up with a big pig and plenty of brew. So he goes away and has a roaring time, and comes back after a week with a nice piece of pork and some betel nuts for his wife and tells her all about the doings. She bears it all, makes her comments on it, and then goes to get the *camotes* for dinner, with never a complaint as to her hard work. It is the custom of the tribe, and the institution of the great men of bygone days, that the woman should toil and slave.

I have known of very few domestic broils and have never known of a case of ill treatment, except when in a drunken fit the husband wreaked his wrath on his wife.

Faithfulness to the marriage tie is a remarkable trait in Manóboland, due to the stringent code of morals upheld by the spear and the bolo. The few cases of adultery related to me among the non-Christian Manóbos were mere memories. I heard of one case of fornication just before leaving the upper Agúsan. It was narrated to me by a warrior chief of the upper Kati'il. His fourth wife, a relative of the *datu* who figured in the case of wife capture described in this chapter, had in the days of her maidenhood secretly fallen from grace, which fact she revealed to her warrior husband, together with the name of the offender. The warrior chief thereupon made a two-day march to Compostela and located the house of his enemy, publicly vowing speedy vengeance. I visited the latter's house a few days after and found it in a state of defense, a large clearing having been made, with a mass of felled trees, underbrush, and bamboo pegs all around. This man was a Manóbo of the Debabáon group who had spent many years under the tuition of the older Christians of the Agúsan Valley.

Rape, incest, and other such abominations are practically unheard of.

From what has been stated frequently throughout this monograph, it may be seen that the position of the woman is merely that of a chattel. In moments of anger, which are not frequent, the husband or the father-in-law addresses the object of his wrath as *binótuñg*, that is, purchased one, chattel. A woman, the Manóbo will tell you, has no *tribunal*, or *tilibuná;* [24] she was born to be the bearer of children and the planter of *camotes*. She can not carry a shield nor thrust a spear.

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[23] *Ka-ta-pú-san.*

[24] The meaning is that she has not enough brains to take part in the discussions held in the town halls, called in Spanish "tribunal," and erected by the Spaniards in the various Christianized settlements for the arbitration of judicial and administrative matters pertaining to the settlement.

Following out these views to their legitimate conclusions, and both experience and observation verify them, it is obvious that there is no evidence of the matriarchate system in Manóboland. The husband is the lord of his household, of his wife, and of his children, and I do not hesitate to say, probably would abandon or kill either, if the urgency of a definite occasion required it.[25]

RESIDENCE OF THE SON-IN-LAW AND THE BROTHER-IN-LAW SYSTEM

After a few months, dependent on the term determined upon in the marriage contract, the young husband returns to his father-in-law's house, to whose family he is now considered to belong, and takes up his permanent residence there. His respect for both his father-in-law and mother-in-law is such that he will not mention them by name. He always addresses them as father-in-law and mother-in-law, respectively. He aids his father-in-law in everything as a son. Every year for 12 years during the harvest time he is expected to kill a pig for him. Of course, occasions arise on which he is called upon by his own relatives and has to leave his father-in-law. Sometimes it happens that he does not return, but in such cases he is expected to act in a diplomatic way, and leave something, say a big pig, as a substitute for his person.

Brothers-in-law, and their name is legion, for the term includes all who have married any relative however distant, are expected to aid the relatives of their wives, especially in warfare. And it is my observation that at least such of them as are married to nearer relatives of a given individual, do effectively help him when he really needs either financial or other assistance.

The brothers-in-law of a warrior chief nearly always live with him or in his immediate vicinity. This custom is maintained, no doubt, both for the protection and for the prestige thereby acquired.

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[25] Maliñgáan of the upper Simúlau, to prevent his wife and children from falling into the hands of the Spanish forces, slew them and himself in full view of the soldiery. I found this incident related in one of the Jesuit letters, to which reference has been made already.

CHAPTER XIV

DOMESTIC LIFE: PREGNANCY, BIRTH, AND CHILDHOOD

DESIRE FOR PROGENY

The desire to fulfill the end of marriage is so strong that it may be said that there is almost rivalry and envy between the young men. Many a time I have heard the remark made that so and so is *a-yo-á-yo*—a sorry specimen of humanity—because he had no children. If you ask a Manóbo how many children he has he will seldom forget to tell you not only the number that died, but also the number of times that his wife suffered miscarriage, owing to a faulty selection of food, or to the noxious influence of some evil spirits, or to the violation of certain taboos, or to some other cause.

And thus it is that when the first evidences of motherhood manifest themselves, the husband procures a *white* or *black* chicken and after inviting a few friends, holds an informal party in honor of the occasion. I know of one case in which the ritual waving ceremony[1] took place on pregnancy, but it was performed, so the husband told me, because of a conjunction of ill omens, and not because such a ceremony was customary.

BIRTH AND PREGNANCY TABOOS

The precautions taken by both husband and wife during pregnancy, as also on the approach of parturition, are evidence of the sacredness with which they guard the dearest hope of their married lives.

The following pregnancy and birth taboos, verified by the writer, hold with little variation in every part of the Agúsan Valley, and several of them are still adhered to by the Bisáyas of that region.[2]

The general idea prevailing in the observation of these taboos is one of sympathy by which a certain action, productive of a certain physical effect in one subject may produce by some sympathetic correlation an analogous effect in another. An instance will make this clear. To wear a necklace is an action in itself perfectly innocuous and even beneficial, in so far as it enhances the person of the wearer, but for the Manóbo man and wife such a proceeding at this particular time would produce, by some species of mystic correlation, a binding effect on the child in the hour of parturition, and must accordingly be eschewed.

These taboos are in force from the time when the young wife announces her condition until the end of that trying period that follows conception.

TABOOS TO BE OBSERVED BY THE HUSBAND

1. He must avoid all untoward acts, such as quarreling and haggling.
2. His demeanor must be quiet; he must avoid noisy and impetuous actions, such as taking part in the capture of a domestic pig.
3. He must avoid all heavy work, such as the felling of trees, making of canoes, or erection of house posts.
4. He must not engage in any work connected with rattan, such as tying or splicing.
5. He must in no case use resin[3] for the purpose of sticking handles or shafts on weapons.

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[1] *Kú-yab* to *má-nuk.*

[2] I find that some of these taboos are observed by the uneducated Tagálogs of Manila and by the peasants of Tayábas Province.

[3] *Sái-yung* or *saung.*

TABOOS TO BE OBSERVED BY THE WIFE

1. She must not do any heavy work nor carry anything on her head.
2. She must not sit on a corner of the hearth frame.
3. While in a sitting posture she must leave one knee uncovered.
4. She must be careful in the selection of her food for a period that seems to depend, according to my observation, on individual whim.

Hence after the inception of pregnancy a woman becomes almost fastidious in the choice of her food. Her every whim must be catered to. No general rule can be given, but her general preference is for vegetable food, especially the core of the various wild palm trees,[4] plantains, and when obtainable, young coconuts. Acid fruits, such as the various species of lemons or the fruits of rattan vines, seem to be her special predilection.

TABOOS TO BE OBSERVED BY BOTH HUSBAND AND WIFE

1. They must not thrust their hands through the floor nor through an opening in the walls of the house.
2. Anything taken by them from the fire must not be returned by them, but by a third party.
3. They must not return after having once started to descend the house ladder until they have reached the ground.
4. They must not sit at the entrance to the house in such a way as to impede free entrance or exit.
5. They must be careful that the firewood is not unusually speckled or dirty, as the child that is to come might be lacking in due comeliness. I have seen many a husband assiduously peeling off the bark from the more-ugly-looking firewood.

TABOOS ENJOINED ON VISITORS

Visitors also are cautioned and expected to observe the third and fourth taboos mentioned under the last section.[5]

ABORTION

Infanticide is never practiced; on the contrary, every means, natural, magic, and religious, are taken to safeguard the life of the babe. Abortion, however, occurs.

ARTIFICIAL ABORTION

Artifical abortion is unknown among the pagan Manóbos, but the Christianized members of the tribe who have come under the influence of culture of a different stamp, have acquired a knowledge of its practice for the purpose of concealing their condition and of thereby avoiding subsequent shame and trouble. For this purpose various vegetable products are used, such as the sap of the red dyewood,[6] the core of a wild palm,[7] the sap of black dyewood,[8] and the juice of mint.[9] I was told that these are very effective and, as a rule, not attended with evil consequences to the health of the woman.

INVOLUNTARY ABORTION

Involuntary abortion, however, is a matter of frequent, occurrence. It would be hard to form an approximate estimate, but, from the opinions expressed by several warrior chiefs and headmen, I believe that it occurs not infrequently. No explanation as to its cause was obtained. The fetus is usually buried without any ceremony under the house. In the upper Agúsan, the Manóbo follows a Mandáya custom by erecting over the grave, which is always under the house, an inverted cone of bamboo slatwork, about 30 centimeters high and 60 centimeters in diameter. The usual feelings of fright are not displayed on these occasions as on the death of one that has died an ordinary death, for the child has not yet been consociated with its two soul companions. Neither is the house abandoned, as would ordinarily be done on the death of an older person.

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[4] *Ó-bud.*

[5] The taboo that forbids a visitor to sit at the door of the house is observed by the lower classes of Manila. Also the taboo that forbids quarreling.

[6] *Si-ká-lig.*

[7] Called *báñg-a.*

[8] *Tá-gum.*

[9] *La-bwé-na.*

THE APPROACH OF PARTURITION

THE MIDWIFE[10]

About the seventh month when the expectant mother feels the quickening impulse of life within her, she selects a midwife and undergoes almost daily at her hands a massage, without which it is thought she would be in danger of a painful delivery. As far as I could learn, the method followed is such as to keep the creature in a vertical position within the womb, with the head downward. The massage is said to take place at the beginning of a lunar month. The midwife is eminently the most important personage in all that concerns birth. She is not necessarily a priestess, but is usually a relative of the prospective mother. She is always a woman of advanced age who has had abundant experience, and "has never lost a case." She is reputed to be versed in many secret medicines and devices necessary for the cure of any ailment proceeding from natural causes and connected with childbirth. I always found the midwife very reluctant to disclose the secrets of her profession.

When the woman announces the maternal pains, the midwife goes at once to the house, taking with her various herbs and other things, all carefully concealed on her person. She is not alone on such occasions, but is usually accompanied, if not preceded, by the greater portion of the female population in the community. Few of the male portion, and none of the bachelors, attend, but they keep themselves informed of the progress of the patient by frequent yells of inquiry from the neighboring houses.

The midwife bids the patient lie upon her back and, aided by a few relatives of the parturient, proceeds to administer one of the most ferocious massages imaginable. I witnessed one case in which the mother was tightly bound with swathing clothes and the husband called upon to exert his strength in an endeavor to force delivery.

As soon as it becomes apparent that the patient is in great pain, the midwife, and perhaps others expert in such matters, resort to means which are designed to produce an easy and speedy delivery.

PRENATAL MAGIC AIDS[11]

During several childbirths which I attended in various parts of the valley, I observed the use of the following aids to delivery:

1. A piece of rattan[12] is taken by one of the women present and, after being slightly burnt, is extinguished by the midwife and held close to the person[13] of the parturient. With her hands the midwife then wafts the smoke over the patient, muttering at the same time a formula.

The explanation of this procedure, as given to me in all cases, was the following: The rattan is symbolic of the various fleshy bonds with which the child is confined within the mother and as the rattan, wound round and round the various portions of the house, is an impediment to the removal of the piece which it retains, a piece of it is burnt in order that by some mystic power the puerperal bonds may be undone. During the burning the child is exhorted not to resemble the tardy rattan but to come forth free and untrammeled from its mortal tenement.

This charm, it was explained to me, counteracts the violations of the taboos whereby husband or wife, or both, are enjoined not to wear necklaces or bodily bindings, and not to work in rattan and resin, or to carry anything on the head. Should the burning of a piece of rattan be omitted, it is believed that the umbilical cord[14] would be found to have actually become tangled around the neck or body of the child during the act of delivery, thereby increasing the difficulty and the danger.

2. The burning of a small piece of the house ladder[15] and the subsequent fumigation of the person of the parturient are practiced in identically the same manner as the above, and are thought to neutralize the evil effects

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[10] *Pa-na-gám-hon.*

[11] *Ta-gi-á-mo.*

[12] *Lá-gus.*

[13] Vulva.

[14] *Pó-sud.*

[15] *Pá-sung.*

that might result from the transgressions, even involuntary, of those taboos which forbid that anyone should sit at the door of a pregnant woman's house, or return to the house after having begun his descent down the house pole or ladder.

3. A third magic means, helpful in birth, is the consuming of a portion of the hearth frame followed, as described above, by a fumigation of a part of the patient's person. The particular effect of this charm is to counteract the evil influences which might otherwise result to the child from the nonobservance of the various other taboos mentioned previously.

4. Finally, various herbs, of which I did not learn the names because of secretiveness on the part of the women, are put on a plate or on anything that is convenient, and burned. On one occasion I observed that the leaves [16] used to cover sweetpotatoes and other vegetables during the process of steaming were employed, and on another I procured a piece of grass that had fallen from the plate and later on I ascertained it to be the leaf of a variety of bamboo. I was unable to learn the purpose of this charm, the replies being contradictory or variable in different localities.

The midwife applies numerous other medicinal herbs and has various other secret expedients of which I have been utterly unable to learn the nature. In one case a midwife claimed to have a bezoar stone [17] found in the body of an eel. This could not be seen, for it was wrapped in cloth. When the patient gave signs of suffering, she would dip this stone in water and rub it over the woman's abdomen.

PRENATAL RELIGIOUS AIDS

It is very rarely, indeed, that any serious difficulty is encountered in childbirth, but I have been informed that difficulties are occasionally met with. In such cases, when all human resources fail, the matter is said to be left in the hands of the family priestesses and the usual religious invocation and rites are performed. In every case one or more priestesses are present, and take the usual precautions, such as the placing of lemon and *sasá* reed under the house, against the approach of evil spirits.

ACCOUCHEMENT AND ENSUING EVENTS

The midwife and her companions continue to assist the patient until the moment of delivery, which takes place ordinarily within from four to six hours after the first pangs of childbirth have been felt. The umbilical cord is immediately cut with a sliver [18] of bamboo, and the mother is made to sit up at once in order to prevent a reflux of the afterbirth into the womb. At least such is the reason assigned for this last practice.

The child is immediately washed with water and some medicine sprinkled over its navel.[19] It is then returned to its mother. Should the birth have occurred during the period between new and full moon, it is said that the child will have good luck [20] during life.

I desire to call special attention here to the fact that should the mother be in such a condition that she is unable to nourish her babe, it is not given to another woman for nurture, but is sustained temporarily on soup, rice water, and sugarcane juice. I have heard of several cases in which the child succumbed for want of natural nourishment. One case that occurred in San Luis on the middle Agúsan, I verified beyond a doubt. Father Pastells, S. J.,[21] states that if the child can not be suckled, it is buried alive, its mouth being sometimes filled with ashes. I, however, have never heard of such a practice.

The reason for allowing no woman other than the mother to nourish the child is that, if the child were nourished by another woman, it would die. In this connection it may be well to state that infant mortality is high. I do not hesitate to say that it is not less than 25 per cent and may be 33⅓ per cent.

The afterbirth, together with the umbilical cord, is nearly always buried under the house. I was told that it is sometimes wrapped up and hung from the beams that are just under the hearth. No reason is given for the selection of this particular place, except that "no one passes there."

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[16] *Tú-yus.*

[17] *Mût-ya.*

[18] *Ba-lis.*

[19] I was informed on one occasion that the medicine used was pulverized coconut shell, but this point needs further inquiry.

[20] *Paí-ad.*

[21] Cartas de los PP. de la Compañia de Jesus, 8, 1879.

POSTNATAL CUSTOMS

As a rule parturition is not attended with much weakness nor with any danger. In fact, the mother usually can move around the house on the day following the birth or even on the same day. After two or three days she purifies herself by an informal bath, which is taken more for sanitary than for ceremonial reasons, as far as I have been able to ascertain.

TABOOS

For a period of a week, more or less, the mother must refrain from the use of all food except the following: The core of the wild palm tree, native rice, fresh fish, and chicken. The chicken must be of a certain color; in the lake region of the Agúsan Valley it must be either black or white, and the leg must be dark in color.

Bathing is interdicted for two or three days according to the custom of the locality.

After bathing, the new mother and her husband leave the house in order that the little one may have good luck, and also that they themselves may be removed from the malign influence of the malevolent spirits that are inevitably present on the occasion of a birth.

The birth festivity is not a very solemn nor magnificent affair. The midwife and a few friends, perhaps a dozen in all, are invited. It is at the end of this repast that some little remuneration is made to the midwife and to the priestess for their services. Among the pagan Manóbos there seems to be no fixed rule as to the amount to be given to the midwife, but among the *conquistas* or Christianized tribes, there prevails the customary price of ₱1.50 for the first birth, ₱1.00 for the second, and ₱0.50 for the third and all successive ones.

THE BIRTH CEREMONY [22]

When the child is born it is supposed not yet to have received the two spirit companions [23] that are to accompany it during its earthly pilgrimage. Whence proceed these spirit-companions, or what is their nature, I have not been able to learn to my satisfaction. *Mandáit*, the tutelary god of the little ones, after being invoked and appeased with offerings, is supposed to select two spirit companions out of the multitudinous beings that hover over human haunts. These spirits then become guardians, as it were, of the child, and do not separate themselves from him till one of them becomes the prey of some foul demon.

These spirit companions are said to be invisible, and in physical appearance like their corporal companion,[24] whose every action they are supposed to imitate. As was explained to me, when we sit down, our spirit companions also sit down, and when we dress, they also prepare themselves, and when we go forth they accompany us. When the mother leaves the house with her babe, she adjures the spirits to follow and to guard their ward. Of the effect and purpose of this consociation no very definite explanation has so far been given to me.

The rites of the birth ceremony are observed usually within a month after the birth. There seems to be no stated time, but according to my observation and information they take place on the first symptoms of sickness, or of unusual restlessness on the part of the child. It is firmly believed and openly avowed that these symptoms are due to the machinations of Mandáit, who is desirous of being regaled with a fowl, for he. like all his fellow spirits, is an epicure and likes the good things of this world.

The ceremony begins with an invocation to Mandáit. A tiny canoe, more or less perfect in design and equipment, according to the caprice and skill of the fashioner, is made, and is hung up in the house after sunset. The nearer relatives assemble and a priest, preferably a relative, takes the chicken that has already been dedicated [25] to Mandáit, and waves it over the babe and around the house, in order to ward off all such bad influences and harmful spirits as might be flitting around, for in the Manóbo's mind, there are not a few of these demons waiting to devour the expected spirit companions.

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[22] *Tag-un-ún to bá-ta.*

[23] *Um-a-gád*, from *á-gad*, to accompany.

[24] In stature they are described as being somewhat smaller.

[25] *Sin-ug-bá-han.*

The chicken is killed and the head, legs, and wings offered to Mandáit. To these delicacies are added little leaf packages of cooked maize [26] or native rice.[27] The priest, on these occasions invariably a woman, goes through her invocations while the offerings are being placed on the ceremonial boat. She burns incense [28] whose fragrance is said to be especially acceptable to Mandáit. By the direction of the smoke, she ascertains the position of Mandáit and of her own guardian or familiar spirit, and turning to him, welcomes him. She falls into the usual state of tremor during which Mandáit is supposed to partake spiritually of the repast set out for him.

This ceremony being concluded, the fowl is partaken of, and a little sugarcane beverage [29] is drunk, if it can be obtained. After the meal, the priestess recounts in the old archaic language of song the chronicles of bygone days. This is taken up by such other makers of Manóbo monody as may be present. If the child proves to be restless, it is lulled to sleep with the weird staccato of the bamboo guitar.[30] During the course of the night the two souls are supposed to enter into mystic consociation with the babe, and thenceforth to be its companions.

The following morning the priestess removes the little leaf packages and, placing them on a rice winnow, tosses them into the air. The children present at once grab for the packages. The ceremonial canoe, however, with the offering of fowl, must be left suspended indefinitely.

In the lower half of the Agúsan Valley from San Luis to the mouth of the Agúsan, a tray of bamboo trelliswork is used for the offering to Mandáit instead of the sacrificial canoe described above. Otherwise the ritual is identical.

THE NAMING AND CARE OF THE CHILD

The child receives, without any ceremony or formality, a name that seems to depend on the caprice of the parents. It is usually that of some famed ancestor, or of some well-known Manóbo but at other times it may depend on some happening at the birth. Thus the writer knows of Manóbos who bore the names Bágio (typhoon), Línug (earthquake), Bâdau (dagger), Bíhag (captive), Áñglañg (slave), Ká-ug (maggot).

The child is treated by the parents and by the other relatives with the greatest tenderness. He is petted and pampered from his very youngest days, and punishment of any kind is seldom administered. A hammock made out of a hemp skirt or a little bamboo frame, suspended by a string from a bamboo pole in the fishing-rod style, is often provided for his resting place. He is tenderly set in one of these by day, and the usual little maternal devices are used to keep him from crying and to put him to sleep.

When the little fellow is somewhat bigger and stronger, he is carried about with his legs straddled across his mother's hip, or allowed to crawl around the floor. If the mother has to absent herself and there is no one to watch him, he is simply tied to the floor and left to his own thoughts. He is not weaned till the advent of another child, or till he of his own accord relinquishes the breast. His dress is of the simplest in most cases.

As soon as the male child reaches the age of 7 to 8 years, and is able to run around, he not infrequently accompanies his father or any other male relative on a fishing or on a hunting expedition, often carrying the betel-nut bag or some other object at times almost too heavy for his tender years. While at home he is often in an emergency sent out to do little chores. He is bidden to run out and get some betel leaf or some firewood from the surrounding forest, or again is sent for a little water. Such errands, however, are the exception. He has most of his time to himself, and passes it in merry rompings with his little brothers and cousins. If he lives near the river he spends a few hours a day in the water, bathing, splashing his playmates, and catching frogs and other edibles. A favorite pastime of his is to make a diminutive bow and ply his arrows at some old stump or some unlucky lizard or other living thing that he may have espied. If monkeys, crows, or other bold marauders are overnumerous, he probably has to sit out in the rude watch-house in the little clearing and keep the scarecrows moving, or by shouts and other means drive off the uninvited pests.

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[26] *Búd-bud.*

[27] *Ba-kí.*

[28] *Pa-lí-na*, the gum of the *ma-gu-bái* tree.

[29] *Ín-tus.*

[30] *Tan-kó.*

He soon learns to smoke tobacco, to chew betel nut, and even to take a drink of the brew that is being passed around, and thus he grows up to be, at the age of 14 or 15, a little full-fledged man with his teeth blackened, his lips stained, and his bolo at his side.

He enters youth without any special ceremony. It is true that as the boy grows to puberty his teeth are ground and blackened and he is tatooed and circumcised. Such operations might be considered as an initiation into manhood or at least as a survival of a custom that is so much in vogue in certain parts of Oceania. In other words, the youth begins to tattoo and to assume other ornamentation in order that he may attract the attention of the female portion of the tribe.

It is needless to say that he receives no schooling. In fact, the average Manóbo who has not come in contact with civilization would not know what to think of a pencil. On one occasion I accidentally allowed some Manóbos to see my pencil. The sight of it aroused an animated discussion as to the nature of the tree that yielded such peculiar wood. All the schooling which the Manóbo boy gets is from the forest and the streams. From them he learns to trap the timid deer and to catch the wily fish. In them he acquires a quick step, a sharp eye, and a keen ear. In the ways of nature he is a scholar, because the first moment that he can clamber down the notched pole he betakes himself to the surrounding forest and schools himself in all her ways and moods.

As soon as the boy reaches the age at which he feels that he is a man, he ceases to be under paternal restraint, which even up to that age has been more or less lax. At this period he assumes as much independence as his father, but will obey any behest without understanding the propriety or the necessity of complying. As a general rule, filial relations are most cordial, and great respect is entertained for both parents, but it may be said that male children respect and love the father, while girls love their mother.

BIRTH ANOMALIES

MONSTROSITIES

Monstrosities are extremely rare. I met only one case, that of a child with an abnormally large head.[31] Idiocy also is very uncommon, only one case having come under my observation.

ALBINISM

Albinism also is very infrequent. An albino is considered to be the child of an evil spirit in so far as one of those relentless demons is supposed to have exercised a malign influence on the mother. It is believed that an albino can pay nightly visits to the haunt of its demon sire. Among the Mandáyas on the upper Kati'il River, I saw some 12 cases of albinism in a settlement of about 500 Mandáyas. No explanation was obtained as I did not think it prudent at the time to ask for one.

HERMAPHRODITISM

Hermaphrodites,[32] in a secondary sense, are found occasionally. I am personally acquainted with five. In every case they were womanly in their ways, showing a preference for sewing, and other occupations of women, and frequenting the company of women more than that of men.

In one case at San Isidro, Simúlao River, an hermaphrodite, a fine specimen of manhood to all appearances, was dressed as a woman. In another case a Mandáya hermaphrodite of the Báklug River, a few miles south of Compostela, was married. I was informed on all hands that the marriage was for the purpose of securing the alliance of the hermaphrodite's relatives against certain hereditary enemies and that probably there would be no issue. I hope to get further information on this point at a future date.

On the Lamíñga River, a tributary of the Kasiláian River, there lived a woman who presented all the outward characteristics of a man. Her voice was deep and resonant, her countenance of a male type. She constantly carried a bolo, by day and by night, and in manual labor, such as building houses, was the equal of any man in the settlement. She had never married and had always rejected overtures toward marriage.

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[31] Básа, Simúlao River, middle Agúsan.

[32] *Bán-tut* (Mandáya *bi-dó*).

CHAPTER XV

DOMESTIC LIFE—MEDICINE, SICKNESS, AND DEATH

MEDICINE AND DISEASE

The subject of Manóbo medicine may be divided into three parts, according to the causes that are supposed to produce the malady or according to the means that are used to cure it. These classes will be described as natural, magic, and religious.

NATURAL MEDICINES AND DISEASES

Natural remedies in the form of roots and herbs are used for the ordinary bodily ailments that afflict the Manóbo. The following are the more common forms of sickness: Fever,[1] tuberculosis,[2] pain in the diaphragm,[3] pains in the stomach and abdomen,[4] pains in the chest,[5] pain in the head,[6] colds,[7] chronic cough (probably bronchitis),[8] pernicious malaria,[9] ordinary malaria or chills and fever,[10] cutaneous diseases,[11] intestinal worms,[12] and some few others.

The natural remedies used in the cure of the above-mentioned diseases are not very numerous, but they are applied as a rule externally. In each settlement there are always a few who have gained a reputation above others for their knowledge of these medicines, but their proficiency is not high as may be judged by the degree of their success and by the opinion of many of their fellow tribesmen.

For wounds, tobacco juice and the black residue found in a tobacco pipe are considered an effective ointment. Saliva mixed with betel nut is used for the same purpose, and also for pains in the stomach. For other pains the leaves of various trees, according to the knowledge or faith of each individual, are applied. For pains in the stomach the gall of a certain snake [13] is said to be efficacious. It is mixed with a little water and applied externally, or it may be taken internally, provided it be mixed with a little powder from a piece of pulverized plate.[14]

The perfume of certain resins and especially that of the *manumbá* tree are considered medicinal in some cases.

The root of a tree called *lú-na*, when left to steep in water, is said to be a very potent remedy for pains in the stomach. The seed of the *sá-i* grass is also used for the same purpose, and is said to be a prophylactic against stomach troubles.

No amount of persuasion will overcome the Manóbos' suspicions of European medicine till the administrator of it follows the old saying of "Physician, heal thyself," and takes the first dose. In any case it is not prudent to offer it except after long acquaintance, for should any change for the worse occur in the patient's condition after taking the foreign medicine he might imitate people of greater intellectual caliber, and say, as he probably would, "Post hoc, ergo propter hoc," and the ensuing events might be sudden and unexpected.

On one occasion I administered a small dose of quinine to a child that was suffering from fever. It died the following day. The father, who had requested me to give the child some medicine, through the medium of a Mañgguáñgan, sent me a few days later a present of a chicken and about two glassfuls of sugarcane brew, and would not accept a reciprocatory gift of beads and jingle bells that I sent him. The chicken and the beverage were partaken of in due time, each of my servants drinking about half a glass of the liquor. The following morning at about 4 o'clock I awoke with a sense of impending death. The servants were called and they, too, complained of an uneasy feeling and one of them suggested that we might have been poisoned. A dose of ipecacuanha saved our lives, and at about 9 o'clock I proceeded to look for the bearer of the gift, but was unable to locate him, as he had gone to his forest home. A diplomatic investigation revealed the fact that he was an expert in poisons and that the poison administered to me in the liquor was probably the root of the *túbli* vine that is also used for poisoning fish.

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[1] *Hiñg-yau.*

[2] *Súg-pa.*

[3] *Ka-bú-hi*, or *gi-húb*, probably a reversal of the diaphragm.

[4] *Pús-on* and *go-túk.*

[5] *Da-gá-ha.*

[6] *Ó-yo.*

[7] *U-bó.*

[8] *Pás-mo.*

[9] *Pid-pid.*

[10] *Ó-yud.*

[11] *Ká-do.*

[12] *Bí-tuk.*

[13] *Ba-ku-sán.* The gall of this snake is reported as being a panacea used by the Mamánuas.

[14] *Píñg-gan*, an imported plate of very inferior make.

Fragrant flowers and redolent seeds and herbs are thought to be very efficacious for the relief of headaches, fainting spells, and for the peculiar diaphragm trouble referred to before. The resin of the *magubái* tree, which also is used as incense in ceremonial rites, is considered very potent. I have frequently seen patients held over the smoke till I thought that death by suffocation would result.

In fine, it may be said that the Manóbos' knowledge of medicinal plants is very limited, and his application of them equally so, for as soon as he thinks that the condition of the patient has changed for the worse the malady is at once attributed to preternatural causes, and corresponding remedies are resorted to.

On casual observation it might appear that the sick are neglected, but this is not the case. The relatives, especially the womenfolk, display the tenderest solicitude toward them and keep them provided with an abundance of food. The lack of blankets leaves the patient exposed to the inequalities of temperature and explains, no doubt, the frequent occurrence of colds, of rheumatism, and sometimes of tuberculosis. This also may account for the high death rate among children.

MAGIC AILMENTS AND MEANS OF PRODUCING THEM

It is a common thing to hear that a *kometán* was the cause of a person's death. This may be defined as a secret method by which death is superinduced in a certain person by means either supposedly magic in character or so secret in administration that they may be looked upon as magic. Thus (to give an example of a purely magical sickness), it is thought that by making a wooden mannikin to represent the victim and by mistreating it the person whom it represents will immediately fall sick and die unless countervailing methods are employed to neutralize the effects of the charm. I heard of a case in the lower Agúsan near Esperanza where a wooden figure was made to represent the person of a thief. The figure was cruelly tortured by sticking a bolo into its head, and when sufficient punishment had been administered to cause its death, had it been a thing of life, it was buried amid much wailing. I was assured that the party whom it represented was taken with a lingering disease shortly afterwards and finally died.

The belief in the *kometán* or secret means of superinducing sickness is widespread, but it is difficult to obtain reliable data on the subject because, for obvious reasons, no one will admit that he is acquainted with the secret nor will he affirm that anyone else is unless it be a person so far away that there is no danger of future complications by reason of the imputation.

THE COMPOSITION OF A FEW "KOMETÁN"

1. The fine flossy spiculæ of a species of bamboo[15] placed in the food or in the drink is supposed to cause a slow, lingering sickness that ends in death.
2. A piece of a dead man's bone pulverized and put into the food, even into the betel-nut quid, is said to have the same effect but in a more expeditious way, as it superinduces death within a few months.
3. Another reported *kometán* consists of the blood of a woman dried in the sun and exposed to the light of the moon. This is mixed with human hair cut very fine. Administered in the food, it produces a slow lingering disease that leads to the grave. It is said that after death the hair reappears resting upon the lips and nostrils.
4. Human hair mixed with bits of fingernails and powdered glass is said to be especially virulent. The secret of compounding it is known only to a few. I was informed that the knowledge of this secret composition was acquired from Bisáyas.[16]

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[15] *Caña bojo*, or bamboo of the genus *Schizostachyum*.

[16] It is called *pa-ágai*.

It is generally believed that the war chiefs are provided with antidotes [17] against the *kometán*. In fact, several assured me that they possessed them, but they were unwilling to enter into any details. I once saw a little bottleful of strange-looking herbs and water sold for ₱2.50. It was said to be an antidote against the particular species of *kometán*, which, on being placed in the path, would affect the one for whom it was intended when he passed the spot.

A piece of lodestone,[18] or even an ordinary toy magnet, is thought, in certain localities, to act as a safeguard against divers kinds of evil charms.

OTHER MAGIC MEANS

I found a prevalent belief in the existence of an *aphrodisiac* [19] which is said to consist of wax made by a small insect called *kí-ut*, and of the ashes of various trees. The secret of compounding it is known to very few. There is a persistent rumor that this was first learned from the Mamánuas,[20] who are supposed to be very proficient in the making and use of it even to this day. If a little of the composition is put on the dress of a woman, or, better still, if a little packet of it is attached to her girdle charms she will become attached to the man who placed it there and will aid him, as far as it can be done, in his suit for her hand.

There is also a charm which is said to produce an aversion or dislike between those who had formerly been friends.

Bezoar stones are hard substances, of a dark color, and vary in size from a pea to a chestnut. They are said to be found in various trees and plants,[21] and animals and fishes such as the monkey and eel.

Their properties are both medicinal and magic. Thus the bezoar stones from three different plants are supposed to be efficacious in the hour of birth, but, at the same time, in all the doings of life they give the fortunate possessor success over his rival. Hence they are called *pandáug*, that is, they will enable one to get ahead of or beat another. There is a bezoar stone from the *banti* tree that gets its owner to a place more quickly than his rival.

BODILY AILMENTS PROCEEDING FROM SUPERNATURAL CAUSES

Sickness due to capture of the soul by an inimical spirit.—When a malady is of such a nature that it can not be diagnosed, or of so serious a character that fear is entertained for the recovery of the patient, it is ascribed to the maleficence of evil spirits, and supernatural means are resorted to in order to save the captured soul from their spirit clutches. For this purpose the priest intercedes with his divine tutelars, and prevails upon them, by offerings and promises, to rescue the captive. If the ailment is attributed to the war divinities, then the warrior chief becomes the officiant and, after appeasing the angry spirit with a blood offering, secures the release of the unfortunate soul.

Epidemics attributed to the malignancy of sea demons.—Epidemics of cholera and smallpox are thought to be due directly to evil spirits who bring the diseases from their faraway sea haunts.

It is said that friendly deities and war spirits of the settlement announce from the lofty mountain heights the approach of these pestiferous demons. Thus, I was assured by many in the Kasiláian River district, that Mount Tatamba on a tributary of the Lamiñga River gave out a loud booming noise before the epidemic of 1903–4. The same is said of Mount *Mag-diuáta* by the Súlibao people. Be that as it may, those who live along the main rivers scurry away on the approach of contagion into the depths of the forest or upon the heights of the mountains, and do not return until they feel assured that all danger is past. I was a personal witness of this among the upper Agúsan Manóbos, where I found a settlement, more than one year after the appearance of a contagious disease, still ensconced in the heart of the forest a few miles away from all water.[22]

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[17] *Sùm-pa.*

[18] *Bá-to bá-ni.*

[19] Called *hu-pai.*

[20] It is strange that the more advanced tribes in eastern Mindanáo attribute a knowledge of magic methods to inferior ones. I have been informed that both Mamánuas and Mañgguáñgans are more expert in the manufacture and administration of charms than other tribes.

[21] Such as the *a-nís-lag*, the *tú-ba*, the *tùb-li.*

[22] The inhabitants lived on the water that exuded from a tree known as *ba-sí-kung.*

The reason given for avoiding the larger watercourses during epidemics is that streams are thought to be the high roads for the sea demons when they come upon their work of destruction. There were never wanting some in each settlement who had seen these demons under some monstrous form or other.

Propitiation of the demons of contagious diseases.—Besides such offerings as may be made to them during the regular ritual, there is a special method of propitiating these plague bearers and thereby of inducing them to betake themselves whither they hailed.

A raftlet [23] is made of bamboo, with a platform of the same material raised several inches above the surface of the craft. This is adorned with palm fronds arched over it. Upon it is firmly lashed a young pig or a large fowl, of a white color, and by its side are placed various other offerings of betel nut, rice, or eggs, according to the bounty and good will of the priest and of the settlement. When all is ready, it is taken to the water's edge about sunset, for that is the hour when the mightiest of the demons begin their destructive march. Here the priest makes an address to the demon of the epidemic, descanting on the value of the offerings, the scarcity of victims at that particular time, the reasons for mutual friendship between him (the demon) and the settlement. The demon is then requested to accept these tokens of good will and to go his seaward way. The disease itself, though never mentioned by name, is requested in the same manner to take passage upon the raft and to accompany its master downstream. The raft is then launched into the water and allowed to follow the will of the current. No one may even touch it or approach it on its downward course, for it has become foul by contact with its pestilential owners.[24]

SICKNESS AND DEATH

THE THEORY OF DEATH

Except in the case of a warrior chief, or a priest, or one who has met his end at the hands of an enemy, death is ordinarily attributed to the maleficence of the inimical spirits. The latter are believed to be relentless, insatiable demons "seeking whom they may devour." In some mysterious manner they are said to waylay a poor defenseless soul, and ruthlessly hold it in captivity till such time as it suits their whims, when they actually devour it. Notwithstanding the numerous explanations given to me throughout the Agúsan Valley, I have never been able to satisfy myself as to the various circumstances of time, place, and manner in which the capture and consumption of the soul takes place. Suffice it to say, however, that in its essential points this is the universal belief: One of the soul companions is seized, and the owner falls sick. Every available means is tried to effect a cure. When everything fails the priest declares that the ailment is due, not to any natural infirmity, but to the capture or wounding of one of the souls of the patient by inimical spirits. Sacrifices are ordered, during which usually a large number (from four to eight) of priests of both sexes invoke their various divinities and beseech them to rescue the spirit companion of the patient. During these ceremonies the priests describe minutely how the capture was effected. In lengthy chants they set forth the efforts of their deities to find the missing soul; they describe how they travel to the ends of the sky, seeking the cruel captors and vowing vengence upon their heads. They are said to make use of an *espiho* [25] to discover the whereabouts of the enemy and of the captive. The recapture of the soul and frequently the mighty encounter between the good and bad spirits is chanted out at length by the priests. I was told that in some cases the rescued soul is taken to the home of the deities and there consoled with feast and dance and song before its return to its earthly companion.

FEAR OF THE DEAD AND OF THE DEATH SPIRITS

The utter fear, not only of the malignant spirits but also of the person of the dead and of his soul, is one of the most peculiar features of Manóbo culture. In the death chamber and hover-ing around the resting place of the dead there is a certain noxious influence [26] by the infection of which one is liable to become an object of attraction to the dark-visaged, hungry, soul ghouls that, lured by the odor, stalk to the death house and await an opportunity to secure a victim.

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[23] *Gá-kit.*

[24] Bisáyas have no scruples in appropriating the fat fowls and pigs thus found floating to doom.

[25] This *es-pi-ho* (from Spanish *espejo,* a looking-glass) is some kind of a wonderful telescope by which objects can be described at the farther extremities of the firmament. No lurking place is so remote or so secret as to be hidden from its marvelous power.

Then, again, the envious spirits of the dead are feared, for they, in their eagerness to participate in the farewell and final death feast, avail themselves of every occasion to injure the living in some mysterious but material way. Sickness, especially one in which the only symptoms are emaciation and debility, are attributed to their noxious influence. Failure of the crops, bodily accidents, want of success in important undertakings—these and a thousand and one other things—are attributed to a lack of proper attention to the envious dead. "You have been affected by an *umagad*,"[27] is a common saying to express the peculiar effect that the departed may cause on the living. To avert this unkindly feeling and thereby prevent the evil consequences of it, it is not an infrequent thing to see propitiatory offerings made to the departed in the shape of betel nut, chickens, and other things. In one instance the father of a child that had died, presumptively from eating new rice, imposed upon himself an abstinence from that article for a period of several months.

As another evidence of fear of the departed souls may be cited the unwillingness of the Manóbo to use anything that belonged to the dead, such as clothes. An exception, however, is made in the case of weapons and other heirlooms,[28] all of which have been consecrated and are supposed not to retain the odor or evil influence of death.

Offerings made to the dead to appease their ill will are not partaken of by the living. They are supposed to produce baneful effects.[29] Hence they are carefully removed to the outside of the house after the departed visitor is supposed to have regaled himself. This applies to betel-nut offerings, and to such offerings as chickens and pigs that in cases of unusual pestering on the part of the dead may be set out with a view to propitiating them.

One or more priests are present invariably in the death chamber. The female priests take up their position near the corpse, and by the use of lemons, pieces of the *sa-sá* reed, and other things, said to be feared by the demons, protect themselves and those present. Hence, during the average "wake" the womenfolk huddle around the priestesses with many a startled glance. On one occasion I saw a male priest take up his stand at the door, lance poised, ready to dispatch such spirits as might dare to intrude into the death chamber. Drums and gongs are beaten throughout the night, not merely as a distraction for their grief but as a menace to the ever-present demons.

An acquaintance of mine in San Luis, middle Agúsan, is reported to have wounded seven evil spirits in one evening on the occasion of a death. I was assured by many in the town that they had seen the gory lance after each encounter.

Several other precautions besides those mentioned above are taken to secure immunity from the stealthy attacks of the demons. A fire is kept burning under the house, and the usual magic impediments, such as *sa-sá* reed, lemons, and a piece of iron, are placed underneath the floor as menace to these insatiate spirits. Moreover, the food while still in the process of cooking is never left unguarded, lest some malicious spirit should slyly insert therein poison wherewith to kill his intended victim or to spirit away an unwary soul.

For several days both before and after the death, supper is almost invariably partaken of before sunset, as this is the hour when the most mighty of the demons are supposed to go forth on their career of devastation. If, however, it should be necessary to take supper after sunset, it is the invariable custom to put a mat on the floor and thereby foil the stealthy spirits in their endeavors to slip some baneful influence [30] into the plates from below.

After the burial it is almost an invariable rule for the inmates of a house to abandon it. This remark, however, does not hold good in the case of the decease of priests, warrior chiefs, and children, nor in the case of those who have been slain in war. Should a stranger, or one who is not a relative of the inmates, die in the house, it is an established custom to collect the value of the house from the relatives of the deceased. Father Pastells in one of the "Cartas de los PP. de la Compañia de Jesus" cites an incident that happened to him in the house of Selúñgan on the upper Sálug in the year 1878. It seems that one of Pastells' followers died and that Selúñgan desired to collect the value of the house. I know of one case where the fine was actually collected. I was asked by a warrior chief on the upper Tágo, who would pay for the house in the case of my death.

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[26] *Bá-ho.*

[27] *In-um-a-gád ka.*

[28] *Án-ka.*

[29] *Ka-dú-ut.*

[30] This custom is prevalent among many of the Bisáyas of eastern Mindanáo and may perhaps explain the origin of the peculiar low table used by them.

INCIDENTS ACCOMPANYING DEATHS

When death ensues, the relatives burst forth into loud wails of grief. In one death scene that I witnessed the wife of the deceased fell down on the floor, and in the wildness of her grief kept striking her head against the *palma brava* slats until she rendered herself unconscious. Upon returning to herself, she violently embraced the corpse of her deceased husband, bidding him return. Then she broke out into loud imprecations against her tutelary deities upbraiding them for their ingratitude in not having saved her husband's soul from the clutches of its enemies. She bade them be off, would have no more to do with them, and finally ended up by bidding them go on the war trail and destroy the foul spirits that deprived her of her husband.

In nearly every death scene that I witnessed this last procedure was the ordinary one, and I may say that it is quite characteristic of the Manóbo.

On several occasions I witnessed some fierce displays of fury, to which the mourners were driven by their poignant grief for some beloved relative. In one instance the father of the deceased, drawing his bolo, started to hack down one of the house posts, and in another the son, after a frantic outburst of grief, seizing his shield and lance, declared that he would ease his sorrow in the joy of victory over his enemies and actually had to be detained by his relatives.

The grief and fury felt on these occasions will readily explain the frequency of war raids after the occurrence of a death. This was explained to me by Líno of the upper Sálug, probably the greatest warrior of eastern Mindanáo, in the following manner: "After the decease of a near relative, our enemies will rejoice and may, as is done with frequency, proclaim their joy. We do not feel in good humor anyhow, so, if it can be arranged speedily, we start off to assuage the sorrow of our friends and our relatives with the palms of triumph."

This statement of Líno may explain the origin of the taboo that is observed throughout the Agúsan Valley. The taboo referred to prohibits anyone except a near relative from visiting the house of the deceased for seven days after the death. It is suggested that this custom was instituted to prevent the enemy from learning whether an expedition was being set afoot. To enforce compliance with this custom, the trails leading to the house are closed by putting a few branches across them at a short distance from the house. It is not infrequent to find a broken jar suspended (or placed) at these points, symbolic, probably, of the cruel fate that may overtake the transgressor. Infringements of this taboo are punished with a fine that varies from ₱5 to ₱15.

PREPARATION OF THE CORPSE

After the first paroxysm of grief has subsided, the body of the deceased is washed, the greatest delicacy in exposing the person being shown, and it is then attired in the finest garments obtainable. No personal ornaments, such as necklaces and bracelets, are removed. Charms and talismans, however, are removed, being considered heirlooms. The corpse is then laid on its back, with the hands lying at the side, in the rude coffin.

There is a tradition that, in the olden days, the bolo of the deceased used to be buried with him but I never saw this done. The bolo, however, was placed by his side in a few cases that I witnessed. Among the mountain Manóbos there exists the custom of winding strands of colored cotton on the fingers and feet of young girls and maidens after death. I witnessed this in the upper Agúsan, and, in answer to my inquiry, was informed that such was the custom of the Agusánon people.

The coffin is a hexagonal receptacle hewn out of a log,[31] and provided with a truncated prism lid of the same wood. It frequently has a few ornamental tracings of soot or other pigment, and where European cloth is procurable a few pieces may be employed as a wrapping. The corpse is wrapped in a mat and laid in the coffin, the head being placed upon a rude pillow of wood. The coffin is then firmly lashed with rattan and is not removed till the hour for interment. Frequently lemons, *sá-i* grass, and various other redolent herbs are placed on or near it with a view, I was told, to repressing the odor of the dead. It is probable, however, that they are thought to have magic or other virtues. They certainly are objects of fear to the death demons.

The wailing, weird and wild, of the women was violent in nearly every case I witnessed, especially when the corpse was taken out of the house on its way to the burial place. The grief displayed by the male relatives is not so intense but I noticed frequently that even they broke into tears. I may add here that I was often informed that the absence of the outward signs of grief is an infallible evidence of a speedy death, and that it is considered unlucky to allow one's tears to fall on the corpse.

Before describing the burial, I desire to mention a peculiar proceeding which I observed on one occasion.[32] Before the corpse had been placed in the coffin, one of those present, seizing a dog, placed it transversely on the breast of the deceased for a few seconds. I was told that the object of the action was to remove the dog's bad luck [33] by putting him in the above-mentioned position, as he had for some time been rather unlucky in the chase. This proceeding was verified by subsequent inquiries in other settlements, and the custom and its explanation were found to be identical with the above mentioned.

THE FUNERAL

As a rule the burial takes place the morning after the death, unless the death occurred during the night, in which case it takes place the following afternoon. Decomposition is never allowed to set in.

When all is ready, a last tribute and farewell are paid to the deceased. The family priest sets an offering of betel nut near the coffin, beseeching the dead one to depart in peace and bear no ill will to the living. He promises at the same time that the mortuary feast [34] will be prepared with all possible speed. The deceased is addressed, usually by several relatives and friends who wish him well in his new home and repeat the invitation to come to the death feast and bring grandfather and grandmother and all other relatives that had preceded him to the land of Ibú.

Then, amid great wailing, the coffin is borne away hastily. Only men assist at the burial, and as a rule a male priest, sometimes several, accompany the funeral party in order to assist them against the evil ones that throng to the grave. The priests take up their positions, as I witnessed on several occasions, at strategic points behind trees, with balanced lance and not infrequently with shield. I have seen others provided with *sa-sá* reed in anticipation of wounding some over-bold spirits.

I observed a very peculiar custom on several occasions. On the way to the grave the men indulged in wild shouts. No other explanation was offered except that such was the custom. It was suggested, however, that it is a means of driving off the demons who may have got the scent of death, or, again, it may be to warn travelers that there is a funeral, thus enabling them to avoid meeting it, as this is said to be most unlucky.

I have heard of the dead being buried under the house. However, the practice is infrequent and is usually followed at the request of the dying one. It is needless to add that the house and neighboring crops are abandoned. When possible a high piece of ground is selected in the very heart of the forest and a small clearing is made. The work at the grave is apportioned without much parleying, some of the men devoting themselves to making the customary roof [35] to be placed over the grave, while others do the excavating. Sometimes a fence is erected around the burying ground. The work always proceeds in absolute silence, and a fire is always kept burning as a menace to the evil spirits. When all is ready, the coffin is laid in its resting place and covered in all haste. Here it may be remarked with regard to the orientation of the corpse, that men are buried with their feet toward the east and women with their feet toward the west. Then the little roof is set upon four supports about 45 centimeters above the grave. One of those present, sometimes a priest, lays a plate with seven offerings of betel nut upon the grave. Then an earthen pot [36] with its collation of boiled rice [37] and with a hole broken in the bottom of it is hung up under the roof.

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[31] *A-yu-yao*, said to be very durable, being found in perfect preservation after two years; *kibidid or ilang-ilang* are also used.

[32] San Luis, 1906.

[33] *Pá-yad.*

[34] *Ka-ta pús-an.*

[35] *Bin-ai-tu.*

As explained to me, rice is intended as a last refection for the departed one before he sets out on his journey to the land of Ibú. The hole that is invariably made in the bottom is intended, so I was told by many, to facilitate the consumption of the rice. The family heirlooms are occasionally brought to the grave but are not left there.

There is a common tradition to the effect that the ancient mode of sepulture was a more pompous and solemn affair than the present one. I was told that the deceased was buried with all his personal arms, except his lance and shield, which were laid over his grave. Sacred jars [38] were also left. I never have been able to get sufficient information as to the exact whereabouts of the old burial grounds. The cave of Tinágo near Taganáan, about 12 miles south of Surigáo, is easily accessible. The Bisáyas of the town state that it was a burial place for the ancient Bisáyas, but Montano, who procured some skulls from this cave, pronounced it to be a Manóbo cemetery. The fact is, however, that up to this day the townspeople repair to the cave on occasions and invoke their ancestors. I was told of one gambler who used to go there and burn a candle in order to increase his luck.

The mourners carefully efface the footprints that have been made by them on the loose clay around the grave and, scurrying away sadly and silently, leave the dead one in the company of the spirits of darkness. Henceforth this, the resting place of one who was beloved in life, possibly of a loving wife, or of a darling child, will be eschewed as a place of terror where stalk with silent footfall and dark-visaged face the foul and insatiate soul ghouls.

On arriving at the house whence they started, the funeral party invariably find a vessel, usually a coconut-shell cup, containing a mixture of water and herbs,[39] placed at the door of the house. Each one in turn wets his hands and purifies himself by rubbing the water on some portion of his body. I never saw this process omitted. The explanation afforded me was that the water had a purificatory [40] effect in removing the evil influence to which they had become susceptible by contact with the dead. After the burial, a little repast is set out by way of compensation for those who assisted at the burial, and then begins the time of mourning which ends only with the mortuary feast.

CERTAIN MOURNING TABOOS ARE OBSERVED

(1) Black must be worn by the nearest relatives.

(2) For seven days the wife and nearest relatives must remain confined to the house.

(3) The house must be abandoned or the inmates must change their sleeping quarters to another part of the house.

(4) No marriage can be celebrated by any of the carnal relatives until the death feast has been celebrated.

(5) The deceased must not be mentioned by name, but spoken of as "my father" or "my cousin" or other relative. This taboo holds indefinitely.

(6) No work must be undertaken nor business of any importance transacted, by the nearer relatives, for seven days.

(7) No one other than a near relative may visit the house for seven days after the decease.

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[36] *Kó-don.*

[37] Imported rice can not be used.

[38] *Ba-hán-di.*

[39] I was told that *u-li-ú-li* grass is always used as an ingredient.

[40] *Pan-di-has.*

DEATH AND BURIAL OF ONE KILLED BY AN ENEMY, OF A WARRIOR CHIEF, AND OF A PRIEST

As one killed by an enemy is thought to have suffered no ill through the machinations of the evil ones, his death is considered a glorious one, and he is buried fearlessly. It sometimes happens that, due to the distance between the place where he was killed and his home, it is found impossible to convey his body to the settlement. He is, accordingly, buried in some convenient spot in the forest without further ceremony. No mortuary feast is held for him because he is supposed to enter the abode of his chief's war deity and there to await the coming of his chief.

I never witnessed the death of a warrior chief, but I made numerous inquiries from which I gleaned the following particulars: The death and burial of a warrior chief seems not to differ from that of an ordinary person except in the greater pomp displayed and in the absence of fear. The tutelary war deities, either one or several, of the warrior chief are present and the evil spirits are said to maintain a respectful distance. The war chief's spirit companions or souls, which it is maintained are susceptible to injury at the hands of demons, are present and accompany him to the home of his tutelar deities, as do also Mandaláñgan or Mandayáñgan, the great ancestral hero of Manóboland.

The war chief has no special burial ground, nor any special móde of sepulture, though I heard on the upper part of the Tágo River, in the eastern part on Mindanáo, that a certain Ónkui, an acquaintance of mine, had been buried in a dugout placed on the summit of a mountain. This report appears from further investigation to be true. I have heard of a similar practice at the headwaters of the Ihawán River.

There is no material difference between the mortuary customs at the death of a priest and those practiced at that of a warrior chief. The tutelar deities of the priest are all present, together with all their relatives and friends of the unseen world. His seven spirit companions or souls are also present, so that little or no fear of the uncanny demons is exhibited by the mourners.

THE AFTER WORLD

The land of Ibú is described as being somewhere down below the pillars of the earth. It is said to resemble, in all particulars, this world of ours. Lofty mountains, lakes, rivers, and plains, such as are seen in the Agúsan Valley, exist there. About halfway between this world and the big country of Ibú, mistress of the lower world, is a large river described to me as being as big as the Agúsan, but with red water. Here lives Manduyápit, the ferryman. From Manduyápit's to Ibú's is said to be a journey of seven days along a good broad trail. Americans, Spaniards, and peoples of other nations do not pass on the Manóbo's trail because each is said to have its own, and the country of Ibú is said to be divided into districts, one for each nation.

Hence, when the soul or spirit companion of the deceased finds that it is all alone, its fellow spirit having been ruthlessly seized and devoured, it begins its long journey to Ibú's. One week's travel brings it to the great red river. Here it is ferried across gratuitously by Manduyápit, and begins the second half of its journey. On arriving at Ibú's it naturally seeks the spirits of its relatives, preferably its nearest relative, and takes up its abode with them. If Manduyápit, for one reason or another, should refuse to ferry it across, it returns to its starting place and plagues its former friends for aid. The priest is made aware of this and interprets to the relatives of the returning one the reason for its failure to pass the great red river.

If the souls of the deceased should desire to pay a visit to their living relatives, they invoke the family deities and are borne back to the world on the wings of the wind, without having to undergo the fatigues of the 14 days' journey.

Ibú's great settlement is no gloomy Hades, nor, on the other hand, is it a paradise of celestial joy. It is simply a continuation of the present life, except that all care and worry and trouble are ended. The spirits of deceased earthly relatives take up their abode in one house and pass a quiet existence under the mild sway of Ibú. There they eat, work, and even marry. Occasionally, with the aid of the family deities with whom they can commune, they pay a brief visit to the home of their living relatives and then return to the tranquil realms of Ibú as fleetly as they came.

THE DEATH FEAST [41]

The death feast is the most important of all Manóbo feasts, for it marks the ending of all relations between the living and their departed relatives. Until its celebration the immediate relatives of the deceased are said to fare poorly. In some mysterious way the departed are said to harm them until they have received this final fête. Hence, the nearest relative sets himself to work with all dispatch to provide the necessary pigs, beverage, and rice for the feast. It is a common belief that unless this celebration is as sumptuous as possible, ill luck may still pursue them. This will explain the long delay so frequently observed before the celebration of this festivity. I know of several such feasts which were not held until nearly a year after the decease, the delay being due to inability to secure sufficient edibles for the death revels. The importance and magnitude of this feast will be readily understood when one bears in mind the fact that, when given by a well-to-do Manôbo, it is attended by everybody in the vicinity, and lasts frequently for a period of seven days. It happens occasionally that, in the interim between the death of one member of a family and the death feast, another member of the same family goes his mortal way. In such a case only one feast is held for the two departed ones.

The religious character of the feast deserves special mention. The dinner being prepared, an ordinary winnow is set out in the middle of the floor and on it are placed cooked rice and, when obtainable, bananas. Around the winnowing tray are set all the requisites for a plenteous meal. Then the relatives sit around on the floor in a circle and each one lays on the tray his offering of betel nut to the deceased. The family priests act as interpreters and intermediaries. The deceased are then addressed, care being taken never to mention their names. They are called, father, brother, etc., by relatives, and by those who are not relatives, father of so-and-so, or sister of so-and-so, mentioning the name of the corresponding living relative. The near relatives then give salutary advice to the dead one as to the future dealings between the latter and the living. They are begged to have a little patience, are reminded that only a few years hence all will be united in the land of Ibú, and are requested to accept this final feast as a farewell until that time. "You shall go your way and molest us not. Let this feast be a token of good will and a final farewell till we meet you in the realms of Ibú." Such, in brief, is the strain of discourse consisting of exhortations, advice, supplication, and valediction, that lasts several hours.

Finally a handful of rice is formed by the oldest relative into an image suggestive of a human figure and the deceased are invited to approach and to partake of the viands. The relatives pass the rice mannikin around, each one taking a bite or two out of it. While this is being done, the dead are invited to eat heartily, the living relatives exhorting the dead ones; one urging them to take more soup, another to increase their meat, another to take more bananas, and all reminding the deceased diners of the great expense incurred in connection with this banquet. The priests describe the actions of the mystic diners and the hearty appetite with which they partake of the fragrance of the viands, after their long journey from Ibúland.

During the mystic meal no one dares to approach the rice winnow, but when the meal is finished, those who carried the deceased to his last resting place approach the winnow and, raising it up in their hands, with an upward movement conjointly toss the victuals into the air, retreating instantly to avoid the food in its fall, for should a particle of it touch their persons it is considered a prognostication of speedy death. The origin and significance of this peculiar custom, which I witnessed on many occasions, have never been explained to me. Inquiry elicited no further information than that it was the custom.

Such is the repast of the dead and the ending of all relations between them and the living. Henceforth they are not feasted, as they have no more claim on the hospitality of the living. In all the greater religious celebrations, however, they are present and receive an offering of betel nut, which is placed at the doorway for them but they are not invited to the feast.

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[41] *Ka-ta-pú-san*, meaning end, termination.

The secular and social part of the feast in no wise differ from any other celebration, except that those who buried the deceased have marked attention paid them. There are the same motley group of primitive men and women, the same impartial distribution of the food, the same wild shouts of merriment, the same rivalry to finish each one his allotted portion, the same generous reciprocation of food and drink, and, finally, the same condition of inebriation that on many such occasions has abruptly terminated the feast by a fatal quarrel.[42]

The rest of the day, and probably a goodly portion of the night, are spent in dancing to the tattooing of the drum and the clanging of the gong, interrupted at times by long tribal chants of the priests and others versed in chronicles of Manóboland.

If the death revels continue more than one day, the second day is a repetition of the first with the exception that only the betel-nut offering is made to the dead. As the celebration of this mortuary feast is the termination of the anxious period of mourning, and the release from the subtle secret importunateness of the dead, everybody with his wife and children flocks to the scene. No relative of the departed one may be absent for that would leave him still exposed to the strange waywardness of the envious dead.

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[42] An instance of a killing had taken place a short time before my visit in 1909 to the Manóbos of the Binuñgñgáan River, upper Agúsan.

CHAPTER XVI

SOCIAL ENJOYMENTS

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

THE DRUM

The drum is the instrument of universal use in Manóboland. Wherever one travels, by day or by night, its measured booming may be heard. It is made out of a piece of a palm tree, by removing the core and bark. It is ordinarily about 25 centimeters high by 20 centimeters in diameter. The top and bottom consist, in nearly every case, of a piece of deerskin,[1] from which the fur has been scraped, a little fringe of it, however, being left around the edges to prevent the hide from slipping when stretched. The stretching is effected by means of rattan rings or girdles, very often covered with cloth, and just large enough to fit the cylindrical body of the drum. A few blows with a piece of wood forces these girdles down the sides of the drum, thereby stretching the heads perfectly tight so as to give the drum the proper tone. After a certain amount of heating over the fire the drum is ready for use. No attempts at ornamentation are made, the heavy ends of the hide being left protruding in an ungainly way.

The drum is played at either end, and in certain tunes at both ends. The left hand serves to bring out the notes corresponding to our bass. The drum is tapped, with more or less force and rapidity, on an upturned head with the left hand, while the right hand with a piece of wood, preferably a little slat of bamboo, raps out the after beat. Manóbo men, women, and children can play the drum and mention the names of from 20 to 50 rhythms, each one of which is to their trained ears so different that it can be recognized at once. The rhythms are varied by the number of beats of the right hand to one of the left, and by the different degrees of speed with which the tune is played. The general beat may be compared to the dactyl of ancient Greek and Roman versification. The left hand plays the long syllable, if we may so speak, while the right plays the two short ones. The combinations, however, are as intricate as the versification just referred to.

As the nomenclature [2] used in speaking of the tunes indicates, the various forms of drum music are based on imitations of animals and birds, or are adapted to certain occasions, such as the war roll signaling for help.

To one who hears Manóbo drum music for the first time, it sounds dull and monotonous, but as the ear grows accustomed to the roll the compass can be detected and the skill of the drummer becomes apparent. Now loud and then soft, now fast and then slow, the tune is rattled off in perfect measure and with inspiring verve. As one travels through the crocodile-infested lake region in the middle Agúsan on a calm night, the Manóbo drums may be heard tattooing from distant settlements. They produce a solemn but weird impression on the listener.

THE GONG

The gong[3] is of the small imported type and is purchased from Bisáya traders. As these gongs, when new, have several ornamental triangular figures on the front, the Manóbo is taught to value them at as many pesos minus one as the gong has figures. This gives a gong that cost originally about 2 pesos a value of 4 or 5 pesos.

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[1] Monkey and lizard skins are made use of in rare instances, and I have heard it said that the skin of a dog makes a very fine drumhead.

[2] The following are some of the names of drum-tunes: *Sin-ak-aí-sá-kai* (significant of the movement of a raft or canoe); *kum-bá-kum-bá to u-sá* (imitative of the sporting of a deer); *kin-am-pi-lán* (indicative of the flourishing of the Moro weapon called *kampílan*); *Min-an-dá-ya*, an adaptation from the Mandáyas; *bo-túñg-bó-tuñg, ka-ta-hud-án, ya-mút-yá-mut, pa-di-dít, pin-án-dan, pa-tug-da-dúk tí-bañg, min-añg-gu-áñg-an, tin-ùm-pi, ma-sañg-aù-it, to-mán-do, in-ág-kui, pa-dú-au, bin-ág-bad, pai-ûm-bug, pa-dúg-kug, tum-bá-lig, mañg-úd.*

[3] *A-guñg.*

As a musical instrument it is played in combination with the drum. Suspended from something or held up in the hand, it is beaten on the knob with a piece of wood. The general time kept is the same as that kept by the left hand of the drummer. Its constant clanging serves to heighten the animation of the dance.

Both the drum and gong have a certain religious character. They are used in all greater religious celebrations and seem to be a part of the paraphernalia of the priest, for they are nearly always kept in his house.

FLUTES

The flute, unlike the drum and gong, has no religious idea whatsoever associated with it. It is played at the caprice of the tribesman, to while away a weary hour, to amuse the baby, or to entertain a visitor.

The melody produced by it is soft and low, plaintive and melancholy, resembling in general features Chinese music, with its ever recurring and prolonged trill, its sudden rises and falls, and its abrupt endings.

Flutes are not used by women, and not all men have attained a knowledge of them. Here and there one meets a man who is an expert and who is glad to display his skill.

The tunes are said to be suggestive of birds' and animals' cries [4] and seem to be the product of each.

Flutes are made from the internodes of a variety of bamboo and are of four kinds, depending on the number and position of the fingerholes.

The paúndag flute.[5]—The *paúndag* is the commonest form. The joints of the bamboo are cut off and the circumference of the resulting internode is measured accurately with a piece of *abaká* or other fiber. With this for a measure, 16 marks or rings are cut on the segment and at each end beyond the first and last mark, a distance equal to one-half the circumference is marked off, the remainder of the segment being then cut off square at each end. At the eighth mark a hole about 8 millimeters in diameter is cut or burned in the bamboo. The same is done, but on the opposite side, at the ninth, eleventh, twelfth, and fourteenth marks, respectively. The ends are then cut in much the same shape as an ordinary whistle, and the flute, a segment of bamboo about 1 meter long, is ready for use.

While being played, it is held in a vertical position, the side with the one fingerhole being toward the body of the player. The end with the first mark, that which is farther away from the fingerholes, is placed just under the upper lip. The thumb and middle finger of the right hand control the openings at the eighth and ninth marks, while those at the eleventh and twelfth are covered by the first and middle fingers of the left hand, respectively, the hole at the fourteenth mark being uncovered.

The blowing is performed without effort in the gentlest way possible, as a very slight increase in the force of the breath raises the tone about two octaves.

The to-áli flute.—The *to-áli* is an abbreviated form of the flute just described and is made in a similar way, except that only 10 divisions are made, and that on one side two holes are made at the fifth and seventh marks, and on the other at the fourth and sixth openings, respectively. There is no fifth fingerhole. This form of flute is played like the *paúndag* flute, except that the thumb and middle fingers of the right hand cover the fifth and sixth openings, respectively, while the thumb and fourth finger of the left hand control the seventh and eighth openings.

In pitch this form of flute is considerably higher than the previous one but in other respects the music is similar.

The lántu͡i flute.[6]—A flute known as *lántu͡i* is in existence, but I am not acquainted with the details of it.

The sá-bai flute.—The *sá-bai* flute differs from the three already mentioned in being a direct flute. The joint at one end of the bamboo is cut off. Seven circumference lengths are then marked off, beginning at the remaining joint, and holes are made at the first (that is, the point),

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[4] The more common pieces are: *Sin-a-gáu to bu-á-da* (the roaring of the crocodile), *bu-a-bú-a to á-mo* (the monkey scare), and the *din-a-go-yu-án.*

[5] Called also *pan-dag.*

[6] Called also *yántui.*

fifth, sixth, and seventh divisions, one or more holes being added in the center between the sixth and seventh divisions. For a mouthpiece, a segment of bamboo about 2 centimeters long is placed over the jointed end of the flute at the first division but in such a way as not to cover completely the opening at that point.

The sound is produced by the breath passing through the opening last mentioned and *striking the edge of the aperture* that it partially covers.

When played, this form of flute is held in a horizontal position. The point is inserted into the mouth and the three consecutive holes at divisions Nos. 5, 5½, and 6 are covered by the first, second, and third fingers, respectively, of the right hand.

In pitch this instrument is lower than the other three but in the quality of the music it in no wise differs from them.

GUITARS

The vine-string guitar.—There are two kinds of vine-string guitars, differing only in size and name, as far as I know, so that a description of the smaller one[7] will answer for the larger.[8]

It varies in length from 1.5 meters to 2 meters.[9] The combined neck and finger board and the hollow boat-shaped sounding box are of one piece. The other part of the guitar is a thin strip of wood with a lozenge-shaped hole in the center, that fits with great accuracy on the bottom of the sounding box. The head is always a scroll, rudely carved into a remote suggestion of a rooster's head, as the name indicates,[10] and two holes are pierced in it for the insertion of the tuning pegs. Along the neck are from 9 to 12 little wooden frets, fastened to the finger board with beeswax. I can give no information as to the rule by which the interfret distances are determined.

The strings are two in number and extend from the tuning pegs through two holes in the neck and over the finger board and the sounding box to an elevated piece left on the sounding piece. An interesting feature of these strings is that they are the central part or core of a small vine[11] and give out rather sweet tones, though not so loud as catgut.

Projecting from the end of the sounding box, and forming one continuous piece with it, is an ornamental piece carved into a semblance of the favorite fowl head.

The guitar is held like guitars the world over, and the playing is performed by twanging the strings with a little plectrum of bamboo or wood.[12]

The quality of the music is soft and melancholy, wholly in minor keys and of no great range, probably not exceeding one octave. As far as I can judge it bears a resemblance to Chinese music. Various tunes are played on both forms of guitar according to the caprice and skill of the performer.[13]

There are no special occasions for playing this guitar. It is not played by women nor is it used as an accompaniment for singing. The performer takes up the instrument as the whim prompts him and in the semidarkness plays his rude, melancholy tune.

The bamboo string guitar.[14]—The bamboo guitar is made of an internode of one of the larger varieties of bamboo.[15] Five small cylindrical strips are cut along the surface and small wedges of wood are inserted under them at the ends to stretch them and retain them in an elevated position. These strips extend from joint to joint. There are usually two bass strings on one side and three treble strings on the other. Between these treble bass strings is a longitudinal slit in the bamboo joint intended to increase the resonance of the instrument. The strings are at intervals of about 3 centimeters. Two holes are made in the joint walls, the purpose of which is to increase the volume of sound.

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[7] *Kúd-luñg.*

[8] *Bin-i-jȧ-an.*

[9] Ordinarily the *bȧn-ti* or the *sa-gu-bȧd-bad* wood is used.

[10] *Min-an-úk*, from *manuk*, a fowl.

[11] *Bís-lig.*

[12] As to the tuning and modulating of the instrument I can give no information. The matter requires further study.

[13] The following are the names of some of the melodies: *Di-u-wȧ-ta ko* (Oh, my familiar spirit), *a-yáu-u-yáu-á* (don't, oh, don't), *to-láñg-it* (the sky), *i-ka-nuñg-ûd, ta-ta-lí-buñg, pan-in-ó-ug, mi-a-pi tin-ig-bȧs-ai, du-yûg-dû-yug, ta-ga-lín-dug, tiñg-ga-sa͡û, ma-sú-gud, pa-mȧ-bȧ* to *ba-ku-ta, da-gi-tan.*

[14] *Tan-kó.*

[15] *Pa-tûñg, da-nu-ȧn, kai-yaû-an.*

The tuning is regulated by the size of the little wedges which impart greater or lesser tension as desired. I understand neither the theory nor the practice of tuning this guitar.

While being played the guitar is held in both hands. The first finger and thumb of the right hand manipulate the bass strings, while the three treble strings are controlled by the other hand.

The weird staccato music produced by this instrument is indescribable. One must hear it and hear it repeatedly in order to appreciate its fantastic melodies.

Both men and women make use of it for secular and, I am inclined to think, for religious motives. During the famous *túñgud*[16] movement (1908–1910) it was used universally in the religious houses, but I was unable to obtain definite information as to its sacred character. In the postnatal ceremony that has been described under "Birth" I observed the use of the instrument on several occasions, but could obtain no further information except that the strains of this primitive guitar are pleasing to Mandáit, the tutelary spirit of infants. This point merits further investigation.[17]

The takúmbo.—Though classed here as guitar, the *takúmbo* hardly deserves the name. It is a bamboo joint which has one joint wall opened. At the other end beyond the second joint it is so cut as to resemble a miter. Two strings, uplifted from the surface about 4 centimeters apart, and held in an elevated position and at their requisite tension by little wooden wedges placed underneath, form the strings. A lozenge-shaped hole in the center between the strings increases the resonance. The instrument is played by beating the strings with little sticks preferably of bamboo. Two persons may play at one time.

The time observed is the drum rhythm. The sound produced is very faint and unimpressive, and the instrument is of very sporadic occurrence.

The fact that one end is carved in the form of a miter tends to confirm my supposition that this is a purely religious instrument. The carving is supposed to represent the mouth of a crocodile.[18]

I was given to understand that this instrument is used in the immolation to the blood-deities in case of hemorrhage and such other illnesses as are accompanied by fluxes of blood. It is said that the instrument is set in a vertical position, the miterlike cutting being upward, and that a part of the victim's blood is placed upon the node as if it were a little saucer. The instrument is then played. I never witnessed the ceremony, nor heard the instrument played, and am not prepared to give credence to the above story till further investigation corroborates it.

THE VIOLIN [19]

I neither saw nor heard this instrument, but my inquiries substantiate the existence of it. The body is said to be of coconut shell with the husk removed. The bow is made of bamboo bent into the form of a defensive bow, to the ends of which are attached several threads of *abaká* fiber that serve as the bowstring. The strings of the violin are two in number and are made of *abaká* fiber.

The violin is said to be played as our violins are by drawing the bow across the strings. It is not played by women, according to reports, nor are there any stated times and reasons, religious or otherwise, for its use.[20]

THE JEW'S-HARP [21]

Another instrument which is found occasionally in Manóboland, is a species of jew's-harp, made out of bamboo. It is a frail instrument made more for a toy than for its musical qualities. It is ordinarily about 26 centimeters long, and consists of a slender piece of bamboo from the central part of which a small tongue about 6 centimeters long is cut. The tongue remains attached at one end, the tip of it being toward the middle of the instrument. On the the reverse side there is a small cavity in the body of the instrument intended to allow sufficient room for the tongue of the harp to move while being played.

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[16] A religious movement that sprang up in 1908 and spread itself all over the southeastern quarter of Mindanáo. (See Chapter XXIX.)

[17] The following are the names of some of the tunes played on the above guitar: *ma-sú-gud, tám-bíd, gam-aú-gá-mau, pa-ma-yá-bu͡i, tig-ba-ba͡u.*

[18] This figure is called *bin-u-á-da*, or *bin-u-wá-ya* from *bu-á-ya*, crocodile.

[19] *Kó-gut.*

[20] The names of some of the tunes played are: *Pan-un-gá-kit, lin-ig-tui ka-bú-ka, ba-yú-bas, pan-ig-á-bon to ka-bí.*

[21] Kubíñg.

The instrument is played by putting the mouth to the above-mentioned cavity and by blowing as we do in an ordinary jew's-harp. The tongue is made to vibrate by tapping with the finger a needlelike spur that is left at the end of the instrument. This vibration, in conjunction with variations of the mouth cavity of the performer, produces tones which are not unlike those of an ordinary jew's-harp but which are not so loud nor so harmonious.

THE STAMPER AND THE HORN [22] OF BAMBOO

On the upper Agúsan I witnessed the use of bamboo stampers. They consist of large bamboo joints with one partition wall removed. They are stamped on the floor in rhythm with the drum and gong during a dance, the open end being held up. The use of these stampers by Manóbos is rare, the custom being confined almost exclusively to Mañgguáñgans of the upper Agúsan and upper Sálug Valleys.

Another instrument, but one which can hardly be called musical, is the bamboo horn used for signaling and calling purposes. It consists of an internode of bamboo with one partition wall removed. An opening large enough for the mouth is made on the side of the bamboo near the other node. In using it the mouth is applied to this aperture and a good pair of lungs can produce a loud booming blast. After the occurrence of a death, especially if the deceased has been slain, it is customary to use this instrument as a means of announcing the death to near-by settlements, thereby putting them on their guard against any of the slain one's relatives who might be impelled to take immediate vengeance on the first human being he met.

SOUNDERS

A method of signaling, much in use among the mixed Manóbo-Mañgguáñgans of the upper Agúsan, consists in beating on the butresses [23] of trees. It is surprising how far the resultant sound travels in the silence and solitude of the forest.

In connection with musical instruments it may not be out of place to mention the bamboo sounders [24] attached to looms. They are internodes of bamboo with apertures in the joint wall and a longitudinal slit extending almost from node to node. One of these always constitutes the yarn beam of the loom.

These internodes, besides serving to support the fabric during the process of weaving, denote by their resonance that the weaver is busy at work. The movement of the batten in driving home the weft produces a sound that, owing to the resonance of the bamboo yarn beam may be heard for several hundred meters.

When the Manóbo maiden is especially desirous of calling attention to her assiduity and perseverance, she has an extra internode placed in an upright position against the yarn beam just described. This doubles the volume of sound and serves to intimate to visiting young men that she would be an industrious wife.

VOCAL MUSIC

Singing is as common among the Manóbos as among their countrymen of the Christian tribes. The fond mother croons her babe to sleep with a lullaby. In festive hours the song is the vehicle of praise, of joke, of taunt, and of challenge, and in religious celebrations it is the medium through which the priests address their deities.

THE LANGUAGE OF SONG

The language used in singing is so different from the common vernacular that Bisáyas and Christianized Manóbos who speak and understand perfectly the ordinary dialect of conversation find the language of song unintelligible. I have had several songs dictated to me and found the song words to be plainly archaic. This observation applies also to the song-dialect of Mañgguáñgans, Debabáons and Mandáyas.

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[22] *Tam-bú-li.*

[23] *Da-lid.*

[24] *Ka-gu.*

As interpreted to me on many occasions, songs are improvisations spun out with endless repetitions of the same ideas in different words. To give an instance, a mountain might be described in the song as a "beauteous hill" a "fair mount," a "lovely eminence," a "beautiful elevation," all depending on the facility with which the maker [25] can use the language. This feature of the song serves to explain its inordinate length, for a song may occupy the greater part of a night, apparently without tiring the audience by its verbose periphrases and its exuberant figures.

THE SUBJECT MATTER OF SONGS

The subjects of songs are as varied as those of other nations, but legendary songs, in which the valiant deeds of departed warriors are recounted, seem to be the favorite. As far as I know, the songs are always extemporaneous and not composed of any set form of words and verses.

THE MUSIC AND THE METHOD OF SINGING

One must hear the song in order to get an idea of it. In general it is a declamatory solo. The staccatolike way in which the words are sung, the abrupt endings, and the long slurs covering as much as an octave remind one somewhat of Chinese singing. The singer's voice frequently ascends to its highest natural tone and, after dwelling there for from three to six seconds, suddenly slurs down an octave, where it remains playing around three or four consecutive semitones.

There is no choral singing and no accompaniment. No time is observed, the song having wholly the character of a recitation. Neither are there any attempts at rhyming nor at versification. Recurring intervals are the rule.

The music is, in general, of minor tonality and, unless the subject of the song is fighting or doing some other thing that demands loudness, rapidity, and animation, it is of a weird, melancholy character. When, however, the subject of the song requires anything of the *spiritoso* or *veloce*, the strain is sung with verve and even furore. It seems to be good etiquette to cover the mouth with the hand when the singer, desiring to add special vigor to the strain, rises to his highest natural pitch and dwells there with an almost deafening prolonged yell.

CEREMONIAL SONGS[26]

Sacred songs, as distinguished from secular songs for festive and other occasions, are sung only by the priests and by warrior chiefs. They are supposed to be taught by a special divinity.[27] The remarks that apply to music and singing in general apply to these religious songs. The only difference is that sacred singing is the medium by which the spirits are invoked, supplicated, and propitiated, and by which the doings of the supernatural world are communicated to Manóbodom. These ceremonial chants are performed not only during religious celebrations but more commonly at night. The greater part of the night is often worn away with a protracted diffuse narration in which is described, with grandiloquent circumlocution and copious imagery, the doings of the unseen world.

DANCING

The Manóbo dance is somewhat on the style of an Irish jig or a Scotch hornpipe. It is indulged in on nearly all occasions of social and ceremonial celebrations. Though it may be performed at any time of the day if there is a call for it, yet it usually takes place in the evening or at night, and especially after a drinking bout, when the feasters are feeling extra cheerful in their cups. There are no special dance houses in Manóboland, the ordinary dwelling place of the host serving the purpose. Whenever the floor is in poor condition (and that is often the case) a mat or two may be spread upon it for the safety of the dancer. This may be done out of respect also.

Though dances are held the year round during all great rejoicings and during the greater sacrificial celebrations, it is during the harvesting season that they are given with greatest frequency.

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[25] *Pán-du͡i,* a smith or maker.

[26] *Túd-um.*

[27] *Tu-tu-dú-mon* no *diu-wá-ta.*

THE ORDINARY SOCIAL DANCE

By the social dance is meant the dance which takes place on an occasion of rejoicing and which is indulged in by men, women, and children, one at a time. It is exceptional that two or more persons dance simultaneously. A striking peculiarity in dancing is the wearing of a woman's skirt by males during the dance. No reason is assigned for the practice except the force of custom. It is customary, also, to array the dancer in all the available wealth of Manóboland—waist jacket, hat, necklaces, girdle, hawk bells, and, in case of a female, with brass anklets. Two kerchiefs, held by the corner, one in each hand, complete the array. No flowers nor leaves are used in the decoration of the person during dancing.

The drum, and when it is available, the gong are the only musical accompaniments to the dancing. When these are lacking an old tin can, if such a thing by some good luck has made its way into the house, answers the purpose of a musical instrument. Even the floor is sometimes beaten to produce an accompaniment for the dance. On the upper Agúsan bamboo stampers are occasionally used, in imitation of Mañgguáñgan custom, to impart more animation to the dance.

The dance is never accompanied by vocal music unless the constant scream of approbation and encouragement from the spectators be included under that term.

The time to which the dancing is performed is the same as that described under "the drum" at the beginning of this chapter. It corresponds somewhat to that of our waltz when played *presto*, although the movements of the feet do not correspond to those of that dance.

The dancer names the rhythm he desires and it is the rule, rather than the exception, that several starts are made, and several drummers tried before a good dancer feels satisfied with the method of playing. This is an indication of the excellent ear which the Manóbo has developed for this apparently rude and primitive form of music.

The women in dancing are more gentle in their manner than the men; they make fewer bending motions and do not posture so much. In other respects the dancing of the men and women is identical.

The step may be called dactyllic [28] in that a long or accented beat is struck with one foot and, in immediate succession, two quick short steps are taken with the other. This is varied at recurring intervals by omitting the two short steps, especially in mimetic or dramatic dances when the dancer desires to return to the center or to execute some extra evolution.

To give a satisfactory description of the attitude and movements of the dancer is impossible, as the skill and grace of the dance consists essentially in postures and gestures, and each individual has his own variations and combination. In fact no two men dance alike, though the women are much alike in their style of dancing, due to the fact that they bend the body and gesticulate comparatively little and that they display less force and exertion. Suffice it to say that the dancer moves his feet in perfect time to the rhythm of the drum and gong, at the same time keeping the arms, hands, fingers, head, and shoulders in constant movement. Now one hand is laid upon the hip while the other is extended upward and at an oblique angle from the shoulder. Again both hands are placed upon the hips and the dancer trips around a few times when suddenly turning, he retires hastily, but in perfect time, with both arms extended upwards and at an angle from the shoulders, the two kerchiefs waving all the time to the movements of the body. During all his movements the arms, hands, and fingers are twisted and turned with graceful and varied, but measured, modulation. Now he raises one shoulder and then another. Now he gazes up with a look of defiance upon his countenance, as if at some imaginary foe, and then down, as if in quest of something. At one time he stops and gently moves his feet to the rhythm of the music for several seconds, at another he circles around with uplifted arms and flying kerchiefs, and scurries to the other end of the dancing space, as if pursued by some foeman. At this point he may circle around again and, the music of the drum and gong surging loud, stamp defiance as if at an imaginary enemy, in measured beat and with quick, wild movements of the legs and the whole body.

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[28] A term borrowed from Latin and Greek versification.

And thus the dance goes on, now slow, now fast, now stately, now grotesque, the feet pounding the floor in regular and exact time to the music, and every part of the body moving, according to the whim of the dancer, with graceful and expressive modulation.

The whole dance requires great exertion, as is evidenced by the perspiration that appears upon the dancer's body after a few minutes. For this reason, a dancer rarely continues for more than ten minutes. He names his successor by dancing up to him, and putting the kerchiefs on his shoulders. The appointee nearly always excuses himself on the plea that he does not know how to dance, that his foot is sore, or with some other excuse, but finally yields to the screams of request and exhortation from the encircling spectators.

One who has witnessed a Manóbo dance at night by the flare of fire and torch will not forget the scene. Squatted around in the semidarkness are the russet figures of the merry, primitive spectators, lit up by the flickering glare of the unsteady light, the children usually naked, and the men having frequently bared the upper parts of their bodies. In the center circles the dancer with his wealth of ornaments, advancing, retreating, and posturing. The drum booms, the gong clangs, and the dancer pounds the floor in rhythm. The jingle bells and the wire anklets of the dancer tinkle. The spectators scream in exultation, encouragement, and approval. The dogs add to the pandemonium by an occasional canine chorus of their own, which coupled with the crying of the babies and several other incidental sounds, serves to enhance the rejoicing and to add éclat to the celebration.

THE RELIGIOUS DANCE

Unlike the secular dance just described, the sacred dance is performed exclusively by the male and female priests and by the warrior chiefs of the tribes. It may be performed either in the house or out on the ground, according to the place selected for the sacrifice. In the case of the sacrifice of a pig, the dance and its accompanying rites are always performed out of doors near the house of one of the priests.

The dress of the priests is always as elaborate as possible, as in ordinary festive dancing. Their various portable charms and talismans are always worn around the neck and, instead of kerchiefs being held in the hands, palm fronds[29] are used, one in each hand.

The music is similar to that described for the ordinary dance, and the step and movements are identical except that the dance is more moderate, there being no attempt at grotesque or fantastic movements. As it is usually performed before an altar, a mat is spread upon the floor, so that the dancing range is limited. In general, the sacred dance presents, in its simplicity and its lack of violent contortions, rapid motions, and gestures, an element of respect and religious quietude that is not observed in secular dancing. The encircling spectators do not indulge in such unseemly acclamations, though it may be remarked that they assume no posture indicative of religious worship, for they continue to talk among themselves and to indulge in the ordinary occupation of betel-nut chewing, leaving the performance of the dance and the attendant ceremonies to the priests, whose profession it is to attend to such matters.

The dance is performed either consecutively or simultaneously by the priests but is interrupted occasionally by other rites proper to the ceremony.[30]

MIMETIC DANCES

Mimetic dances in no wise differ from the ordinary festal dancing except that they are a pantomimic representation, by gestures, by postures, and by mimicry of some feature of Manóbo life. So far as I know these dances are never performed by women.

Mimetic dances are very popular in Manóboland, and visitors whom it is desired to honor, are often treated, without solicitation on their part, to a series of these performances. They often contain an element of what we would call lasciviousness, but to the Manóbo they merely represent ordinary natural acts. The following are some of the mimetic dances which I have witnessed.

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[29] *Ma-yún-hau.*

[30] See Chapter XXVI.

The bathing dance.—The dancer gyrates and pirouettes in the ordinary style for several minutes when, by a bending movement, he intimates the picking up of some heavy object. He simulates placing this on his shoulder and then imitates a woman's walk, indicating thereby that he is a woman and that he is going either to get water or take a bath. All this, as well as subsequent representations, are performed in perfect time to the music. By a slow movement and with many a backward glance to see whether he is being watched, he reaches the end of the dancing place which evidently represents the stream for he goes through a pantomimic drinking. He then cautiously and after repeated backward glances, divests himself of all his clothes, and begins the bathing operations. He is frequently interrupted, and upon the supposed appearance of a person presumably a male, he indicates that he has to resume his skirt. The operation of washing the hair and other parts of the body are portrayed with appropriate gestures and movements, as are also the resuming of his dress and the return to the house with a bamboo tubeful of water.

The dagger or sword dance.—This dance is performed only by men, two of whom may take part in it at the same time. It consists in portraying a quarrel between them, the weapon used being either the Mandáya dagger, as on the upper Agúsan, or the ordinary war bolo, as in the central and lower Agúsan. Appropriate flourishes, parries, lunges, foils, advances, and retreats, all extremely graceful and skillful, are depicted just as if a real encounter were taking place.

The apian dance.—This is a dramatic representation of the robbing of a bee's nest. The gathering of the materials and the formation of them into a firebrand, the lighting of it, and the ascent of the tree, are all danced out to perfection. A striking part of the pantomine is the apparently fierce stinging the robber undergoes, especially on certain parts of his body.[31]

This part of the performance always draws screams of laughter from the spectators. The whole ends with a vivid but very comic representation of the avid consumption of the honey and beebread.

The depilation dance.—This is an illustration, by dancing movements, of the eradication of hair especially in the pubic region. The dancer, indicating by continual glances that he is afraid of being seen, simulates the depilation of the pubic hair. The pain thereby inflicted he manifests by the most comic contortions of his face.[32]

The sexual dance.—This is a dramatic representation of sexual intercourse on the part of one who apparently has made no overtures or any previous arrangements with the object of his desire. He is supposed to enter the house and approach the recumbent object of his love (in this case represented by a piece of wood or of bamboo) in a timorous, stealthy way. A hand to the ear intimates that he thinks he hears some one approaching. He therefore retires a little distance, and after reassuring himself that all is well, proceeds to attain his object. It is only after protracted circling, approaching, and retiring, that he simulates the attainment of his desire. No indications of bashfulness nor delicacy are exhibited by the female spectators.[33]

The war dance.—The war dance is performed outside of the house on the ground by one man alone or by two men simultaneously. The dancer is attired in full festive array with hat and red turban, and is armed with lance, war bolo, and shield.

The accompaniment to the dance is the drum, but both the rhythm executed on it and the step performed by the dancer baffled description. Suffice it to say that the music is a continuous roll tattooed by two expert players, one at each end of the drum. The dancer keeps his feet moving with the greatest conceivable velocity in perfect unison to the rhythm which gives one the general impression of a rapid two-step. The movement of the feet reminds one of the movements made by a rooster or a turkey cock at times. The nodding of the head of the dancer is also similar to that of a game-cock before a fight.

As the dance is supposed to represent an encounter and hand-to-hand fight, all the movements of advancing and retreating, thrusting and parrying are displayed. The combatants move around in circles, now approaching, now receding, always under the protection of the shield. They gaze savagely at each other, now over the shield, now at the side, constantly sticking out their tongues at each other much as a snake does. At times they place a heel in the ground with upraised foot, and with the knee placed against the shield, and lance poised horizontally above the shoulder, make rapid darts at each other. Every once in a while they kneel down on one leg behind their shields and with rapid movements of the head and spear look defiance at each other. During all the movements of the dance the spear is held horizontally and is thrust forward rapidly. The shoulders are constantly moved up and down, and the shield follows this movement, all being in perfect time to the rapid roll of the drum.

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[31] The pubic region is referred to.

[32] Though depilation of the pubic region is represented in dancing, I do not know positively that it takes place in reality.

[33] I have been informed that sexual relations between a hen and a rooster form the main feature of another mimetic dance.

The dance ordinarily does not last more than five minutes as the extreme exertion and rapidity of movement soon tire the dancer. It is a magnificent display of warlike skill and of physical agility and endurance.

CHAPTER XVII

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION: SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL CONTROL

CLANS

TERRITORIES OF THE CLANS AND NUMBER OF PEOPLE COMPOSING THEM

Manóboland, with the exception of such settlements as have been formed by non-Christian Manóbos in the vicinity of Christian *settlements* and usually situated at the head of navigation on the tributaries of the Agúsan, is divided into districts, well defined, and, in case of hostility, jealously and vigilantly guarded. These territorial divisions vary in extent from a few square miles to immense tracts of forest and are usually bounded by rivers and streams or by mountains and other natural landmarks. Each of these districts is occupied by a clan that consists of a nominal superior with his family, sons-in-law, and such other of his relatives as may have decided to live within the district. They may number only 20 souls and again they may reach a few hundred.

INTERCLAN RELATIONS

In the main it may be said that in time of peace the members of the various clans live on good terms, visiting one another and claiming relationship with one another, but peace in Manóboland was formerly very transitory. A drunken brawl might stir up bad blood and every clan and every individual would make ready for a fight.

The Agúsan Valley was styled by Montano, the French traveler, "Le pais de terreur," and from the accounts given to me it must have deserved the name. A perusal of the "Cartas de los PP. de la Compañia de Jesus," which set forth the religious conquest of the Agúsan Valley, begun about 1875, will give an idea of the continuous raids and ambuscades that interfered to no inconsiderable extent with the work of Christian conquest undertaken by the missionaries. Upon my arrival in the Agúsan in 1905 such rivers as the Ihawán, the Baóbo, the upper Umaíam, the upper Argáwan, and all tributaries of the upper Agúsan, were seldom visited by any but members of the clan to whose territorial jurisdiction these rivers and the adjoining districts belonged. The establishment of a special form of government on the lower and middle Agúsan, now known as the subprovince of Butuán, did wonders toward repressing the interclan raids, but on the upper Agúsan they continued at least until my departure in 1910, though not to such an extent as in previous years.

For example, in February, 1910, the settlements of Dugmánon and Moncáyo were in open hostility. I traveled both by land and water with members of the two unfriendly clans. In traveling by water it was necessary to proceed in midstream with shields protecting the occupants of the canoe against the arrows of their enemies. On the trail it was imperative to travel in bodies with a warrior on each side of the trail to guard against ambush.

This feud arose out of a mere bagatelle, followed by the seizure of a pig, and up to the time I left the region had given rise to four deaths. I made every effort to adjudicate the case, but as each clan seemed unwilling to yield, failed to bring the parties together.

THE CHIEF AND HIS POWER

THE SOURCE OF THE CHIEF'S AUTHORITY

It may be said in general that the chief is a man who, by his fluency of speech and by his penetration and sagacity in unraveling the intricate points of a dispute, by his personal prowess, combined with sagacity and fair dealing, has won influence. Personal prowess appeals to the

Manóbo, so that in time of hostility the warrior chief is looked up to more than any man who in time of peace might have enjoyed more influence and prestige.

It must be borne in mind that the whole political organization of Manóboland, including the system of government, social control, and administration of justice, is essentially patriarchal, so that the chieftainship is really only a nominal one. The very entity of a clan springs from the kinship of its individual members, and, as in a family, the stronger or abler brother might be selected on a given occasion to represent, defend, or otherwise uphold the family, so in a Manóbo clan or sect the stronger or the wiser member is recognized as chief. However, he can not lay claim to any legal authority nor use any coercion unless it is sanctioned by the more influential members of the clan, is approved by public opinion, and is in conformity with customary law and tribal practices, for there is no people that I know of that is so tenacious and so jealous of ancient usages as the Manóbos of eastern Mindanáo.

EQUALITY AMONG THE PEOPLE

Besides the titles applied to warrior chiefs and to priests, there is no title that is in common use to express the influence and authority wielded by any individual. It is not infrequent to hear of so-and-so being spoken of as a *datu* by the Bisáyas of the Agúsan Valley, but the title is not used by Manóbos, but only by the Banuáon group inhabiting the northwestern part of the valley or by Bisáyas when they desire to cajole their Manóbo friends. The term *kuyano* is sometimes used by the Bisáyas, but as far as my knowledge goes is not used by Manóbos. It is in all probability a form of the word *kuláno* that is applied, I think, to Bukídnon chiefs in the subprovince of Bukídnon. The fact that no titles appear to exist for influential men except that of warrior chief and of priest is an indication of the inferiority of the Manóbo to the Mandáya in tribal organization.[1]

There is no hereditary chieftainship, though a warrior chief makes earnest endeavors to instill the spirit of valor into his first born male child from the time he attains the use of reason. No insignia are worn except by the warrior chief and the recognized warrior [2] to denote the influence that they exert in the tribe or in the clan. Perfect equality is conspicuous in nearly all things. The chief or the warrior chief sallies forth, often in company with his slaves, and takes part in fishing and in hunting expeditions. On the trail he may carry his own share of the burden if he has been unable to induce others to take it. I have had warrior chiefs, priests, and other influential people many a time act as my carriers, but, of course, out of courtesy and respect, had to allow them more in the way of recompense than was given to those of lesser importance. The chief has no subordinate officers, no heralds, and no assembly house. He lives in his own house and when any trouble arises he settles it, in company with other influential men, either at his own house or at any other house to which it may have been deemed expedient to repair. Hence we may say that little or no formal demonstration of respect is shown a chief. He is a Manóbo of more than usual ability, of strong character, quick to discover the intricacies of an involved question, facile of tongue, loved for his hospitality and generous nature, more frequently better provided with worldly goods than his fellow clansmen, and as a rule with a reputation for fair dealing. Such are, in general, the sources of the respect that gives him a moral weight in the arbitration of clan troubles or even of tribal concerns when no hostility reigns.

I have never heard among the Manóbos of any special celebration in which a chief, other than a warrior chief, is formally recognized. He seems to grow gradually into recognition, just as one brother of a family may, after years of demonstrated ability, be looked up to by the rest of the family.

RESPECT FOR ABILITY AND OLD AGE

Although the chiefs almost invariably look upon other men of the tribe as their equals and show no affectation because of their position, yet by those who come in contact with them a certain amount of respect is shown. This is especially true in the great social and religious gatherings and on the visit of a chief to another house. Here he gets an extra supply of pork and of brew and of everything that is being distributed.

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[1] In Mandáya a very influential chief is styled *á-ri-á-ri*, a kind of petty king, and the elder of a settlement or even of an individual house has a special name, significative of influence and of respect, to wit, *ma-tá-duñg*.

[2] *Ma-ni-ki-ád.*

From what has been said in a previous part of this monograph it is obvious that women play no part in the control of public affairs. There are no female chiefs. Women are domestic chattels relegated to the house and to the farm. There is a common saying that women have no tribunal—that is, are not fitted to take part in public discussions—the reference being to the town hall of the Spanish régime. Yet I know of one woman, Sinâpi by name, who travels around like a chief and through her influence arbitrates questions that the more influential men of the region are unable to settle. She lives on the Simúlao River, just above the settlement of San Isidro, and is without doubt the individual of most influence on the upper Simúlao and Baháian. In the Jesuit letters mention is made of one Pínkai who had great weight among her fellow tribesmen of the Argáwan River.

Ceteris peribus, the word and authority of the old are respected more than those of others, probably because the former have more numerous relătives, including often their great-grandsons and great-granddaughters, as well as the indefinite number of relatives by marriage that have joined the family since their first sons or their first daughters married. When, however, they reach the age at which they can no longer travel around and take part in the numerous imbroglios and disputes that arise their influence is much less. This, it seems, is one of the great differences between the social system of the Mandáyas and that of the Manóbos and will explain the greater constancy and stability of the Mandáya character as compared with that of the Manóbo.

THE WARRIOR CHIEF[3]

The sword in Manóboland, as in all other parts of the world, is the final arbiter when conciliation fails. Hence the prominent part played by the warrior chief in time of war and frequently in time of peace. For this reason it becomes necessary to discuss at more length the powers, prerogatives, and character of the warrior chief.

GENERAL CHARACTER

The general character of the warrior chief is, among all the tribes of the Agúsan Valley, that of a warrior who has to his credit an average of five deaths. As such deaths are attributed primarily to the special protection of divinities, called *Tagbúsau,* who delight in the shedding of blood, the chief is regarded in the light of a priest in all that concerns war in somewhat the same way as the *bailán* or ordinary priest, under the protection of his familiars of tutelary spirits, is expected to officiate in all ordinary religious matters. To the priestly office of the warrior chief is added that of magician to the extent that he can safeguard himself and his friends with magic means against the evil designs of his enemies. Finally, in a country where there is no supremely constituted authority with sufficient force to remedy grievances, but only personal valor and the lance and the bolo to appeal to, it may be expected that in the majority of cases the warrior will assume a fourth prerogative, namely, that of chief. Thus the warrior chief will be considered heir in his warlike character of warrior, in his magic character as medicine man, and finally in his political character as chief.

The Christian conquest of the Agúsan Valley, begun in 1877, and the establishment of a special form of government therein in 1907, have contributed in no small measure to diminish the number of feuds and bloody reprisals that had given the Agúsan Valley its reputation as "the country of terror," and as a consequence leave little opportunity for the recognition of new warriors. Thus it is that at the present day the ancient system is fast fading away, and it is only a matter of years before the warrior chief will be a thing of the past.

INSIGNIA AND PROWESS OF THE WARRIOR CHIEF

As a person of recognized prowess, the warrior chief is naturally the leader in all warlike expeditions, and in time of peace he is looked up to as the future defender of the settlement in which he resides.

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[3] *Ba-gá-ni* from *ba-rá-ni* (Malay), valiant.

Red is the distinguishing mark of the war chief's dress, which ordinarily consists of a red headkerchief with embroidery of white, blue, and yellow cotton at the corners, of a red jacket with similar embroidery on the shoulders and around the back, and of long trousers, sometimes red. His bolo is usually larger and more costly than those carried by ordinary men and is generally of Mandáya origin. His spear, too, is apt to be an expensive one, while his shield not infrequently is tufted with human hair. When leading his band of braves to the attack or during a sacrifice to his protector, the *Tagbúsau*, he wears his charm-collar[4] with its magic herbs.[5] On the warpath he binds his hair knot securely and envelops it with a rough hewn hemisphere of wood. His influence in arranging all the details of the plan of attack is strong, but during the attack itself he has little control over his followers.[6] This might be expected from the spirit of independence which the Manóbo displays even in the ordinary affairs of life when not influenced by religious or other motives.

In personal valor the warrior chief invariably surpasses his fellows. There are many who will fight face to face, especially in the upper Sálug, Baóbo, Ihawán, and Agúsan regions. Líno and his brother, the late Gúnlas, both of the upper Sálug, are two of the numerous examples that might be adduced. It is true that they take no inordinate risks before an attack, and especially where firearms are opposed to them, yet during an attack they become desperate and will take any risk.

The warrior has often been branded as a traitor, a coward, and butcher, but such an opinion, I unhesitatingly assert, is based on ignorance and prejudice.

THE WARRIOR'S TITLE TO RECOGNITION

When one of the braves who accompany an expedition has killed one or two men in fair fight he acquires the title of *manikiád* and is entitled to wear a headkerchief striped with red and yellow. His prowess is acknowledged, and he is considered to be so favored by the powers above that he is looked upon as a prospective *bagáni* or warrior chief. If during ensuing expeditions, or by ambushes, he increases to five[7] the number of people whom he has killed, his position as a full-fledged warrior is recognized, but he does not become a warrior chief until such time as the spirits of the gods of war become manifested in him. He is then said to be possessed,[8] as it were, and it requires only a banquet to the neighboring *datus* and warrior chiefs to confirm his title. These peculiar operations of divine influence consist of manifestations of indescribable violence during the attack, of eating the heart and liver of a slain enemy, and of various other exhibitions.

VARIOUS DEGREES OF WARRIOR CHIEFSHIP

The rank of a warrior chief depends on the number of deaths which he may have to his credit. There is apparently no fixed rule in this matter, the custom of one region demanding five deaths for a certain rank while that of another locality may require eight or only two deaths for a similar one. From all reports made to me in nearly every district in the middle and upper Agúsan it appears that the number of deaths requisite in the olden days for the various degrees of warrior chiefship was much higher than it is at present, due no doubt to the greater frequency with which people were killed in those times. For this reason the more recent warrior chiefs are spoken of by the older warriors as worthless.[9]

The following are the titles recognized by the Manóbos of the Agúsan valley: (1) *hanágan;* (2) *tinabudán;*[10] (3) *kinaboan;* (4) *lúto* or *linambúsan;* (5) *lunúgum;* (6) *lípus.*

The first title, *hanágan*, is given to one who has killed five or more people but has not yet been admitted to the full favor of a *tagbúsau* or blood spirit. The second title, *tinabudán*, is given to a warrior who has made it evident that he has divine favor and protection, made manifest in the consumption of the heart and the liver, and who falls into a condition similar to that of the priest while in an ecstasy. The insignia of this degree consists of a red kerchief worn wrapped around the hair knot at the back of the head.

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[4] *Ta-li-hán.*

[5] These collars are often as thick as a man's arm in the center, tapering down to the ends. They are about 75 centimeters long, made out of cloth, and contain in sections charms made of trees, plants, herbs, and bezoar and other magic stones, all thought to have divers mystic powers.

[6] So I have been assured by many great warriors.

[7] The number of killings required for promotion to the rank of *bagáni*, or recognized warrior, varies according to the locality.

[8] *Tag-bu-sau-án.*

[9] *A-yo-á-yo.*

[10] *Tinabudán*, i. e., wrapped, the full expression being "*tinabudán to tabañg,*" i. e., wrapped with a red handkerchief.

The third degree, *kinaboan*, as the word itself indicates,[11] entitles the bearer to add to his apparel a red jacket. Accounts are so various that the exact time when this title is conferred can not be definitely stated. Thus in Umaíam I was given to understand that 25 deaths were a sine qua non, whereas on the Kasilaían River 6, and on the Sálug 7 deaths were reported as sufficient.

The fourth title, *lúto*, by its derivation means "cooked," "done," "finished," so that on attaining this degree a warrior is complete, at least as far as his raiment is concerned, for he adds a pair of red trousers. Though the number of deaths requisite for the attainment of this degree is variously stated as being from 50 to 100, yet I suggest 15 as being, on the average, nearer the truth. The next degree, *lunúgum*, as the word indicates, entitles the bearer to dress himself all in black. It is a title acquired fortuitously, being given to one who during an attack happened *to lance unknowingly a dead man in the house of the enemy.* I can offer no further information on the point, except that the recipient of this title must have been already a recognized warrior. It seems probable that when a man commits such an act on a dead man he is believed to be especially favored by the war gods.

The warrior chief who acquires the last title, *lípus*, is supposed to have innumerable deaths to his credit, but I venture to put 50 as a safe standard of eligibility to this title. Fifty deaths extending over a period of many years, and recounted with such additions as a little vanity and a wine-flushed head might suggest, might easily be converted into infinity. I know of no living warrior chief who bears the title of *lípus*. Twenty-five deaths is the largest number reached by any warrior with whom I am acquainted. The famous Líno of Sálug and his brother the defunct Gúnlas, reached this rank.

THE WARRIOR CHIEF IN HIS CAPACITY AS CHIEF

It may be said that in nearly every case the warrior chief is the chief of the clan or settlement. As a man of proved prowess, of sufficient age, and with a good family following he is nearly always recognized as the only one competent to deal with all cases that may come up between his retainers and those of some other chief. Thus it may be said that the Manóbo political system is a patriarchal one in which an elder member of a family, through the respect due to his personal prowess, age, and following, and not through any legal or hereditary sanction adjudges such matters of dispute as inevitably arise between his followers and those of some one else. The system is based on custom and is carried out in a spirit of great fairness and equality.

The territory over which the warrior chief extends his sway is recognized as being the collective ancestral property of the settlement. In time of war no one except a relative is permitted to enter it under the penalty of death, but in time of peace it lies open to all friendly fellow tribesmen. Such matters, however, as fish poisoning [12] and hunting by aliens are always interdicted.

Over this territory, usually occupying miles and miles of virgin forest, lofty mountain, and fair valley, are scattered the dependents and relatives of the warrior. It is only in times of trouble or of expected attack that they build high houses for purposes of defense in closer proximity to the chief. These settlements number between 20 and 200 souls, the former number being nearer the average than the latter.

The attitude of the followers toward their chief is in time of peace one of kinship feeling or one of indifference. He has practically no authority until called upon in time of trouble to lend the weight of his influence and the fame of his prowess. He collects no tribute and receives no services. In every respect he does as his lowest retainer does, hunts, fishes, etc., except that he travels more to visit friendly neighboring chiefs, who always receive him as a guest of honor and feast him when they have the wherewithal.

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[11] From *ká-bo*, a jacket.

[12] *Pag-tu-bá-han.*

Various grades of chiefs are occasionally reported, such as *kuyáno*,[13] *masikámpo*[14] and *dátu* but such grades do not exist. These names have probably been conferred by mercenary Bisáyas for commercial reasons and are not assumed by Manóbos even for purposes of ostentation.

The warrior chief is in almost every case the person of greatest influence and authority, both by reason of his position in the family and because of the prestige of his valor. In a country where the bolo and lance are final arbiters when all else has failed the warrior must of necessity be chief or be a person of very marked influence. If he is not recognized as such, he generally removes himself with as many as will or must follow to another locality, and there he becomes chief.

Nothing said here is intended to apply to the political organization of the Christianized Manóbos, or *conquistas* into settlements under the special government of the Agúsan Province. My remarks are confined exclusively to the pagan people.

THE WARRIOR CHIEF AS PRIEST AND MEDICINE MAN

The reader is referred to the second part of Chapter XXIV, Part IV, for a detailed account of the functions and prerogatives of the warrior chief in his capacity as priest. For the present we will pass on to consider him in his rôle of medicine man, summarizing briefly his magic methods for the cure of various ailments ascribed to supernatural agency.

As to the warrior's knowledge and powers in both capacities, I have always found the many warrior chiefs with whom I have come in contact very reticent and have accordingly been unable to secure detailed information on this subject. It is beyond a doubt, however, that great powers are attributed to them both in causing and curing certain ailments.

It may be said that any disease attributed to the displeasure of the blood spirits falls within their jurisdiction as priests and may be cured by a sacrifice or by other ceremonial methods. As a general rule they are supposed to have a knowledge of various magic and medicinal herbs. They are always the possessors of necklaces,[15] to which are attributed such powers as those of imparting invisibility and invulnerability. These peculiar charms, as well as numerous herbs, roots, and other things possessing magic power for good and for evil, are often bound up in the charm collars and can not be seen. Nothing will prevail upon the owner to declare even their names. After opening the breast of the slain enemies they dip these mystic collars in the blood and thereby, through the instrumentality of their blood spirits, impart to the collars greater potency.

Hemorrhages and all wounds or other troubles in which a flux of blood appears are thought to emanate from the desire of the familiars of the warrior priests for blood. Hence he is called upon to make intercession and to propitiate[16] these bloodthirsty spirits with the sacrifice of a pig or fowl. After the pig has been killed, a little of the blood is caught in a split bamboo receptacle,[17] which is then hung up in the house with the blood left in it for the regalement of these insatiate spirits.

Besides curative means the warrior medicine man is said to have secret means of causing bodily harm to those against whom he feels a grievance. These means are called *kometán* and have been described in Chapter XV. It is true that others are reputed to have these secret magic means, but none except the warrior priest will make open confession of their reputed powers.

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[13] *Kuláno*, a title applied, I think, to Moros of the Rio Grande of Mindanáo, and used, I have heard, by the Banuáons.

[14] *Moestre de Campo*—i. e., field marshal—was a title given by the Spaniards to faithful Bukídnon chiefs.

[15] *Ta-li-hán.*

[16] *Dá-yo to tag-búsau.*

[17] *Bin-u-ká.*

CHAPTER XVIII

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION: WAR, ITS ORIGIN, INCEPTION, COURSE, AND TERMINATION

MILITARY AFFAIRS IN GENERAL

There exists no military organization in Manóboland, no standing army, no reviews, no conscription. The whole male circle of relatives and such others as desire to take part, either for friendship's sake or for the glory and spoil, form the war party. There is no punishment for failure to join an expedition but as blood is thicker than water, the nearer male relatives always take part and there are never wanting others who either bear a grudge against the author of the grievance or go for the emolument that they may receive or even for the sport and the spoil of it. It is customary to bring along such male slaves as may be depended upon to render faithful and efficient work. It is only fear of incurring enmity that holds back the majority of those who do not take part. I here desire to impress upon my readers one important point in the Manóbo's idea of war, and it is this: *That no blame is laid upon nor resentment harbored toward anyone who joins an expedition as a paid warrior.*[1] I have ascertained beyond reasonable doubt, after continual questioning on my part and open unsolicited avowals on the part of others, that warrior chiefs are frequently paid to redress a wrong in which they have no personal concern.

In the case of ordinary tribesmen, I know that where personal feelings and the hope of material advantages are not an inducement to partake in the expedition, they are frequently tempted with an offer of some such thing as a fine bolo or a lance, to lend their services to the leader of the war party. It is needless to say that only close ties of friendship or relationship to the enemy prevent the offer from being accepted, *especially as the acceptance of it relieves the Manóbo from all responsibility for such deaths as may accrue to his credit during the prospective encounter.* When, however, previous feuds, or other unfriendly antecedents existed between the warrior and his opponent, the acceptance of a remuneration for his participation in the fray would not shield him from the dire vengeance that would, sooner or later, surely follow.

For a description of the weapons used and of the manner of using them, the reader is referred to Chapter XI.

In the description of the Manóbo house (Chapter V), reference was made to the high houses erected for defense when an unusual attack is expected. Tree houses, at the time I left the valley, were very few and far between, even in the eastern Cordillera and at the headwaters of the Tágo River.

Besides building high houses and resorting to devices referred to in Chapter V, the Manóbos occasionally slash down the surrounding forest in such a way as to form a veritable abatis of timber.

In one place I saw a very unique and effective form of defense. A fence surrounded the house. To gain access to the latter it was necessary to ascend a notched pole about 2 meters high and then to pass along two horizontal bamboo poles about 10 meters long. Numerous deadly bamboo caltrops bristled out of the ground underneath the precarious bamboo bridge that led to a platform whence the house could be reached only by climbing the usual notched pole. Whosoever ventured to cross this perilous bridge, would certainly meet death from one source or another, either from the hurtling shower of arrows from above or from the bristling caltrops below.

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[1] *Sin-ó-hō.*

THE ORIGIN OF WAR

Fighting arises from one or more of the following causes: Vendettas, sexual infringements, debts, and sometimes from a system of private seizure, by which the property or life of an innocent third party is taken. The Manóbo expresses the same thing in a simpler way by saying that war has its origin in two things, namely "debt (blood debt included) and deceit." It has been said that glory and the capture of slaves are the springs of war in Manóboland, but this, in my opinion, is not true. Nor will I concede that war is undertaken for merely religious reasons. It is my belief, verified by numerous observations made during several years of intimate dealing with Manóbos throughout eastern Mindanáo, that fighting or killing takes place in order to redress a wrong or to collect a debt, whether it be of blood or of anything else. It is true that many who have no grievance, take part merely for the sport, the spoil, and the glory of it, but in no case that I know of was there wanting on the part of those who *inaugurated* the war a real and reasonable motive. I have heard of cases of unjust warfare but my informants were enemies of the parties against whom they complained and most probably were calumniating them.

VENDETTAS

Vendettas, which exist in many more enlightened countries of the world, are the most common cause of war, or it would be better to say, of the continuance of war.

There is no doubt, in my mind, but that the whole eastern quarter of Mindanáo would flame out into interclan warfare, were it not for the efficient form of government now established there. I can bear witness to this fact, as I was cognizant of various raids that took place from 1905 to 1907 and of the fact that they were much less frequent from the close of 1907 till my departure from the Agúsan Valley in 1910.

As in other countries, so in Manóboland, not only is the vendetta regarded as legitimate but it is considered the duty of every relative of the slain to seek revenge for his death. Living in a state of absolute independence from the restraints of outside government, as they had been up to the beginning of the Christian conquest in 1877, the Manóbos, according to their own accounts, passed a very unquiet existence. On account of blood feuds, most of them lived in tree houses built in lofty inaccessible places, as I have been repeatedly told by old men. I have been assured that if ever the Americans leave the valley, old blood scores will be settled, even should it be necessary "to do without salt."[2]

The vendetta system was so prevalent during my first travels in eastern Mindanáo that on one occasion a Manóbo of the Tágo River inquired of me whether there were any living relatives of a certain Manóbo of the upper Argáwan who had killed his grandfather. Upon learning that there were, he forthwith besought me to accompany him in a raid against the relatives of his grandfather's murderers.

Another instance will show the persistency with which the idea of revenge is entertained. I noticed in a house on the Wá-wa River a strong rattan vine strung taut from a rafter to one of the floor joists. My host, the owner of the house, waxed over-merry in his cups and was descanting on his valiant feats in the pre-American days. He suddenly jumped up and twanged the rattan, intimating that he might yet be able to take revenge on a certain enemy of his but that if he were unable to do it, his son after him would strive to fulfill his teaching and that in any case vengeance would be had before the vine rotted. Anyone familiar with the rattan knows its durability, when protected from the influences of the sun and rain.

This practice of stretching a green rattan in some part of the house and of vowing vengeance "till it rot" is not uncommon, and is an indication of the deep, eternal desire for vengeance so characteristic of the Manóbos.

Another practice, also indicative of the vendetta system, is the bequeathing from father to son[3] of the duty of seeking revenge. I have never been present at the ceremony but have heard over and over again that so-and-so received the inheritance and must endeavor to carry out the dying behest of his father or other relative. One man, who had received this "teaching," on being questioned as to whether he would like to make peace with his enemy, seemed shocked and vehemently protested, saying, "It can't be done, it can't be done, it is tabooed;" he then went on to upbraid me soundly for the suggestion.

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[2] The enjoyment of salt seems to be, in the Manóbo's estimation, one of the greatest blessings, if not the greatest, that he has derived from civilization. Yet he would be willing to forego the use of it, if it were possible for him to take revenge upon the slayers of his relatives.

[3] It is called *ka-tud-li-án*.

In some cases, the task of revenge is turned over to a third party, who has no personal interest in the feud. As explained to me, such a person is in a better position to attack the enemy than one whose duty it is. In case he succeeds in getting revenge, no blame, I was assured, is attached to him, as he is regarded in the light of a paid warrior or mercenary. Such an institution as this of the vendetta together with the system of private seizure render life in Manóboland very hazardous, and serve to explain the extreme caution and forbearance exhibited by one Manóbo toward another in the most trivial concerns of life.

PRIVATE SEIZURE

The practice of private seizure is a very peculiar one, according to our way of thinking, yet it is universal among the tribes of eastern Mindanáo. As long as it is confined to material things, it is not ordinarily a cause for war, but when practiced on a human being, it frequently results in retaliation in kind.

The practice consists in seizing the property of a third, frequently a neutral, party, as a "call" on the debtor. For example, A owes B a slave and for one reason or another has been unable or unwilling to pay his debt. B has exhibited a sufficient amount of patience, while at the same time he has used every means to bring pressure to bear upon A. Finally, despairing of collecting in an amicable way, and, most probably, suspecting that his debtor is playing with him, he seizes a relative or a slave or a pig of C as a "call" to A. C thus pays A's debt and then takes measures to collect from him, the understanding being that B is to take all responsibility for the consequences.

This system seldom gives rise to a blood feud except when blood has been shed. Thus in the above instance, had B killed C, as a summons to A, a feud would almost infallibly have followed. Yet C's relatives might have been willing to accept a money compensation from B, and might have come to an agreement whereby they would jointly operate against A in order to avenge the death of C.

I witnessed a case in which the seizure of a pig was the origin of a bloody feud that had not ended at the time of my departure from the upper Agúsan. As the individuals involved in the case are still living their names will be represented by letters.

A had been fined ₱15 because his wife had made the statement that B had knowledge of a secret or magic [5] poison. C who was a relative of A and already owed B to the amount of ₱15, with the consent of all parties concerned, assumed the responsibility of paying A's debt, thereby putting himself in debt to B to the amount of one slave (at ₱30). Now some of C's relatives had certain little claims against some of B's relatives and thought it a good opportunity to collect their own dues and to diminish their kinsman's debt by presenting their claims for payment. B refused to pay on the ground that his kinsfolk and not himself were responsible for the settlement of said claims, whereupon C refused to deliver his slave till the payment to his relatives was forthcoming.

The matter thus lingered for several months until B, who owed a slave to another party, and was pressed for payment thought it time to force matters, and, in company with three relatives, seized A's sow as a "call" on C.

The result of this was that after a few weeks B's wife and another woman were speared to death in a *camote* patch, and in revenge B took the lives of two of C's party. I made every possible effort to have the matter adjudicated in an informal way but neither party seemed to be anxious to come to terms.

Owing to this system of private seizure, a party of warriors returning from an unsuccessful raid are considered dangerous, and settlements on their trail put themselves in a state of watchfulness,[6] for when returning without having secured a victim the party might be incited to make a seizure in order to avoid thereby the derision of their enemies.

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[4] *Tau-a-gán.*

[5] *Ko-me-tán.*

[6] *Lá-ma.*

DEBTS AND SEXUAL INFRINGEMENTS

Long-continued failure to pay a debt is very frequently the remote cause of war. This is easy to understand if we consider the sacredness with which debts are regarded in Manóboland. An excessive delay in meeting obligations gives rise to hot and hasty words on the part of the creditor; the debtor takes umbrage and retorts, a quarrel with bolos ensues, thereby giving rise to a feud that, under favorable conditions, may continue for generations with its fierce mutual reprisals. A feature that serves to increase the number of these financial bickerings is the fact that questions of indebtedness are almost invariably discussed while drinking is going on and as a result, according to an immemorial rule the world over, the creditor frequently indulges in personalities.

Sexual infringements are a cause of war. Only one case passed under my personal notice but instances of olden days were related to me. There is no doubt in my mind as to the result of a serious sexual misdemeanor; it is death by the lance or the bolo for the offender without much parleying, if one may give credence to the universal outspoken Manóbo opinion on the subject.

INCEPTION OF WAR

DECLARATION OF WAR

No heralds go forth to announce to the enemy the coming conflict. On the contrary, the greatest secrecy is maintained. If the grievance is a sudden and serious one, such as the death of a clansman, a set of ambushers may be dispatched at the earliest moment that the omens are found favorable. Or it may be decided to attack the settlement of the enemy in full force. If the latter decision is reached, a party is sent out to reconnoiter the place of attack. All information possible is obtained from neighbors of the enemy, and, if the reconnaissance shows conditions favorable for an attack, the march is begun in due form. Should the reconnoitering party, however, report unfavorably, the attack is put off until, after weeks, months, or years of patient, but close, vigilance and inquiry, a favorable opportunity presents itself.

Sometimes a bolder warrior chief who has a personal grievance may send a war message in the shape of a fighting-bolo,[7] or of a lance with an abusive challenge, but this is rare, as far as I have been able to ascertain. It is common, however, for the more famed war chiefs to keep their personal enemies on the *qui-vive*, by periodic threats. "I will begin my march 10 nights from now," "I will reap his rice," "I will eat his heart and liver," "He won't be able to sow rice for four years," "I need his wife to plant my *camotes*"—are samples of the messages that reach a clansman and keep him and his family on some mountain pinnacle for many a long year till such time as the threat is carried out and the posts of his house, all wreathed with secondary growth, tell the grim tale of revenge. I have seen such posts scattered over the face of eastern Mindanáo—a memory of the dead.

TIME FOR WAR

The usual time for war is either on the occasion of death in the family or at the time of the harvest season. The former is selected both to soften, by the joy of victory, the sorrow felt for the loss of a dear relative, and to check the jubilation that the enemy would naturally feel and frequently express on such an occasion. The latter is chosen for the purpose of destroying the enemy's rice crop or at least of making it difficult for him to harvest it.

War is undertaken at other times also. Thus a sudden and grievous provocation would cause an expedition to start just as soon as the necessary number of warriors could be assembled, and a favorable combination of omens obtained.

It often happens, I have been told over and over again, that when an attack proves unsuccessful, those who repelled the attack set out at once to surprise their enemies by a shower of arrows while the latter are returning to their homes, or, if possible, reach the settlement before them and massacre the defenseless women and children.

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[7] *Li-kúd-li-kud.*

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

The remote preparations for war consist in locating the house of the enemy and in getting all information, even the minutest, as to the trails, position of traps and bamboo spears. All this must be done through a third party, preferably someone who has a grievance to satisfy, and may require months or even years, for the Manóbo is a cautious fighter and will take no unnecessary risks. During all this time the aggrieved party is enlisting, in a quiet, diplomatic way, the good will of as many as he can trust. If he has no recognized warrior chief on his side he must by all means secure the services of at least one, even though it should be necessary to offer him a material compensation and in divers other ways gain his good will and cooperation.

The immediate preparations consist in sending out a few of the nearest male relatives several days or even a week before the intended attack to reconnoiter the settlement of the enemy. On the return of this party word is sent to those who have agreed to join the expedition and a day and place are appointed for meeting. A pig and a supply of rice are procured and on the appointed day the relatives and friends of the leader assemble at the trysting place, which was, in nearly every instance that I witnessed or heard of, a house somewhat remote from the settlement.

With a warrior chief for officiant certain religious rites [8] are performed. The pig is partaken of in the usual style and, if the omens are favorable, all is ready. But should the omens portend evil, the expedition is put off to a more auspicious occasion. In one instance that passed under my personal observation the departure of the warriors was postponed for several days by reason of inauspicious omens. I have heard of some cases in which the war party returned after several days' march in order to await more reassuring signs of success.

No particular demonstrations of sorrow are manifested by the women when the war party sets out. Revenge is of more importance than love. Moreover, it is seldom that the casualties on the side of the aggressors amount to more than one, so that no fear is entertained and all are sanguine as to the outcome, for have not the omens been consulted and have they not portended so many deaths and so many captives?

The band glides off silently and stealthily into the forest. A war chief, if one has been willing to join the expedition, usually leads, accompanied, it is believed, by his invisible war deities. A little ahead, just the distance of a whisper, the Manóbos say, strides Mandayáñgan, the giant and the hero of the old, old days. All ears are alert for the turtledove's cry, and when its prophetic voice is heard, every arm is up and points with closed fist in the direction of it. But it is only its direction with regard to the leader that is considered. If this is unfavorable, the march is discontinued till the next day, but, if favorable, the party proceeds, selecting, as much as possible, tortuous and seldom trodden trails.

The following are some of the taboos that must be observed by the party while en route.

(1) They may speak to no one met on the trail.

(2) Nothing once taken in the hand may be thrown away until night or until arriving at the enemies' settlement. Thus a piece of a branch caught in the hand and broken off accidentally must be retained.

(3) They may eat nothing that is found on the trail. Thus killing game is prohibited. I heard of one man who had been wounded in an ambush arranged by the enemy on the trail. He assured me that his ill luck was due to his having taken a fish dropped by a fish eagle.[9]

(4) The food taken on the trail must be placed upon one shield, preferably that of the leader, and thence distributed to the members of the party.

(5) The wives of the warriors are forbidden to indulge in unnecessary shouting and noise, and to remain within the house as far as possible till the return of their husbands.

(6) No cooking may be done on the trail till the settlement of the enemy is reached. This does not mean that food may not be cooked in a house along the trail. On the contrary, I was assured that on a long trip it is customary to call at the house of some friendly person and to make a sacrifice, at the same time taking further observations from the intestines of the victim. I was an eyewitness of this proceeding on one occasion and did not fail to observe also with what relish the war party replenished the inner man.

Besides taboos, there are a number of evil omens that must be guarded against. Thus, if a snake were to cross the path, or any insect such as a bee or a scorpion were to bite or sting one of the party, the return of the whole number would be necessary unless they were too far advanced already. In the latter case other omens must be consulted, and, when it is felt that these new omens have neutralized the effect of the previous ones, the march may be continued. Owing to the observance and reobservance of omens it is obvious that great delays are occasioned and at times the expedition is stopped. On the one that I accompanied in 1907, the turtledove gave a cry, the direction of which was considered to portend neither good nor evil, and the leader expressed his opinion at the time that the object of the expedition would not be attained. He was overruled, however, by the consensus of opinion of his companions, and the march was resumed. Notwithstanding the fact that ensuing signs all proved favorable, yet as I observed very clearly, the first omen had depressed the spirits of the party. When my efforts to settle the dispute without a fight failed, and an open attack was decided upon, there seemed to be no *morale* in the party, and the attack was abandoned without any special reason. This instance will serve to show the uncompromising faith of the Manóbo in omens, especially in that of the turtledove.

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[8] See Pt. IV, Ch. XXVI.

[9] *Man-dá-git.*

There is one omen of a peculiar nature that is of singular importance while on the warpath. On such a journey red pepper and ginger are consumed in considerable quantities for the purpose, it is said, of increasing one's courage. Naturally, no matter how accustomed one may have become to these spices, he always feels their piquancy to a certain extent, so that the warrior who fails to become aware of a sharp biting taste, regards this as an ill omen and, though he accompanies his fellows to the scene of combat, takes no part in the attack.

It is usual, as was said before, to stop over at a friendly house nearest to that of the enemy and to send forward a few of the band to make another reconnaissance but, if no house is available, a stop is made anywhere. A reason for this is that they may arrive near the settlement at nightfall or during the night.

When the party arrives within a few miles of the actual ascent to the mountain where the enemy's house is situated, a halt is again made in a concealed position and a few of the more experienced warriors advance at dusk on the trail to the house. If the enemy has been in a state of constant vigilance, this undertaking is one of extreme difficulty. The house is on the top of a lofty hill and frequently access can not be had to it except by passing through a series of swamps. In addition one must climb up precipitous ascents, and break through a network of felled trees and such other obstacles as the reader can readily imagine for himself. There is, moreover, the danger from spring traps set both for man and animal, and from sharp bamboo slivers placed all around the house and on the trails. Thus a fair idea can be obtained of the difficulties that are encountered by those who, in the silence and darkness of the night, inform themselves of all that is necessary for a successful attack. After going around the house and unspringing traps and removing sufficient of the bamboo slivers to afford a safe passage, the scouts return to the camp and a whispered consultation takes place. Positions are assigned to each man and a general plan of attack is made. Then, groping along in the gloom of the night, with never a sound but that of their own stumbling steps, they put themselves in position around the settlement and await with bated breath the break of day.

THE ATTACK

TIME AND METHODS OF ATTACK

The break of day is selected as the hour for the attack because sleep is then thought to be soundest and the drowsiness and sluggishness following the awakening to be greater. Moreover, at that time there is sufficient light to enable the attacking party to see their opponents whether they fight or flee.

The number of combatants depends entirely on the strength and position of the enemy. As a rule as many as possible are enlisted for an expedition where the enemy has numerical strength and a strong position. In the expedition which I accompanied in 1907, the party numbered some 60. I have heard of war parties that numbered 150.

When the house or houses of the enemy are low, the aggressors steal up noiselessly and, breaking out into the dismal war cry,[10] drive their lances through the floor or through the sides of the house, if it is low enough. They then retire and by listening and questioning ascertain whether any of the inmates still survive. If any remain alive they are to surrender.

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[10] *Pa-nad-jáu-an.*

When, however, the settlement is a large one, consisting of one or more high houses, the matter is a more difficult one. The aggressors advance to the house and if the floor is out of reach of their lances one or more of the bolder ones may quietly climb up the posts and after dispatching one or more of the inmates with a few thrusts hurriedly slide down to the ground. Then the war cry is called out to increase the consternation that has begun to reign in the house. If the enemy is known to have a large stock of arrows the aggressors retire and allow them to expend part of their supply.

No unnecessary risks are taken in fighting. When the male portion of the enemy are considered capable of making a stand, the house is not approached but a battle of arrows takes place, the aggressors advancing to entice the enemy to shoot, while their bowmen, usually only a few in number, reply. During all this time there is a bandying of hot words, threats, and imprecations on both sides. "I'll have your hair," "I'll eat your liver," "I'll sacrifice your son," "Your wife will get my water," are a few of the expressions that are used. The drum and gong in the house may be beaten all this time as a signal of distress to call such relatives or friends as may live within hearing distance. The priestesses of the attacked party may go through a regular sacrifice if there is a chicken or a pig in the house, beseeching their deities to protect them in this the hour of danger.

When the arrows of the enemy are thought to be expended, the attacking party try by means of a burning arrow to fire the roof. Should this succeed, the inmates are doomed, for when they escape from the house the enemy close in upon them, and kill with lances or bolos, men and women, whether married or single. As a rule, only the children are spared.

Should the roof, however, fail to catch fire another means of attack is employed. Putting their shields upon their heads in a formation much like the old Roman testudo, they advance to the house in bodies of four or six and begin to hack down the posts. But here again they may be foiled, for it has happened that the inmates of the house were provided with a supply of big stones, or had a little boiling water on hand, and made their opponents retire out of fear of the arrows that would be sure to follow when the stones had broken the arrangement of their shields. Moreover, the ordinary Manóbo, who has lived in expectation of an attack sooner or later, has his house set on a number of posts varying from 12 to 20. No little time would be required to cut these and the aggressors would be in danger of receiving wounds and thereby bringing the attack to an end, *for it is the invariable practice for the party to retire after one of its members has been wounded or slain.* The reason for this custom I am unable to state. There occurred on the Argáwan in 1907 an instance which I verified, and in the various accounts of Manóbo fighting that I received all over the Agúsan Valley, there were numerous instances of the observance of this custom.

In besieging the house, which may not be captured for several days, either firewood, food, or water may give out quickly, and the besieged succumb to hunger, or to thirst. In their last extremity they make a dash for liberty, especially during the night, and, though many of them fall victims, not a few frequently save themselves.

Sometimes, I was told, the besieged rush forward and meet death fighting. Again the men are said to kill their wives and children with their own hands, and then to go forth to meet the enemy. Father Urios, S. J., makes mention of a case of this kind.

As to the number of slain, and of captives, it depends on the size of the settlement. In an instance which I verified on the Húlip River, upper Agúsan, some 190 souls perished in one attack. Though this number seems large, yet it goes to show that on occasions raids are made on a somewhat larger scale than might be expected.

As each one of the attacking party strikes down the victim that falls in his way he notifies his companions of the fact by a fierce yell, calling out at the same time the name of his victim. This is to avoid disputes later and to secure the credit for the killing. Though the killing of a woman does not entitle the warrior to any special title, yet it adds one to his glory list and is supposed to make him more apt to fall into the favor of a war deity. It is said that in the confusion of the flight many women meet their end but that a good many remain in the houses and yield themselves to the mercy of their captors. Some of these, especially the younger ones, are bound with rattan, if they offer resistance and dragged to the settlement of their captors.

As soon as it is ascertained that there is no one left to offer resistance the warriors adorn their lances with leaves of *palma brava* or such other palm fronds as may be found in the vicinity.

Many warrior chiefs, especially of the Debabáon [11] group, have described the fight to me and all agree that it is generally of short duration. This might be expected from the number of precautions taken to insure success. According to all reports a strongly entrenched enemy is seldom attacked, unless it is ascertained that a goodly portion of the male members are absent.

As a résumé of the method of attack, based on what I learned during my sojourn among the Manóbos, I may say that there are no general nor partial encounters. The house or the settlement is surrounded stealthily just before day, the warriors being spread out at intervals in bands of three or four around the settlement and protected if possible by trees. The leader, who is nearly always a warrior chief, takes up his position with some trusty warriors at the place of closest approach to the house, or at some other strategic point. The arrowmen, who number only a few, are stationed near him. They work at a disadvantage for they have to shoot upward while their opponents in the houses can discharge their arrows downward.

From these positions the attacking party make every effort to cause a panic among the inmates of the house either by chopping down the posts which support the house or by firing the roof. If either purpose is accomplished the besieged rush forth only to meet the point of the lance or the edge of the bolo.

There are no preconcerted movements, no combinations with centers, wings, and reserves. The chief has little or no influence with his followers during the fight, though on account of his personal prowess he is looked up to as a pillar of strength and would, no doubt, if given the opportunity, or if the abuse and banter were extreme, engage in a hand-to-hand encounter. Numerous cases of this kind are on record.

No women nor priests take part in the attack. There are no orators to inspire the warriors to deeds of valor. In lieu of oratory, the warriors on each side engage in the most ferocious abuse imaginable. Challenge after challenge is yelled out defiantly by the besiegers. In the expedition which I joined in 1907, the attacking party incessantly defied their enemies to come down, while the latter in return challenged the besiegers to approach. Neither party seemed willing to take the risk so the arrowmen plied their arrows, the priestesses in the houses continued their invocations, and everybody howled challenges and imprecations at everybody else

EVENTS FOLLOWING THE BATTLE

CELEBRATION OF THE VICTORY

After the fight is over the warrior chiefs perform a ceremony of which I have been able to learn but few details. They are said to become possessed by their tutelary war spirits. They dance and jump around the lifeless body of their chief enemy.[12] After performing their dance they open the breast of the enemy and remove the heart and liver, and place their charm collars [13] in the opening. When the heart and liver have been cooked, they consume them. But as several war chiefs have assured me, it is not they that partake of the flesh, but their protecting deities. Be that as it may, lemon [14] whenever obtainable, is mixed with the gory viands. Some warriors informed me that *their* deities preferred the heart and liver raw.

It is perfectly legitimate to despoil the enemy's house and to bear away such few valuables as may be found. The house, or houses, are then burnt, and the victors, leaving the slain where they fell, hasten back with their captives to cheer the fond ones at home.[15]

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[11] Baháo is the district between the Sálug and Libagánon Rivers.

[12] Their tongues are said to loll out of their mouths "one palm-length." This may seem somewhat exaggerated but I can throw no further light on the matter.

[13] Ta-li-hân.

[14] *Sú-ói.* It is interesting to note the frequency of the use of lemons or limes in religious proceedings.

[15] I have heard it said that the bodies of the slain are doubled up and put into holes in the ground in an upright position. As far as I know this is an exceptional proceeding.

It is said that, as a rule, the aggressors are victorious, for rarely do they attack an enemy that is too strongly entrenched. They prefer to wait, even for years, till an occasion favorable in time, place, and circumstances, presents itself. It is only under special provocation, such as continual attacks by their enemy, that they attack him while he is in a strong position and then more with a view to destroying his crops than with the hope of securing a victim.

THE CAPTURE OF SLAVES

The capture of slaves is one of the important features of the expedition. A slave becomes the property of the captor, although a certain number are very frequently given in payment to the warrior chief or chiefs who were engaged to help the raiding party. This number depends on a previous agreement. The age of the captive decides whether he or she will be taken into captivity or slain on the spot. As a rule, all but children under the age of puberty are despatched there and then as they are liable to escape sooner or later if taken captive. However, I was assured by several warrior chiefs that the better looking unmarried girls are not killed, but are kept to be married, or to be retailed in marriage, thereby bringing a handsome remuneration to the owner. It must not be supposed by the reader that this implies anything inconsistent with sexual morality, for these female slaves are treated with as much delicacy as if they were the captor's daughters. To the numerous inquiries that I made on this point, there was only one reply—that sexual intercourse with them was foul and would make the offender *ga-bá-an.*[16] A warrior who would be guilty of violating this taboo would never, it is thought, attain the rank of warrior chief. Should anyone of the warriors desire to marry his captive he must go through a purificatory[17] process, the details of which I am unable to furnish.

The above taboo goes even further. Not only is the person of the living female captives to be respected but also that of the dead, in so far as it is considered improper to remove from their persons any object such as bracelets or hair. Men's bodies, however, are rifled of everything, even their hair, and are then unmercifully hacked and hewn.

THE RETURN OF THE WARRIORS

If the war party is unsuccessful, they return hastily and cautiously. It frequently happens that the enemy take a short cut, being better acquainted with the geography of the region, and lay an ambush at a suitable point. For this reason a close watch is kept on the return home; a few warriors take the lead, and where a beaten trail is followed, a few keep guard on each side at a distance of several yards, to avoid falling into an ambush. When the party arrive at their settlement each repairs to his own house. A thousand and one reasons are assigned for failure, but never is it attributed to a falseness of the omens—anything but that. Should the band, however, have been victorious, or have brought about the death of the chief enemy at least, no words can describe their joy and jubilation. The woods reecho with their wild screams and the weird ululations of the battle cry. Each one provides himself with a bamboo trumpet and makes the forest resound with its deep boom. The captives that offer any resistance, are dragged along, or even killed, if they become too troublesome. Upon nearing a friendly settlement the din is redoubled and the whole settlement turns out to welcome the victors. But when their home settlement is reached the scene is indescribable. I witnessed an occasion of this kind. Before the party came into sight the bamboo trumpets could be heard, first faintly and then increasing in strength. As soon as the expectant women and the few men who had remained in the village had satisfied themselves that their relatives and friends were returning, drums and gongs were beaten in answer. The young men and boys rushed out and crossing the river on their rafts or in their boats dashed into the forest to meet the conquerors. Even the women became hilarious and gave vent to loud cries. For a few minutes before the appearance of the party the war cry could be heard and when they came into view on the other side of the river the din was indescribable. The gong and drum were brought down to the bank and the war tattoo was beaten. The clanging of the gong, the rolling of the drum, the booming of the trumpets, the ululation of the war cry, and the lusty yells and shrieks of joy, welcome, and inquiry produced a pandemonium that baffles description. Before the victors crossed the river they all took a bath,[18] not for sanitary but for ceremonial reasons. The bath is thought to have a purificatory effect in that it removes the evil influence[19] of death.

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[16] I have never yet been able to grasp the significance of this word. It is used by Bisáyas in the form *hi-ga-bá'-an*, which has apparently a very similar meaning.

[17] *Hú-gad.*

When the victors had crossed the river they removed the palm fronds[20] with which they had adorned their lances and put them on the necks and heads of their wives and friends. Later on a banquet was prepared and the reader is left to conceive for himself the revels that followed. It is said that not infrequently at this time some of the captives are given to the unsuccessful warriors for immediate slaughter. That this has occurred I have absolutely no reason to doubt, and every reason to believe. I have heard many describe among themselves how it was done, and what joy it gave them to be able to take revenge upon one of their hereditary enemies.

AMBUSHES AND OTHER METHODS OF WARFARE

Ambush[21] is a legitimate method of warfare, according to Manóbo customs. It consists in locating one's self with one or more companions at a place which the enemy is expected to pass. A favorite place for the ambush is on the trail between the enemy's house and his rice or *camote* field, but a spot on a river bank or at any suitable point may be selected. Great precautions are taken by putting up screens of leaves to prevent the enemy from discovering the ambush. This is always made on the right hand[22] and very frequently there is a supply of sticks and stones in readiness. The position on the right hand is chosen because it gives those in wait an opportunity to deal a blow on the weaker side of the enemy, all of whom carry the shield in the left hand.

It is customary to take an ear or the right forearm of one slain in ambush as a proof of his death if the conditions of the ambush require such a proof. An instance occurred during my first visit to the upper Agúsan in 1907. Three Mañgguáñgans were ambushed by a mixed group of Manóbos and Debabáons, and the above-mentioned parts of their bodies were taken by the victors to their clans as a proof of the killing.

After a rupture between two parties, one or both of them go into a state which is expressed by the word *láma* . This signifies that one or both of them abandons his homestead and transfers himself and the members of his household (usually a few brothers-in-law with their families) to some place difficult of access. If the house can be built on a bluff, or a hill that is approachable from only one or two sides, so much the better. On such a site a house[23] is built varying from 5 meters to 8 meters in height, sometimes, though rarely nowadays, being built upon a tree trunk. The felled timber at the edge of the forest is left unburned. Bamboo or *palma brava* caltrops are placed in the encircling forest. In addition to these, spring traps[24] for human beings may be set out if it is suspected that an attack is imminent. In certain localities I have seen a stockade[25] erected around the house. Sometimes a wall of old bamboo may be built from the ground up to the floor, inclined inward at the bottom at an angle of about 70° to the ground. The ladder is invariably a log with a number of notches in it. Strips of bark or even bamboo shingles may form the roof but as a rule the Manóbo takes his chances with a roof of rattan leaf.

On approaching the house of one who is in state of vigilance, it is not unusual to find certain signs on the trail. Thus a broken earthen pot is frequently hung up, or if the trail leads to the house of a warrior chief, there will be probably the parted bamboo called *binúka*, and a number of saplings slashed down at a certain point on the trail, both of which signs are symbolic of the evil fate that will befall such as dare to enter the guarded region.

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[18] This is an invariable custom, I was told.

[19] *Bá-ho*, literally foul smell.

[20] Called *Ma-yún-hau*. It is said that these are frequently stained with the blood of the slain.

[21] *Báñg-an*.

[22] Right hand refers to the right hand of the party to be attacked.

[23] *I-li-hán*.

[24] *Bá-tik*.

[25] *In-á-gud*.

No one but a near relative may live within a certain definite distance of a house which is in a state of defense, nor may anyone visit it except by special request. If the inmate has to meet anyone he appoints a trysting place at some spot in the woods and there the visitor, by beating on the butress of a tree or by any other preconcerted signal, announces his presence. The former may be suspicious and may first circle around to examine the footprints before he ventures to approach.

PEACE[26]

When the opposing parties have evened up their blood accounts and are wearied of ambushes, surprises, loss of relatives, destruction of crops, and continual fight and flight, they agree to make peace either through a friendly chief, or by a formal peacemaking. The desire to make peace is made known by sending to the enemy a work bolo. If it is accepted, it is a sign that the desire is mutual but if it is returned, arbitration must be brought about through a third party, usually a warrior chief or a *datu*. For this purpose a clear open space, such as a big sandbar, is appointed and a day fixed.

On the appointed day the parties arrive in separate bands and take up their positions facing one another, a line being drawn or a long piece of rattan being placed on the ground beyond which no member of either party may pass. Matters are then discussed in the presence of such *datus* or persons of influence as may have been selected for that purpose and after balancing up blood and other debts, the leaders agree to make the payments at an appointed time and thereby put an end to the feud. As an evidence of their sincerity, they part between them a piece of green rattan.[27] Then beeswax [28] is burned. This is a kind of oath which serves to bind them to their contracts.[29]

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[26] *Dug-kúl.*

[27] I have been informed of a very interesting custom said to be observed by the Banuáon group in settling their troubles. It was said that peace is made by hand-to-hand fights in which single pairs of opponents fight until the *datus* who act as umpires award the victory to one or the other. This is called *din-a-tú-an.*

[28] *Tó-tuñg.*

[29] I never witnessed a peacemaking and I never had a chance to assist at one of the referred combats of the Banuáon people, mentioned above.

CHAPTER XIX

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION: GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE; CUSTOMARY, PROPRIETARY, AND LIABILITY LAWS

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Bisáyas and other people who have had more or less familiar dealings with Manóbos almost invariably make the statement that Manóbo justice is the oppression of the weak by the strong; that there is no customary law that governs in social dealings except that one which is founded on the caprice and villainy of the warrior chiefs and of those who have most influence and following. Now I utterly repudiate such statements and rumors as being due either to lack of familiarity; to a too ready tendency to believe malicious reports; or to undisguised ill will toward, and contempt of, Manóbos. I have lived on familiar terms with these primitive people for a considerable period and have found no evidence of oppression and tyranny. Disputes and misunderstandings arise at times, people sometimes fly into a rage, killings take place on occasions, but such things happen among other peoples. It is truly surprising, considering the lack of tribal and interclan cohesion in Manóboland, that such occurrences are not more frequent or even continual. The statement that the warriors and other influential men rule by caprice and oppression is unfounded. There is no coercion in Manóboland, except such as arises from the influence of relatives, and from gentle persuasion and general consent. A warrior chief, or any other man who would try to use a despotic hand or even to be insolent, exacting, or unrelenting in his manner, would not only lose his friends and his influence, but would arouse hostility and place himself and his relatives in jeopardy.

It must be understood from the outset that in Manóboland there is no constituted judicial authority nor any definite system of laws. There are no courts, and no punishments such as imprisonment, torturing, and whipping. All social dealings by which one contracts an obligation to another are regulated by the principle that one and all must act according to established custom. This principle governs the procedure even of chiefs and influential men when they endeavor to bring about a settlement through the weight of their influence.

Voluntary and involuntary departures from the beaten track cause disputes when these deviations affect another's rights. Thus to refuse one the hospitality of the house, or to overlook him intentionally in the distribution of betel nut would give rise to a dispute, because these courtesies are customary and are therefore obligatory.

Punishment for a violation of customary obligation then becomes a matter of private justice. The injured one either singly, or by means of his relatives and of such friends as he may interest in his cause, seeks reparation from the offender. If he can not secure it through an appeal to customary law supported by the consensus of opinion of the relatives on each side, he takes justice into his own hands and kills his opponent or orders him to be killed.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

THE PRINCIPLE OF MATERIAL SUBSTITUTION

The Manóbo system of law is still in its indefinite primitive stage. Its fundamental principles are involved in the retention, preservation, and devolution of property. Unlike the highly developed legal systems of the world, it tends, in general, to consider violations as civil, and not as criminal, wrongs. Hence upon due restitution, offered with good will, the great majority of transgressions upon another's rights are quickly condoned. In this it is far more humane than other systems that seek not only justice for the injured party but the corporal punishment of the wrongdoer.

RIGHT TO A FAIR HEARING

As far as my observation goes justice is administered on a patriarchal plan in a spirit of fairness and equality. Except in the case of flagrant public wrongs the transgressor is given a fair and impartial hearing, aided by the presence of his relatives and of others whom he may select or who may choose to attend the arbitration of the case. The presence of the relatives contributes in nearly every case an element of good will, and prevents the use of intimidation. It helps greatly to promote, and not to prevent, justice. It is the paramount factor in determining the defendant to yield, even when bad feeling has been aroused on each side, and when their desire for revenge and spirit of independence would naturally prompt them to have recourse to violent methods. Though the female relatives do not take formal part in the arbitration, yet in their own gentle way they exert a certain amount of influence for good.

SECURING THE DEFENDANT'S GOOD WILL

Because of the desire for revenge which the Manóbo inherits and the universal recognition of the revenge system in Manóboland, an appeal to good will in the settlement of matters is very important, and is a feature of every case of arbitration. I have attended many and many a Manóbo arbitration at which the wrongdoer, after being condemned by the consensus of opinion, was asked over and over whether he recognized his fault and whether he received the sentence with good will. In nearly every instance he replied that he did, and, as an evidence of his sincerity, procured, as soon as convenient, a pig and invited the assembly to a feast. On one occasion I acted as the judge in a case of rape committed by a Manóbo who had had frequent dealings with Christian Manóbos. At my urgent request his life was spared and a fine of 100 pesos was imposed upon him. After he had expressed his conformity with the sentence and his lack of ill feeling toward his accusers, I notified the chief of the other party of my intention to leave the settlement, whereupon he told me secretly that I had better wait as the defendant in the case would undoubtedly entertain the company with pork and potations. And so it happened, for the defendant procured a pig that must have been worth 15 pesos, and a supply of sugarcane wine that must have cost him a few more, expenditures that would not be deducted from the amount of his fine.

FOUNDATIONS OF MANÓBO LAW

Owing to the utter lack of interclan and tribal organization there is no set of statute laws in Manóboland, but, in lieu of them, there are a number of traditional laws, simple and definite, that, in conjunction with religious interdictions, serve in the main to uphold justice, the foundation of all law. There is no word for law in the whole Manóbo dialect, but the word for custom[1] is used invariably to express the regulations that govern dealings between man and man.

One fundamental law is the obligation to pay a debt, whether it be a blood debt or a material one. A very common axiom says that "there is no debt that will not be paid"—if not to-day, to-morrow; if not during one lifetime, during another—for the collection of it will be bequeathed as a sacred inheritance from father to son, and from son to grandson. Montano[2] notes with surprise the sacredness in which debts are held, not only by Manóbos of the Agúsan Valley but by all the numerous tribes with which he came in contact in his travels around the gulf of Davao. I noted the same throughout eastern Mindanáo. The Manóbo, when called to account, will never deny his true indebtedness, and when no further time is given him, he will satisfy his obligations, even if he has to part with his personal effects at a nominal value or put himself deeply in debt to others. He is never considered insolvent. It is true that the Christianized part of Manóboland is not so punctilious in the settlement of financial obligations to outsiders (Bisáyas), but this is explained by the bad feeling that has arisen toward the latter on account of the wholesale, fraudulent exploitation carried on in commercial dealings between them and the Christian Manóbos.

So many references have already been made in previous chapters to the practice of revenge that it is not necessary to dilate upon it here. Suffice it to say that it is not only the right but the duty, often bequeathed by father to son, to obey this stern law. One who would allow a deliberate breach of his rights to pass without obtaining sufficient compensation would be looked down upon as a sorry specimen of manhood. The feeling is so deeply rooted in the heart that the wife may urge her husband, and the fiancé, her lover, to carry out the law, and the father may instill into the hearts of his little ones the desire to wreak vengeance upon their common enemies.

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[1] *Ba-tá-san.*

[2] Une mission aux Isles Philippines.

CUSTOMARY LAW

ITS NATURAL BASIS

The intense conservatism of the Manóbo, fostered by the priestly order, is the basis of the customary law that determines and regulates social and individual dealings in Manóboland. So strong is this conservatism, based on a religious principle, that it is believed that any act not consistent with established customs arouses the resentment of the spirit world. This feeling exerts so powerful an influence that in many cases a definite custom is carried out even when a departure from it would be manifestly to the material advantage of the individual. As has been set forth before in this monograph, the ridiculously low prices at which rice is sold in harvest time is a case in point.

The extreme cautiousness and suspiciousness that is such a dominant feature of Manóbo character tends also to maintain the customary law. The Manóbo prefers to jog along in the same old way rather than to do anything unusual, thereby laying himself open to the displeasure of his fellowmen and to that of the gods.

ITS RELIGIOUS BASIS

The legion of taboos, religious and magic, limits the Manóbo's actions, in no inconsiderable manner, within fixed and definite rules, the nonobservance of which would render him responsible for such evil consequences as might follow. To cite an instance: When I first went into a region near Talakógon that was considered to belong to a local deity, my guide cautioned me to avoid certain actions which, he said, were displeasing to the reigning deity. I asked him what would be the consequence if harm were to befall him as a result of my failure to comply with his instructions. He quietly informed me that I would be responsible to his relatives for any harm which might come to him.

Again if one enters a rice field during harvest time the displeasure of the goddess of grain is aroused, and the rice is likely to be diminished in quantity. The transgressor may do all in his power to appease the offended goddess, but if she refuses to be appeased and permits a decrease of the supply, not otherwise explainable, he will be held responsible, and in the due course of events will have to make good the shortage according to the tenets of customary law.

Another example will show the rigid regulations that custom imposes in the matter of omens. I started out with a Manóbo of the upper Agúsan for a point up the Nábok River. At the beginning of our trip the turtle bird's cry came from a direction directly in front of us—an indication of impending evil either during the trip or at its termination. My guide and companion begged me not to proceed, but I managed to convince him that there was nothing to be feared, so he consented to continue the trip with me. Now it happened that he had a quantity of loose beads in his betel-nut knapsack and that a hole was worn in the sack before the end of the trip, the result being that he lost his beads. He held a consultation with the chief of the settlement at which we had arrived, explaining the omen bird's evil cry and the efforts he had made to persuade me to desist from the trip. It was decided that because of my failure to follow the directions indicated by the omen bird, I was responsible for the loss of the beads. On further discussion of the point it became apparent that I would have had to answer for the life of my companion, if he had lost it on the trail, for it was intimated to me that the omen bird's voice had clearly warned us of danger and I was requested to explain my failure to heed the warning.

The observance of customs for religious reasons suggests an explanation of many acts that to an outsider seem inexplicable, not to say unreasonable. The selection of farm sites at considerable distances from the dwelling, the reluctance to leave the region of one's birth, the unwillingness to visit remote mountains and similar places, the fear of doing anything unusual in places thought to be the domain of a deity—these and numerous other ideas—are to be attributed to the observance of customary law.

In this connection it may be well to remark that a stranger visiting remote Manóbo settlements without an introduction or without previous warning should be very careful, if he desires to deal with these primitive people in a spirit of friendship, not to break openly and flagrantly any such regulations, principally religious ones, as may be pointed out to him. In fact it would be well to ascertain as soon as possible what is expected of him. I have always made it a point to announce that I would not be responsible for any evil consequences attending my violation of customs that I was ignorant of and I have requested my new friends to acquaint me with such customs and beliefs as might differ from those of other Manóbo settlements.

PROPRIETARY LAWS AND OBLIGATIONS

CONCEPTION OF PROPERTY RIGHTS

Property rights in the full sense of the word are not only very clearly understood but very sternly maintained. The Manóbo conception of them is so high that, with the exception of such things as *camotes* and other vegetable products, even gifts must be paid for. And even for such trifling things as *camotes*, an equivalent in kind is expected at the option of the donor. During my wanderings I was always in the habit of making presents as compensation for the food furnished me, and was frequently asked why I had done so, and why I did not make the recipients of these presents pay me. No explanation could change the strong belief that *all property of any value, whether given under contract or not, should be paid for.* This principle is further evidenced by the fact that there is no word in the Manóbo dialect for gift nor is there any word for thanks. In some places, however, they have a conception of "alms."[3] On many occasions one of the first requests made to me by a new acquaintance of some standing was a request for alms. I am of opinion that this idea was acquired by them from the universal reports concerning the liberality of the missionaries who from the middle of the seventeenth century labored in the Agúsan Valley. A request for alms or for a present of any value is seldom made by one Manóbo of another, but when it is made it is met by a simple answer, "I do not owe you anything." That settles the question at once.

My practice of distributing gifts frequently aroused some ill feeling. For example, on many occasions I was asked by individuals why I had made presents to so-and-so and not to them. It was necessary in these cases to explain that I owed a debt of good will to the individuals referred to and that I would most assuredly give like gifts to others whenever I should become indebted to them in a similar manner.

LAND AND OTHER PROPERTY

Customary law regarding public land is very simple. Each clan and, in some cases, one or more individual family chiefs, have districts which are the collective property of the clan or family. Theoretically this ownership gives hunting, fishing, agricultural, and other rights to that clan or family, to the exclusion of others. In practice, however, anyone who is on good terms with the chief who represents the family or the clan in question, may occupy a portion of the land without any other formality than that of mentioning the matter to the proper chief. The occupation presumes that the occupant is on terms of good will with the chief, and it never implies that the new occupant is required to pay anything for the use of the land. With regard to fishing rights, especially when the fish-poisoning method is employed, it is very often stipulated that a share of the catch shall be given to the owner. When the two parties concerned are on good terms, the territory of one may be used by the other for hunting, apparently without any question.

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[3] *Li-mos*, probably from the Spanish *limosna*, alms.

When the rice-sowing season is at hand, the Manóbo goes over the clan district and selects any piece of vacant land that, because of its fertility and closeness to water, may have recommended itself to him after a due consultation of the omens. Having made the selection, he formally takes possession of the land by slashing down a few small trees in a conspicuous place and by parting the top of a small tree stem and inserting into it at right angles a piece of wood. He then returns to his settlement and announces his selection. He has become now the owner of the land. Anyone who might attempt to claim the land would become *cleft,* so it is believed, like the parted stem that was left as a proof of the occupation of the land. In a few cases I saw a broken earthen pot left on an upright stick. It was explained to me that this, too, was a symbol of what would befall the one who would dare to dispute the right to the property. This is another evidence of the widespread belief in sympathetic magic.

In my travels throughout eastern Mindanáo I never heard of a single instance of a land dispute among the non-Christian peoples. There is no reason for dispute because the whole of the interior is an immense and very sparsely populated forest that could support millions instead of the scant population which is now scattered through it. Moreover, the religious element in the selection, the consultation of omens, and the approval by the unseen world seem to prevent disputes.

From the moment of occupation, then, till the abandonment of the site the occupant is the sole lawful owner of the land and has full rights to proprietorship of all that it produces. When he abandons the land he still retains the ownership of such crops or plants as may be growing on it. Hence betel-nut palms, betel plants, bananas, and other plants, belong to him and to his descendants after him. Even such fugitive crops as *camotes* are his until they die off or are destroyed by wild boars.

Fruit trees, such as durian, jack-fruit, and others growing in the forest, are, in theory, the collective property of a clan or of a family, but in practice anyone may help himself. However, the finder becomes sole and exclusive owner of a bee's nest as soon as he sets up an indication of his ownership in the form of a split stick with a small crosspiece, and announces his possessive rights on his return to the settlement. The parted trunk has a form and significance similar to that which it has in connection with the selection of a new site. As far as I know a bee's nest once located by one individual is seldom appropriated by another, but the theft of palm wine is common enough, especially if the palm tree be at a considerable distance from the owner's settlement.

All other property that is the result of one's own labor, or that has been acquired by purchase or in any other customary way, belongs to the individual, unless he is a slave. Even slaves, captured during war raids, become the property of their captors, unless stipulation to the contrary has been made before the raid. In one expedition that took place in 1907 a certain warrior chief was delegated to punish a Mañgguáñgan. As an advance payment he received a few bolos and lances, but it was expressly agreed that after the attack he and his party were to receive all the slaves captured.

With regard to the loss of, or damage to, property belonging to another, the customary law is rigid; the damage or the loss must be made good, no matter how unfortunate may have been the circumstances of the loss. This will explain the great care that carriers exercise in transporting the property of others through the mountains, for if by any mischance the things were to get lost or wet or broken, or damaged in any other way, they would be required to make good the loss. This custom, as applied in some cases, may seem somewhat harsh, but it must be remembered that Manóboland is a land where the law of vengeance prevails, and that no opportunity to wreak vengeance must be given. Such opportunities would occur if anyone were permitted to attribute a loss or other accident to involuntary causes.

This rigid law will explain also the peculiar liability under which one is sometimes placed for an absolutely unintentional and unforeseen act. Thus, on a certain occasion, one of my carriers died a few days after my arrival in a settlement. Shortly after the occurrence of the death I was confronted by a band of the relatives of the deceased in full panoply and requested to pay the commercial equivalent of a slave.

On another occasion I ran after a child in play. The child out of fright rushed into the forest and hid. The same afternoon it was taken with a violent fever to which it succumbed a few days later. I was not in the settlement at the time of the death, and was not sorry, for it was reported to me that the father of the deceased child had said that he would have killed me. On my return to his settlement a few days later I visited the father for the purpose of having the case arbitrated. He broached the subject and demanded three slaves, or their equivalent, in payment for the death of his child, which was due, he firmly believed and asseverated, to the scare that I had given it.

Many instances might be adduced to illustrate the peculiar liability which one undergoes in dealing with these primitive men who follow out in practice the old fallacy of *post hoc ergo propter hoc.*

LAWS OF CONTRACT

The conception of contract is as universal as the conception of property rights, but a certain amount of leniency seems to be expected in such details as fulfilling the terms of the contract on the specified date, unless it has been expressly and formally agreed that no leniency is to be looked for. In case of a failure to fulfill the contract at the stated time it is customary to offer either what is called an "excuse,"[4] in the form of extra hospitality or a free gift of some article, not so valuable as to constitute a debt, or to make many explanations, very frequently fictitious. These remarks apply only to cases in which the creditor has undergone the hardship of a reasonably long trip or of other necessary expenditures. Thus, to illustrate the point, A owes B a pig deliverable, according to agreement, after the lapse of so many days, there being no express provisions for any penalty in case of nonfulfillment of the agreement. B goes to A's house and is treated to a special meal with an accompaniment of drink when obtainable. Toward the termination of the meal, he is informed by A of the latter's inability to pay, for numerous real, or more numerous fictitious, reasons. B accepts this excuse but before leaving asks for some little thing that he may take a fancy to. It is always given as an "excuse." Another day for the payment is agreed upon. This leniency may be displayed on one or more occasions till the delay in paying exasperates B or renders him liable to loss. Ill feeling arises all the more readily if B feels that A has not been as assiduous as he should have been. Then a stringent contract is entered upon, the nonperformance of which will render A liable to interest or to a fine, as may be stipulated.

In cases where serious consequences might result from a failure to fulfill a contract, it is customary for the contractor and often for the other party to make a number of knots on a strip of rattan, each knot signifying a day of the time to elapse before payment, or representing one article of the goods to be paid for, or one item of the goods to be delivered.

All more important contracts are made in the presence of witnesses, and the time and the number of articles to be delivered are counted out on the floor with grains of corn or with little pieces of wood, or are indicated by counting a corresponding number of the slats of the floor.

THE LAW OF DEBT

The law of debt in Manóboland is so rigid that failure to comply with it has given rise to many a bloody feud. All commercial transactions are conducted on a credit basis. An individual whom we will call A needs a pig, for instance, and starts out on a quest to secure one. He visits one of his acquaintances and informally brings up the subject, remarking, for example, that he would like to buy a certain pig that is in the settlement. He may not be able to make the purchase until he has tried several settlements, for it may happen that the owner of each pig may want in exchange objects that A does not have and is unable to get. Thus B, the owner of a pig in the first settlement, wants in payment a Mandáya lance of a certain length, breadth, and make. Now A knows of no one from whom he can procure such a lance, so he has to go on to the settlement of C who in exchange for his pig wants five pieces of Mandáya cloth. A is afraid to take the pig on such terms because the Ihawán Manóbos are in arms on account of a recent killing, and as the trade route for Mandáya cloth passes through the territory of the Ihawán Manóbos he sees no possibility of fulfilling a contract to deliver the cloth. So off he goes to the settlement of D where he finds a pig for which the owner demands four yards of blue cloth, two of red, and two of black, together with a specified quantity of salt. A thinks that it will be easy for him to run over to some Christian settlement and get those articles in time to pay D, so he clinches the bargain by putting a series of knots in a strip of rattan to represent the number of days to expire before the date of payment. This he delivers to D and the contract is sealed. He then returns to his settlement with his pig, and turns it over to some one else perhaps, to whom he owes a pig, or, if it was intended for a sacrifice, to the family priest or priestess. In due time it is disposed of with much satisfaction to the gods and to the inner man. As the day for payment approaches, A must take measures to get the salt and the cloth for D, so he hastens to the settlement of E, if sickness in the family, or heavy rains, or some other obstacle does not prevent him, but finds that E requires a Mandáya bolo for the articles needed and as A has no such object and sees no immediate prospect of obtaining it, he goes on to F's. F demands a certain amount of beeswax and a Mandáya dagger in exchange for the cloth and the salt and as A feels that he can procure these articles, he closes the bargain, promising to deliver the goods within so many days or weeks.

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[4] *Ba-li-bad.*

A now owes D cloth and salt, payable within 14 days, let us suppose. He is also under contract to F to furnish him a dagger and a specified amount of beeswax, also on a specified date. Upon the approach of the time agreed upon A runs over to F's only to find that F had been unable to get the cloth and the salt, either because no Bisáya trader has been up to the Christianized settlement on the river, or because of heavy rains or for some other reason. The result is that A returns to his settlement without the cloth and the salt. Upon his arrival at D's or upon D's arrival at his settlement, as the case may be, he excuses himself to D, setting forth in detail the reason for his failure. He treats D as best he can, and fixes another date for the delivery of the salt and the cloth, the same to be delivered at D's settlement. D returns to his home without the salt and the cloth and awaits the delivery.

Now it may happen that, through the fault of A or through the fault of F or through unforeseen circumstances, A is unable to keep his agreement. D has made many useless trips to collect from A. It is true that D has been feasted by A upon every visit but the long delay, and possibly his debt of salt to someone else, is gradually provoking him. So one day he speaks somewhat strongly to A, setting a definite term for the payment. If A is unable to meet his obligations after this ultimatum, or if D suspects or has proof that A is playing a game, matters become strained and D has recourse to one of three methods: (1) Collection by armed intimidation; (2) the *tawágan* or seizure; (3) war raid.

The last two methods have been sufficiently explained in Chapter XVIII but the first needs a little explanation.

After all attempts to collect by peaceable means have failed, the creditor assembles his male relatives and friends and proceeds to the house of the debtor with all the accoutrements of war. It is customary to bring along a neutral chief or two from other clans. Upon arriving at the debtor's house no hostile demonstrations are made. The creditor and his party enter as if their object were an ordinary visit. Should, however, the debtor have abandoned his house, this part of the affair would be at an end, for the creditor would be justified in adopting the second method (i. e., the seizing of any object, human of other that he might see), or the third method.

Should his debtor, however, be present, the creditor and his companions are regaled with betel nut and food and the meeting is perfectly goodnatured. But gradually the subject of the debt is introduced and then begins the pandemonium. If the chiefs who have accompanied tho creditor's party have enough moral influence to bring about an agreement, the matter is settled, but if not, the visiting party may depart suddenly with yells of menace and defiance, and very frequently may have recourse to the seizure method, taking on their way home any object that they may encounter such as a pig, or even a human being. Hence as soon as it becomes known that no settlement has been made bamboo joints [5] are blown—the invariable signal in Manóboland of danger—and everybody goes into armed vigilance. Children and women are not allowed to leave the house, and pigs are frequently taken from below and put up in the house until the enraged creditor and his party have gone.

I was in one place where such a state of things existed. My merchandise was taken by my host from under the house and carefully hidden upstairs. I wished to go to meet the collecting party but no one would volunteer to accompany me.

If an agreement to pay has been brought about, the debtor has to make the settlement before the departure of his creditor, even though it may require several days to complete the payment. In this latter case the sustenance of the visiting party and all their needs fall, by custom, upon the poor debtor.

Such is the customary method of collecting debts when all peaceable efforts have been unavailing. To understand the principle involved in it, as also the circumstances that bring it about, it is necessary to bear in mind that once the creditor becomes disgusted with the delay of his debtor in settling the account, he announces his intention to add to the indebtedness a financial equivalent of all fatigues [6] and expenses to be subsequently incurred in the collection of the debt. These fatigues not only include the actual trips made both by himself and such messengers as he may send to collect the debt, but such incidental losses, sicknesses, or accidents as may be the outcome of such trips.

Another principle recognized in this matter is the liability into which the debtor may fall for such losses as the creditor may undergo through his failure to fulfill his obligations to a third person. Thus A owes B a pig, and B owes C, who in his turn must pay a lance to D at a certain time. On account of C's failure to deliver the lance in due time to D, he is, according to a previous contract, mulcted to the equivalent of 15 pesos. Had C been able to purchase a lance with the pig that B owed him he would, by customary law, be justified in putting the fine of 15 pesos to B's account. B attributes his failure to A's delay and on the same grounds, adds 15 pesos to the latter's indebtedness.

It is clear that the principle of liability involved in this system gives rise to an infinity of disputes that may lead to bloodshed whenever the matter can not be arbitrated by the more influential men and chiefs in a public assembly. The debt after a certain time increases beyond reasonable proportions until it finally becomes so great as to be beyond the debtor's means. Notwithstanding the sacredness with which the average Manóbo regards his debts, it happens occasionally that a little bad feeling springs up which, in the course of time may lead to serious consequences. It will be readily understood how easy it is for one party to take umbrage at the words or actions of another and to become obstinate. Happily, however, this does not happen frequently, on account of the salutary fear inspired by the lance and the bolo, and the urgent endeavors of the chiefs and the more influential men to settle matters amicably. I am surprised that disputes and bloodshed arising from the great credit system do not occur more frequently among such primitive people.

Though in practice the relatives of a debtor assist him to settle his obligations, especially when he is hard pressed by his creditor, yet in theory there is no joint obligation to pay the debt. Neither do they, as a rule, assume a collective responsibility for it.

Between relatives, as between others, the law regarding the payment of a debt is strenuously maintained, though I know of no case between near relatives in which it led to more than family bickerings. A very careful account of the indebtedness of one relative to another is sedulously kept.

INTEREST, LOANS, AND PLEDGES

INTEREST

No interest is charged unless an express contract is made to that effect. In the case of a loan of paddy, however, even if no formal contract has been made, twice as much must be returned as was borrowed. Express contracts that call for interest are rather rare, as far as my observation goes, and when such contracts are made they are usually of a usurious nature, due, as I have noticed on several occasions, not so much to the desire for material gain, as to that of satisfying an old grudge against the borrower. In settlements that have had experience with the usurious methods of Christian natives, one finds here and there an individual who tries to follow the example set him by people that he looks up to. This practice is universally discountenanced, and, though it is submitted to under necessity in commercial dealings with Bisáyas, it gives rise to no inconsiderable ill feeling, a fact that explains, to my mind, the difficulties that Bisáyas experience in collecting from Christianized Manóbos, as also the killing of many a Bisáya in pre-American days. During my trading tour of 1908 there was universal complaint made to me by Manóbos of the upper Agúsan, upper Umaíam, and upper Argáwan Rivers against the system of usury employed by Bisáya traders, and many a time I heard this remark made concerning certain individuals: "We would kill him if we were not afraid of the Americans."

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[5] *Tam-bú-li.*

[6] *Ka-há-go.*

LOANS AND PLEDGES

With the exception of articles borrowed on condition that they are to be returned, loans are very rare in Manóboland. The most usual loan is that of paddy. Articles borrowed must be returned in as good a condition as that in which they were received.

I know of no leases among non-Christian Manóbos. Land is too plentiful to lease; other property is either sold or borrowed.

I have never known a material pledge to be given, but the custom of going bond seems to be very generally understood though not much practiced, as such a custom insinuates a distrust that does not seem to be pleasing to the Manóbo. A notable feature of the practice is the principle that the *bondsman becomes the payer.* I am inclined to think that this principle was taught to their mountain compeers by Bisáya and Christianized Manóbos who found in it a convenient expedient whereby to make the collection of debts easier and sure. On the strength of it, a chief or a more well-to-do member of the tribe becomes responsible for the debt of one whose surety he became.

LAWS OF LIABILITY

LIABILITY ARISING FROM NATURAL CAUSES

The liability here referred to is the general responsibility that a person acquires for consequences that are imputed to an act of his, whether voluntary or involuntary. Instances of this strange law arise on many occasions in Manóboland. The reader is referred to the case of the loss of the beads, the attempt to collect from me for the natural death of one of my carriers, for the death of a child that I had frightened, and other instances mentioned previously, all of which show the idea of responsibility for consequences following an act. A few more instances will make the principle involved clearer. On the upper Agúsan, a Manóbo of Nábuk River went over to Moncáyo to collect a debt. According to custom he carried his shield and spear. Now it happened that there were two women walking along the river bank, one of whom was the wife of an enemy of this Nábuk warrior. Upon seeing him she became frightened, fell into the river, and was drowned. The result of this was that the Nábuk man was condemned to pay a slave or its equivalent. As a near relative of his enemy owed him "thirty" (₱30) he transferred the fine to him but the transference was not accepted on the ground that the Nábuk man ought to pay his fine first. A few days' discussion of the matter resulted in the departure of the Nábuk man, who upon his arrival in a near settlement killed, in his rage, one of his slaves. The outcome of the whole affair was a feud between Moncáyo and Nábuk.

LIABILITY ARISING FROM RELIGIOUS CAUSES

The violation of the numerous taboos is believed to bring about evil consequences that are chargeable to the account of the infringer. For example, a man in Búai was charged 30 pesos for the breaking of a certain birth taboo, a violation which was supposed to have been responsible for the stillbirth of a child. I was warned on many occasions to desist from making disrespectful remarks about animals, such as monkeys or frogs, because, if Anítan were to hurl her thunderbolts at one of my companions and harm were to befall him I would be fined or killed. I would undergo a similar punishment, I was told on other occasions, for using such tabooed words as crocodile and salt; it was believed that a storm would be the result of the use of these words. On one occasion I thought it prudent to give a carrier of mine a piece of rubber cloth wherewith to cover his salt, for he had threatened to collect from me if it became wet from the storm that was impending, and which all my companions imputed to my deliberate use of the names of certain fish not native to their mountain water.

LIABILITY ARISING FROM MAGIC CAUSES

Another pregnant source of fines and of sanguinary feuds is the belief in the possession, by certain individuals, of magic power to do harm. No one that I know of or have heard of, except a few fearless warrior chiefs, has made open avowal of the possession of such power and yet on many occasions I have heard of the supposed possession of it by various individuals. To give an instance, a Manóbo on the upper Agúsan had the reputation of having secret poisons. One day another Manóbo and his wife visited him. With the exception of a trifling altercation about a debt, everything went well. On her return home the woman was suddenly taken sick and died. Her death was ascribed to the magic power of the person recently visited and the outcome was that the party with the bad reputation had to build a tree house, one of the few that I have seen, and surround his settlement with an abatis of brush and of sharp spikes, all in anticipation of an attack by the deceased woman's husband.

It was the rule rather than the exception that I, myself, had the same reputation applied to me. Upon arrival in heretofore unvisited regions I was fcquently informed that they had heard of my wonderful power of killing. On many occasions it was only by assuming a bold front and by vowing vengeance on my traducers that I freed myself from the imputation. In such cases I always asked for the name of the slanderer, and, upon learning it, announced my intention of seeking him without delay, for the purpose of clearing myself from the imputation and of demanding satisfaction from him.

THE SYSTEM OF FINES

It is not intended here to consider the system of fines as penalties for voluntary wrongdoings but only as punishments for certain little acts of forgetfulness or of omission that might be construed as conscious acts of disrespect. The system is a very strange one and, to our way of thinking, very harsh, productive sometimes of bad feeling and even of more serious results.

Instances that have passed under my personal observation will illustrate the system. Thus, on one occasion an acquaintance of mine left the house without making his intention known to those present. While he was under the house, one of the guests happened to spit through the floor upon the clothes of the man underneath. Upon his return he identified the guilty one both by his position in the house, and by the quality of the chewing material he was using. The case was discussed at length and it was decided that for carelessness the guilty one should make material reparation in the form of a chicken and some drink.

Again, the dog of a certain individual on the upper Agúsan was guilty of soiling the clothes of a person that happened to be working under the house. As the owner of the sick dog (it had been mangled by a wild boar) had been previously warned of the possibility of something untoward happening, he was fined and was condemned to make further reparation in the form of a convivial meeting in order to remove the ill feeling.

Instances of fines that were imposed on me will illustrate the principle involved. Upon my arrival in new regions I was almost invariably called upon to pay a certain amount, on the ground that I had had no permission to enter the settlement, or that the local deities had been displeased at my visit, or that I was a spy, or for some other reason. The refusal to pay was always accepted after lengthy explanations and after the distribution of a few trifling gifts to the more vehement members of the settlement, but in one case arms were drawn and I had to take my stand with back to the wall and await developments.

Other instances in which unintentional disrespect toward the person or property of anyone was displayed might be adduced to profusion. It will suffice to say, however, that such acts as the following, even when unintentional, lay the agent under a liability, the commercial value of which must be determined by the circumstances and very frequently by formal arbitration: Spitting upon, or otherwise soiling another; rudely seizing the person of another; unbecoming treatment of another's property, especially of his clothes, as when, for instance, one steps upon another's shirt; opening another's betel-nut knapsack or other concealed property; borrowing things without formal announcement and due permission; going into certain places interdicted by the owner, as bathing, for instance, in that part of a river which the owner has forbidden the use of,[7] or visiting his rice granary; and using disrespectful language, even in joke, about another, as, for instance, speaking of one as an insect, a Mañgguáñgan.[8]

These interdictions are necessary among the Manóbos in order that in their social dealings with one another proper deference may be shown toward their person and property. For were a mere "pardon me" a sufficient reparation for an act, however unintentional, advantage might be taken of it to inflict a thousand and one little incivilities that would serve to arouse the relentless spirit of revenge that centuries of feuds have instilled into the Manóbo character.

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[7] Due, presumably, to the fact that the place, usually a deep pool, is the abode of a water wraith.

[8] This is a term of reproach when applied to a Manóbo.

CHAPTER XX

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION: CUSTOMS REGULATING DOMESTIC RELATIONS AND FAMILY PROPERTY; PROCEDURE FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF JUSTICE

FAMILY PROPERTY

The property of a Manóbo family is so scanty that the rules governing it have never developed beyond a primitive stage. The house belongs collectively to the father and to such of his sons-in-law and brothers-in-law as may have constructed it. The structure represents little value to the owner except that of the rough-hewn boards which may be transported to another place. The reason that such cheap houses are built is that they may be abandoned without much loss at any moment that a death, or even a suspicion of danger, arising from religious or from natural reasons, may dictate.

The movable property in the house belongs to the individuals who have made, purchased, or in any other lawful way acquired it. In this respect it is to be noted that each married couple provides itself with household utensils and such other things as may be necessary. These things do not become the property of the head of the family, but remain the individual property of the person who brings them.

It must be noted, too, that women, children, and slaves have theoretically no right to ownership. It is true that women are allowed to dispose of the products of their labor like rice and cloth, but usually, if not always, the consent of their husbands or of their husbands' nearest male relatives is first secured if the article is of much value. Frequently a consultation is held with the head of the whole household.

RULES OF INHERITANCE

When a man dies and leaves no near relatives that are of sufficient age to manage the inheritance, the elder brother-in-law inherits the property. The deceased brother's wife is a part of this property. When the father dies, the son is the heir, and, if of sufficient age and capabilities, takes the place of his father. But should he be deemed incompetent by his near male relatives, his paternal uncle, or, if he has none, a brother-in-law, becomes the manager of the household. Any property which may be of value is thus retained within the line of male descent. This is in accordance with the principles of the patriarchate system which prevails in Manóboland.

The eldest son inherits his father's debts, but the administrator (if in such unpretentious matters we may use so pretentious a word) pays the debts collecting in turn from the son unless he be a near kinsman of the deceased father. About matters of inheritance I have never even heard of a dispute. The valuable property may consist of only a lance and a bolo, or a dagger, and a few jars. The best suit of clothes together with personal adornments, such as necklaces, are carried with the deceased to his last resting place so that there is little left to quarrel over. With the exception of the few heirlooms, if there be any, consisting of a jar and some few other things, the greatest fear is entertained of articles that belonged to the departed one. This fear is due to the peculiar belief in the subtle, wayward feeling of the departed toward the living.

RULES GOVERNING THE RELATIONS OF THE SEXES

MORAL OFFENSES

In the chapter on marriage the general principles governing the relations of the sexes is set forth. The relations both antenuptial and postnuptial are of the most stringent character.

As a Manóbo once told me, sexual morality is bound up with religion and the greater violations of it are sometimes punished by the divinities.

Such lighter offenses, as gazing at the person of a woman while she is bathing, or on any other occasion when her person is exposed, are punished with appropriate fines. Improper suggestions and unseemly jokes undergo the same fate. It is a very common report among Bisáyas that to touch a Manóbo woman's heel is an exceptionally serious offense against Manóbo law. I never heard of any such regulation among Manóbos, although it may exist. To touch any other part of her person, however, is an offense punishable by a good-sized fine.

Death is the consequence of adultery, fornication, and seduction, except in very exceptional cases where the influence of the guilty one's relatives may save him. But it is certain that in these cases the fine is very heavy. I believe that it is never less than the equivalent of three slaves.

All reports, both Bisáya and Manóbo, state that when fornication has been attempted or accomplished the woman herself may make known the offense to her parents and relatives.

The law is even more rigid in the matter of adultery. While I was on the upper Agúsan River a case of adultery committed by a Christianized man and woman was discovered. The death of the man had been decided upon, and that of the woman was being mooted. I succeeded in having the death sentence commuted to a heavy fine of three slaves.

It is the common report in Manóboland that, when a woman makes known the act of her lover, the latter does not deny it. Not only under such circumstances, but in nearly all other instances when *brought face to face with the truth* a Manóbo will confess, sometimes even though there be no witness against him. Such is my observation of dealings *between Manóbo and Manóbo*. In his relations with outsiders, however, the Manóbo is not so veracious; on the contrary, he displays no little art in suppressing or in twisting the truth.

MARRIAGE CONTRACTS AND PAYMENTS

In the chapter on marital relations it was made manifest that marriage is practically a sale in which a certain amount of the marriage price is returned to the bridegroom. This rule is very stringent. Should the marriage negotiations discontinue without any fault of the man or of his relatives all payments previously made have to be returned, item for item. In this respect it is to be noted that marriage contracts are almost relentlessly rigid, a fact that suggests an explanation of the length of the period that is usually required to terminate the negotiations. For it is only by many acts of attention and even of subservience that the suitor's relatives break down the obdurateness of the fiancé's relatives and make them relax the severity of their original demands. Very minute and strict accounts of the various payments, including such small donations as a few liters of rice, are recorded on a knotted rattan strip in anticipation of a final disagreement.

When it is decided that the marriage is not to take place by reason of the death of one of the affianced parties, the father and relatives of the fiancé must return all the purchase payments which may have been made. Custom provides that these payments shall be returned gradually, the idea being, presumably, to allow the fiancé's relatives an opportunity to profit by the donations of a new suitor, if one should present himself within a stipulated period. It will be readily understood that the nature of the debts incurred by an obligation to return marriage payments determines the character of the payments that will be exacted from a new suitor. Thus, if A's relatives, for good reasons, decide not to continue their suit for the hand of B's daughter, B would be granted a specified time in which to await the presentation of a new suitor for his daughter's hand. This new suitor would be required to bring a lance, for example, and other objects that would serve as first and more urgent payments to A.

In the case of fornication committed by a man with his fiancé, death may be the penalty if the girl's father desires to have the marriage broken off, but I was given to understand that such a heavy penalty is rarely inflicted, the girl's father contenting himself with imposing a heavy fine.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

In all my wandering among the Manóbos, I never knew nor heard of an illegitimate child, so can not say what regulations govern, if such births occur. In Mandáyaland the father of an illegitimate child is obliged to marry the girl and to enter his father-in-law's family in a state of semiservitude. The marriage takes place before the birth of the child.

I was told by Mandáyas that illegitimate children belong to the nearest male relative of the mother, that in case of her marriage they still belong to her relative, and that they are treated in all other respects as legitimate children.

EXTENT OF AUTHORITY OF FATHER AND HUSBAND

The laws governing family relations are very simple. The father has theoretically absolute power of life and death over his wife, children, and slaves. In practice, however, this power is seldom used to its full extent. An arbitrary exercise of domestic authority over his wife and children would arouse the antagonism of her relatives and lead to a rupture of friendly relations. Hence, in family dealings there are displayed on one side paternal affection and leniency and on the other filial devotion and a sense of duty, so much so that the members of the family live in peace and happiness with seldom a domestic grievance.

The wife, of course, is the absolute property of her husband, but is rarely, if ever, sold. I know of only one wife who was sold and she was a Bisáya woman married to a recently Christianized Manóbo.

It is not in accord with Manóbo custom for a man to have two or more wives unless the first wife consents to the later marriages, and, if she does consent, she must always be considered the man's favorite and must be allowed to have a kind of motherly jurisdiction over the other wives. In all cases that have come under my observation, this rule was followed among Manóbos but not among Mandáyas. The latter frequently seem more attached to their second, third, or fourth wives, but do not separate the first wife either from bed or board. As a result of the necessity of the first wife's consent to a second marriage, bigamy is comparatively rare.

RESIDENCE OF THE HUSBAND

The man is always expected to take up his residence in his wife's family and he nearly always does so. In fact, such is the implied and frequently the explicit contract made between his relatives and those of the girl. But after a few years, if not sooner, he usually takes his wife back to his own clan, leaving his father-in-law or other male relative of his wife some gift in the shape of a pig or other payment. In such a case it seems to be the custom for the father-in-law to acquiesce.

CRIMES AND THEIR PENALTIES

CRIMES

It must be laid down as a general principle that in Manóboland it is considered proper and obligatory to seek redress for all wrongs (except a few serious ones) by an appeal to the relatives of the wrongdoer, either directly by a formal meeting or indirectly through the mediation of a third party. The first exceptions to this rule are cases of *adultery, fornication, rape, and homicide* when the murderer, wantonly, and without an attempt to arbitrate, kills a fellow man. The great law of vengeance presupposes in nearly every case a recourse to arbitration, and not a hasty, unannounced, deliberate killing.

The one who orders the death of another or in any other way deliberately causes it is the one on whom vengeance must be taken. Thus, if A pays a neutral warrior chief to kill his opponent, the responsibility for the death will be laid, not on the warrior who did the killing (unless he had personal motives for committing the murder) but on the one who ordered the death. The warrior was paid and accordingly bears no responsibility. He may be paid again by the relatives of the slain to do a similar act to their enemies. Thus it is, that in Manóboland, it is very necessary to be on such terms of friendship with the members of the warrior class that they will not be inclined to undertake for payment the task of taking vengeance for another.

Killing for public policy is a recognized institution, but such executions very seldom take place. On the upper Tágo River word was sent to me that my guide would be killed if he led me into a certain remote region at the headwaters of that river. It was reported on all sides that the principal chiefs of the region had assembled before my departure and had decided upon his death. For some reason, probably fear, the sentence was not carried into effect.

It was reported to me that in time of an epidemic it is permitted to kill anyone who dares to break the quarantine.

Involuntary killing when it is manifest that it was a pure accident can be compounded.

THE PRIVATE SEIZURE

By the *tawágan* system a Manóbo is permitted to kill or seize anything or anybody that he may decide upon, *provided that he has made every endeavor to settle the dispute by amicable means.* Having failed to adjust the matter without bloodshed, he may avenge himself, first and above all, on the guilty party. I will not make a positive statement to the effect that he must announce his intention to make use of the right accorded him by the *tawágan* custom, but I am of opinion that this must be done, for in every instance that came under my observation it had been generally known beforehand that the aggrieved party would make a seizure within a specified time. I know that on one occasion I had to exact a promise from a man that he would not lay hands on merchandise of mine that was deposited under a house in the vicinity of his settlement. He had made public announcement that he would make a seizure, even though it should be that of my merchandise.

The aggrieved party in making use of his right must, if possible, inflict damage, even death, upon the debtor or other wrongdoer or on some of his relatives, but should this prove impracticable he is at liberty to select anyone. If he kills a neutral party, he must compound with the relatives of the slain one for the death inflicted and enter with them into a solemn promise to act jointly against the offending party. In the case of seizure, he can not dispose of the object seized until the owner be consulted. It is customary for the two to enter a compact by which they bind themselves to take joint action against the offender, advantageous terms being guaranteed to the new colleague. The man whose property is thus seized is very often one who has had an old-time grudge against the original offender or debtor.

PENALTIES FOR MINOR OFFENSES

Minor offenses such as stealing, slandering, failure to pay debts, deception *that causes material damage to another,* loss or damage to another's property, the lesser violations of sexual propriety, disrespect to another's property, etc., are punishable by fines that must be determined by the assembled relatives of the two parties. I have never been able to find the least trace of any definite system of fines. In the determination of them for the more serious of offenses (adultery, wanton killing, etc.), the equivalent of a human life, 15 or 30 pesos, is the basis of the calculation. In the case of minor offenses, however, lesser quantities are determined upon after a lengthy discussion of the subject by the respective relatives of the parties involved.

CUSTOMARY PROCEDURE

PRELIMINARIES TO ARBITRATION

The aggrieved party, upon hearing of the offense and after making many futile efforts to come to an agreement, consults with his relatives, when, after being assured of their cooperation he begins to issue threats, all of which reach the ear of his opponent. At first the latter probably is not disturbed by these, but, as they begin to pour in from all sources, he makes up his mind either to face his opponent in person, if the affair has not gone too far, or to look around for a friendly chief or other person of influence and sagacity to mediate. All this time new rumors of his enemy's anger and determination to appeal to arms reach him, but he must not display cowardice, neither must his opponent openly seek arbitration, for such an action would bespeak fear on both sides. So, on the part of the aggrieved one, there is menace, revenge, and a pretense at least not to be amenable to peaceable measures. On the part of the other, there must be no display of fear, no hurry to arbitrate, and a general indifference, at least simulated, as to the outcome. If the offending party answers threat by threat, his opponent may become incensed and hostilities may break out, as happens in other parts of the world.

In the meantime neighboring chiefs and influential people are throwing the weight of their opinions in favor of peace and if they prevail one or more of them are requested to assist in the final settlement, definite emolument sometimes being promised, especially when either of the contending parties is very anxious to have the matter settled.

It is the duty now of the mediating chiefs or other persons to bring the parties together. This they do either by inviting the contestants to a neutral house or by persuading one of them to invite the other to his house.

It may happen that the aggrieved party, instead of following this procedure, precipitates a settlement by sending a fighting bolo or a dagger or a lance to his opponent. This is an ultimatum. If the weapon is retained it means hostilities. If it is returned, it denotes a willingness to submit the matter to arbitration. But the one who receives the weapon probably will not return it at once as he desires to disguise, in the presence of his opponent's emissary, the bearer of the ultimatum, any eagerness he may feel for arbitration. Once having decided that he will submit the matter to arbitration or that he will yield, he announces to the messenger that he will visit his opponent within a specified period and talk matters over and that he is willing to have the affair settled but that his relatives are unwilling. If a bolo or other such object has been sent to him he returns it, for to retain it would signify his unwillingness to submit and his readiness to take the consequences.

A few days before the appointed time he orders drink to be made and he may go out on a big fishing expedition. He procures also a pig or two. With these, and accompanied by a host of male relatives, he sets out for the house that has been agreed upon. The pigs and drink and other things are deposited in a convenient place near the house, for it would be impolitic to display such proofs of his willingness to yield.

This is the procedure followed in more serious cases. Cases of lesser importance, which occur with great frequency, are settled almost informally in the following manner:

When the subject under dispute is not of such a serious nature, either in itself or by reason of aggravating circumstances, like quarrels or violent language that may have preceded it, the ordinary method of settling the trouble consists in a good meal given by one party to the other. Toward the end of the repast, when all present are feeling convivial from the effects of the drink, the question at issue, usually a debt, is taken up and discussed by the parties concerned and their respective relatives. It happens often that the matter is put off to another time, and thus it may require several semifriendly meetings to settle it. On the whole, however, the proceedings are terminated amicably, although I have seen a few very animated scenes at such times. On one occasion a member of the party, accompanied by his relatives, rushed down the pole and seizing his lance and shield challenged his adversary to single combat. The challenge was not accepted, so he and his party marched away vowing vengeance. I have seen bolos or daggers drawn on many occasions but the relatives and others always intervened to prevent bloodshed. It is to be noted that such violent actions are due often to the influence of drink but do not take place more frequently than drunken brawls do in other parts of the world.

When the case in question is of such an involved and serious character as to make it dangerous for the accused one to enter the house, he remains hidden till he ascertains how his relatives and friends are progressing. In other cases he personally attends and may argue in his own defense.[1]

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[1] There is a very formal peace-making procedure followed by the Manóbos who have been in contact with the Banuáons of Maásam River, but I never witnessed it, so I can not give any first-hand information as to the details. In the chapter on war will be found such details as have been given to me by trustworthy Bisáyas of Talakógon.

GENERAL FEATURES OF A GREATER ARBITRATION

The general features of the procedure are the following: The policy of the aggrieved one and of his party is to maintain a loud, menacing attitude, and to insist on a fine three or four hundred times larger than they expect to be paid. The accused and his relatives keep up a firm attitude, not so firm, however, as to incense unduly their opponents, and from the beginning make an offer of a paltry sum in payment.

Although everybody at times may break into the discussion, or all may yell at the same time, the ordinary procedure is to allow each one to speak singly and to finish what he has to say. The others listen and assent by such expressions as correspond to our "yes indeed," "true," etc., whether they are in accord with the speaker's opinions or not. These lengthy talks are, at least to an outsider, most wearisome, given, as they are, in a dreary monotone, but they explain the inordinate length of arbitrations that may last for several days.

The whole party is squatted on the floor and makes use of grains of corn, of pieces of wood or leaf, of the bamboo slats of the floor, of their fingers and toes or of anything convenient, to aid them in the enumeration of the objects of which they treat. Everybody is armed, probably with his hand on his weapon, and his eyes alert. In very serious cases women and children may not be present. This, of course, is an indication of possible bloodshed and is a very rare occurrence.

The chiefs or other influential men who have been selected to aid each side in the settlement take a conspicuous part in the proceedings and help to influence the parties concerned to come to an understanding, but it can not be said that their word is paramount. The contestants' own relatives have more weight than anyone else. The procedure at a Manóbo arbitration may be likened to that of a jury when in retirement. Point after point is discussed, similitudes and allegories are brought up by each speaker until, after wearisome hours or days, the opinion of each side has been molded sufficiently to bring them into agreement. In one respect it differs from the jury method in that loud shouts and threats are made use of occasionally, proceeding either from natural vehemènce or from a deliberate intention on one side to intimidate the other.

It is not good form for the defendant to yield readily. On the contrary, it is in accordance with Manóbo custom and character to yield with reluctance, feigned if not real. When a small pig is really considered a sufficient payment, a large one is demanded. When the pig is received and is really in conformity with the contract, defects are found in it—it is lean or sick or short or light in weight—in a word, it is depreciated in one way or another. The giver, on the contrary, exaggerates its value, descants on its size, length, form, and weight, tells of the exorbitant price he paid for it, reminds the receiver of the difficulty of procuring pigs at this season, and in general manifests his reluctance to part with it.

It must not be supposed that such actions and statements are believed at once. On the contrary, it is only after lengthy talks on each side that opinions are formed, an agreement entered into, a contract is drawn up, or reparation made. It is the identical case of stubborn jurymen.

In the settlement of these disputes much depends upon the glibness of tongue and on the sagacity of one or more of the principal men. For were it not for their skill in understanding the intricacies of the subject and in sidetracking irrelevant claims the disputes would be impossible of satisfactory arrangement. This will be understood more readily if it is borne in mind that outside of the reasonable facts of the case, counterclaims are made by the debtor or the accused party. These claims are sometimes of an extraordinary nature and date back to the time of his grandfather or other distant relative. Thus he may say that his opponent's great uncle owed his grandfather a human life and that this blood debt has never been paid nor revenge obtained. Such an affirmation as this will be corroborated by his relatives and they may immediately break out into menaces of vengeance. Again, he may aver that his opponent was reputed to have had a charm by which death might be caused, and that his son had died as a result of this use of evil magic powers. Whereupon the other vigorously repudiates the imputation and demands a slave in payment of the slander. It is only the popularity of the chief men, their reputation for fair dealing, their sagacity, and perhaps their relationship with the respective contestants that dispose of such side issues and bring about an amicable and satisfactory settlement.

It is customary for the one who loses to regale the assembly with a good meal. In Manóboland this latter is the great solace for all ills and the source of all friendship. So, when the question under dispute has been settled, the one who lost sends out and gets the pig and drink that have been brought for that purpose. When prepared, the food is set out on the floor, the guests are distributed in due order, and then begins one of those meals that must be witnessed in order to be understood. One feature of this feast is that the two former adversaries are seated together and vie with each other in reciprocating food and drink. As they warm up under the influence of the liquor they load large masses of food into each other's mouths, each with an arm around the other's neck.

Upon the following day, or perhaps that same day, the winner of the case reciprocates with another banquet. When that is finished, the other party may give another banquet and so they may continue, if their means permit, for many days. I assisted at one peacemaking in which the banqueting lasted for 10 successive days.

DETERMINATION OF GUILT

BY WITNESSES

The usual and natural method of determining the guilt of the accused is through the instrumentality of witnesses. They are questioned and requestioned at great length even if the defendant be not present. There seems to be no necessity for this procedure, for the defendant admits his guilt when brought face to face with the plaintiff or with the witnesses. The testimony of children is not only admissible but is considered conclusive. That of a woman testifying against a man for improper suggestions and acts is considered sufficient to convict him.

False testimony in the presence of witnesses and relatives is almost unheard of. I suppose that this marvel is to be attributed to the fear of the dire retribution that would infallibly overtake the false witness.

BY OATHS

Ordinarily no oath is administered nor any other formal means adopted to make certain that the accused or the witnesses will tell the truth, but there is a practice which is sometimes followed whenever the veracity of anyone is doubted. This is called *tó-tung* or burning of the wax, a ceremony that may be used not only with witnesses but with anyone from whom it is desired to force the truth. I have used it very successfully on numerous occasions in getting information about trails. The ceremony consists in burning a piece of beeswax in the presence of the party to be questioned. This signifies that if he does not answer truthfully his body by some process of sympathetic magic, will be burned in a similar manner. After making his statement and while the wax is being burned, he expresses the desire that his body may burn and be melted like the wax if his statement is untrue. This is another example of the pervading belief in sympathetic magic.

BY THE TESTIMONY OF THE ACCUSED

In the various instances that have come under my observation, the guilty one, as a rule, vigorously denied his guilt until confronted in public assembly by his accusers, so that I judge that custom does not require him to make a self-accusation until that time. But when duly confronted with witnesses, he nearly always admits his guilt.

For if the defendant should deny his guilt and if there were no evidence against him other than suspicion, the injured party would be justified in inflicting injury on anyone else, according to the principles of the private-seizure system. If it should later be discovered that the defendant was the original offender, the innocent parties who were the victims of this seizure would ultimately take terrible vengeance on him. I was informed by the Debabáons that a false denial of one's guilt before the assembled arbiters and relatives is especially displeasing to the deities. I failed to get information on this point from Manóbos, but it would be fairly reasonable to conclude that their belief in the matter is identical with that of the Debabáons.

Should the accused one deny his guilt and should circumstantial evidence point to him as the guilty one, the wax-burning ceremony above described would be performed. If he should still maintain that he was innocent, various methods for the determination of his guilt would be resorted to.

BY ORDEALS

The tests made to determine the innocence or guilt of a person are threefold: (1) the hot-water ordeal, (2) the diving ordeal, and (3) the candle ordeal.

The hot-water ordeal.[2]—A brass anklet, armlet, or similar metal object is put into boiling water in one of the iron pans so common throughout the Agúsan Valley. The suspected party, or parties, is then called upon to insert a hand into the water and to remove the object that has been placed at the bottom of the shallow pan. Although I have heard many threats of an appeal to this test, I never saw the actual operation of it, but I have been assured repeatedly by those who claimed to have seen the performance that the hand of the guilty one gets badly scalded, while that of an innocent one remains uninjured. The belief in the truth of this test is so strong, that, at times when the ordeal was threatened, I have heard many express not only their willingness but their eagerness to undergo it.

I have made numerous and very definite inquires in different localities and from members of different tribes as to the reason for the value of the ordeal as a test and as to whether or not it might be explained by the agency of supernatural beings, but in reply always received the answer that no reason could be given except that it had always been so and that religion had no connection with it.

The diving ordeal.[3]—I never witnessed the actual operation of this ordeal except in play, but the belief in its efficacy is strong and widespread. The operation consists in a trial between the parties under suspicion as to the length of time they can remain under water. Two at a time undergo the test. The one that retains his head under water longer is declared innocent for the time being, but has to undergo the test with each one of the suspected parties. This method seems impossible as a final proof, but such is the procedure as described to me on the upper Tágo River.

Another and more common method is a simultaneous trial by all the accused. At a given signal they submerge their heads. The one that first raises his from the water is declared guilty. I was told by one party that the respective relatives of the accused ones stand by and hold them down by main force. This statement was corroborated by all those present at the time, but, as neither my informant nor anyone else could explain what it would be necessary to do in case of asphyxiation, I do not give credence to the story.

On numerous occasions I made diving tests in sport with Manóbos and found that I could retain my breath longer than they could. They assured me, nevertheless, that if the test were made as an ordeal and if I were the guilty party, I would infallibly lose.

The candle ordeal.—Among the Christianized Manóbos of the lake region I found the belief in the efficacy of the candle ordeal for determining the guilt of one of the suspected parties. Candles of the same size are made and are given to the suspects, one to each of them. They are then stuck to the floor and lit at the same time. The contestants have the right to keep them erect and to protect them from the wind. The one whose candle burns out first is declared guilty.

A belief in the value of ordeals is widespread, but the actual practice of them is very rare. No reason for this has been given to me, although it is stated that the refusal to submit to one would be considered evidence of guilt.

BY CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE

In Manóboland circumstantial evidence, in the absence of other evidence, has sufficient weight to convict one who is under suspicion. Hence footprints and other traces of a man's presence are carefully examined. In fact, as a gatherer of testimony, even of the most insignificant kind, the Manóbo is peerless; he is patient, ceaseless, and thorough. This is due, no doubt, to his cautious, suspicious nature and to that spirit of revenge that never smolders. He may wait for years until the suspicion seems to have died out, when one fine day he hears a rumor that confirms his suspicions and the flame of contention bursts forth. One by one the successive bearers of the incriminating rumor are questioned in open meeting until the truth of it is ascertained and the guilty one brought to justice. I have known many cases, principally of slander, traced in this way from one rumor bearer to another. This illustrates the statement made before that in cases involving damage or loss to another the guilty party and the witnesses as a rule declare the truth, when they are called upon, knowing that one day or another the secret will probably be ferreted out and then the punishment will be greater.

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[2] *Pag-init.*

[3] *Sún-ub.*

ENFORCEMENT OF THE SENTENCE

The sentence having been agreed to by the consensus of opinion of both sides, and the defendant having manifested his concurrence therein, a time is set for the payment. When the offense is of a very serious character, partial payment is made at once, the object being to mollify the feelings of the enraged plaintiff. This payment ordinarily consists of a weapon belonging either to the defendant himself or to one of his relatives, but in urgent cases it might be a human being, as a relative for instance. I myself saw delivery of a son made after the termination of an adultery case.

The whole payment or compensation is not exacted at once but a suitable length of time for the completion of it is always agreed upon. The defendant receives a strip of rattan with a number of knots and is at times made to take the wax-burning oath.

His conduct on these occasions is apparently submissive for he does not want to run counter to tribal opinion, but it happens sometimes that upon leaving the house of adjudication he expresses his dissatisfaction with the decision or throws the blame upon somebody else. In this case there may arise another contention. On the whole, however, he abides by the decision.

In the great majority of cases the convicted man makes the stipulated payment, for a refusal to do so would lead to more serious difficulties than those already settled, and excuses for nonfulfillment are not accepted as readily as before. Moreover, a second arbitration subjects his opponent and his opponent's relatives to unnecessary trouble and long journeys. Hence, realizing that a second trial will only serve to exasperate his opponent and arm public opinion against him, he fulfills his obligations faithfully.

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CHAPTER XXI

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION: INTERTRIBAL AND OTHER RELATIONS

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

Dealings on the part of Manóbos with other tribes such as the Banuáon, the Debabáon, and the Mandáya are almost without exception of the most pacific kind. I made frequent inquiries, especially while on the upper Agúsan River, as to the reason for this, and was always given to understand that any trouble with another tribe was carefully avoided because it might give rise to unending complications and to interminable war. I am of the opinion that, in his avoidance of war with neighboring tribes, there is ever present in the Manóbo's mind a consciousness of his inferiority to the Mandáya, Debabáon, and Banuáon, and a realization of the consequences that would inevitably follow in case of a clash with them. Thus the Manóbos of the upper Agúsan, who had provoked the Mandáyas of the Kati'il River at the beginning of the Christian conquest, suffered a dire reprisal on the Húlip River, upper Agúsan, when some 180 of them were massacred in one night.[1]

The current accounts of Debabáon warriors, as narrated to me by many of them on the upper Sálug River, show the severe losses suffered by Manóbos of the upper Agúsan in their conflicts with Debabáons. The same holds true of the Manóbos on the lower Agúsan when they matched their strength with the Banuáons of the Maásam, Líbañg, and Óhut Rivers. A perusal of the "Cartas de los PP. de la Compañia de Jesus" will give one a vivid picture of the devastation caused by not only the Banuáons but by the Mandáyas and the Debabáons in Manóboland.

The reason for these unfriendly intertribal relations and for the consequent defeats of the Manóbos in nearly every instance is not far to seek. The Manóbo lacks the organization of the Mandáya, Debabáon, and Banuáon. Like the Mañgguáñgan he is somewhat hot-headed, and upon provocation, especially while drunk, prefers to take justice into his own hands, striking down with one fell swoop his Mandáya or other adversary, without appealing to a public adjudication. The result of this imprudent proceeding is an attack in which the friends and relatives of the slain one become the aggressors, invading Manóbo territory and executing awful vengeance upon the perpetrator of the wrong. The friends and relatives of the latter, with their inferior tribal organization and their conscious feeling of inferiority in courage, together with a realization of the innumerable difficulties that beset the path of reprisals, very rarely invade the territory of the hostile tribe.

Both from the accounts given in the aforesaid Jesuit letters and from my own observations and information, I know that the same statements may be made of the intertribal relations of Mañgguáñgans and Mandáyas, Mañgguáñgans and Debabáons, and Mañgguáñgans and Manóbos. The Mañgguáñgans are much lower in the scale of culture than the Manóbos, and when they are under the influence of liquor yield to very slight provocation. As a result of a rash blow, the Mañgguáñgan's territory is invaded and his settlement is surrounded. He is an arrant coward as a rule, and, hot-headed fool as he is, jumps from his low, wall-less house only to meet the foeman's lance. Thus it happens that thousands and thousands of them have been killed. If we may believe the testimony of a certain Jesuit missionary, as stated in one of the Jesuit letters, the Mañgguáñgan tribe numbered 30,000 at one time and their habitat extended eastward from the Tágum River and from its eastern tributary, the Sálug, between the Híjo and the Tótui Rivers, to the Agúsan and thence spread still eastward over the Simúlau River. In 1886 Father Pastells estimated them to number some 14,000. In 1910, I made an estimate, based on the reports of their hereditary enemies in Compostéla,

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[1] See Cartas de los PP. de la Compañia de Jesus, 5: 22, 1883.

Gandía, Geróna, and Moncáyo, and venture to state that in that year they did not number more than about 10,000 souls. Their territory, too, at that date, was confined to the low range of mountains that formed the Agúsan-Sálug divide and to the swamp tracts in the region of the Mánat River, with a scattered settlement here and there on the east of the Agúsan to the north of the Mánat River.

The Manóbos of the Ihawán, Baóbo, and Agúsan Rivers played a bloody part in the massacre of the Mañgguáñgans. While on my first visit to the upper Agúsan in 1907, I used to hear once or twice a week of the killing of Mañgguáñgans. Many a time my Mandáya or Manóbo or Debabáon companions would say to me, upon seeing a Mañgguáñgan: "Shoot him, grandpa, he is only a Mañgguáñgan."

I know from the personal accounts of Manóbo, Mandáya, and Debabáon warrior chiefs that in nearly every case they had acquired their title of warrior chief by bloody attacks made upon Mañgguáñgans. The warrior chiefs of the upper Agúsan, upper Karága, upper Manorígau and upper and middle Kati'il had nearly to a man earned their titles from the killing of Mañgguáñgans. This is eminently true of the Debabáon group. Moncáyo itself boasts of more warrior chiefs than any district in eastern Mindanáo, and stands like a mighty watchtower over the thousands and thousands of Mañgguáñgan and Manóbo graves that bestrew the lonely forest from Libagánon to the Agúsan.

INTERCLAN RELATIONS

It must be borne in mind that, judging from the testimony of all with whom I conversed on the subject as well as from my own personal observation, interclan feuds among Manóbos have diminished notably since the beginning of missionary activity and more especially since the establishment of the special government in the Agúsan Valley. Upon the establishment of this government in the lower half of the Agúsan Valley, there was a perceptible decrease in bloody fights due to the effective extension of supervision under able and active officials. Here and there in remote regions, such as the upper reaches of the Báobo, Ihawán, Umaíam, Argáwan, and Kasilaían Rivers, casual killings took place. On the upper Agúsan, however, where no effective government had been established until after my departure in 1910, interclan relations were not of the most pacific nature. Thus, in 1909, the settlements of Dugmánon and Moncáyo were in open hostility, and up to the time of my departure four deaths had occurred. The Mandáyas of Kati'il and Manorígao had contemplated an extensive movement against Compostéla and after my departure did bring about one death. However, the intended move was frustrated happily by the establishment of a military post in Moncáyo in 1910. Several Mañgguáñgans at the headwaters of the Mánat River met their fate in 1909. The whole Mañgguáñgan tribe went into armed vigilance that same year and rendered it impossible for me to meet any but the milder members of the tribe living in the vicinity of Compostéla. On one occasion I had made arrangements to meet a Mañgguáñgan warrior chief at an appointed trysting place in the forest. Upon arriving at the spot, one of my companions beat the buttress of a tree as a signal that we had arrived, but it was more than an hour before our Mañgguáñgan friends made their appearance. Upon being questioned as to the delay, they informed us that they had circled around at a considerable distance, examining the number and shape of our footprints in order to make sure that no deception was being practiced upon them. When we approached the purpose of the interview, namely, to request permission to visit their houses, they positively refused to allow it, telling us that they were on guard against three warrior chiefs of the upper Sálug who had recently procured guns and who had threatened to attack them. Upon questioning my companions as to the likely location of the domicile of the Mañgguáñgans, I was assured that they probably lived at the head of the Mánat River in a swampy region and that access to their settlement could be had only by wading through tracts of mud and water thigh deep.

During the same year various other raids were made, notably on the watershed between the Sálug and the Ihawán Rivers. The Manóbos of the Baóbo River, which has been styled by the well-known Jesuit missionary Urios "the river of Bagáni" (warrior chiefs), were reported to be in a state of interclan war. Such a condition, however, was nothing unusual, for I never ascended the upper Agúsan without hearing reports of atrocities on Baóbo River.[2]

In time of peace, interclan dealings are friendly, but it may be said in general that dealings of any kind are not numerous and that their frequency is in inverse ratio to the distance between the two clans. It is seldom that a given individual has no feudal enemy in one district or another, so that in his visits to other clans he usually has either to pass through the territory of an enemy or to run the risk of meeting one at his destination. This does not mean that he will be attacked then and there, for he is on his guard, but it must be remembered that he is in Manóboland and that a mere spark may start a conflagration.

Hence, visits to others than relatives and trips to distant points are not frequent. This is particularly true of the womenfolk. Here and there one finds a Manóbo man who travels fearlessly to distant settlements for the purpose of securing some object that he needs, but he never fails to carry his lance, and frequently, his shield; he is never off his guard, either on the trail or in the house he may be visiting.

During the greater social and religious gatherings the greatest vigilance is exerted by all concerned as everyone realizes beforehand the possibility of trouble. Hence bolos or daggers are worn even during meals. Enemies or others who are known to be at loggerheads are seated at a respectful distance from each other with such people around them as are considered friendly or at least neutral. This arrangement of guests is a very striking feature of a Manóbo meal and one of great importance, for it prevents many an untoward act. The host, in an informal way, sees to the distribution of the guests, and when his arrangement is not acceptable to any of the interested parties, a rearrangement is made and all seat themselves. This proceeding has nothing formal about it. The whole thing seems to be done by instinct.

EXTERNAL COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

EXPLOITATION BY CHRISTIAN NATIVES

The shameless spoliation [3] practiced during my residence and travels in eastern Mindanáo (1905–1909) by Christian natives upon the Christianized and un-Christianized Manóbos is a subject that deserves special mention.

Exploitation by falsification.—The hill people, living in their mountain fastnesses out of communication with the more important traders, had to depend wholly for their needs on petty traders and peddlers of the Christian population. They were accordingly kept in absolute ignorance of the true value of the commodities that they required. False reports as to the value of rice, hemp, and *vino* were constantly spread. To-day, it would be a report of a war between China and Japan that caused a rise of several pesos in the price of a sack of rice. To-morrow, it would be an international complication between Japan and several of the great European powers which caused a paralysis in the exportation of hemp and a corresponding fall of several pesos in the value of it. These and numerous other fabrications were corroborated by letters purporting to come from Butuán, but in most cases written by one trader to another on the spot, with a view to giving plausibility to the lie. It was a common practice for the trader's friend or partner in Butuán to direct, usually by previous arrangement, two letters to him, in one of which was stated the true value of the commodity and in the other the value at which it was desired to purchase or to dispose of it. The latter letter was for public perusal and rarely failed to beguile the ignorant *conquistas* and Manóbos.

But it was not only in the exorbitant rates charged and in the unspeakably low prices paid for objects of merchandise that the Christian trader swindled his pagan fellow men. The use of false weights and measures was a second means. The Manóbo had little conception of a *pikul* [4] or of an *arroba* [5] of hemp, so that he was utterly at the mercy of the trader. The steelyards used by Christian traders from 1905 to 1908 were never less than 30 per cent out of true and frequently as much as 50 per cent. One pair of scales I found to be so heavily leaded that the hemp that weighed 25 pounds on them weighed between 38 and 39 pounds on a true English scales.

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[2] The Baóbo River rises in a mountain that is very near the confluence of the Sálug and Libagánon Rivers, and empties into one of the myriad channels into which the Agúsan is divided just below Veruéla.

[3] Since the establishment in 1909 of government trading posts, this spoliation has practically ceased in the Agúsan Valley.

[4] A *pikul* is the equivalent of 137.5 Spanish pounds.

Another method of defraudation consisted in false accounts. The Manóbo had no account book to rely upon in his dealings with the trader, but trusted to his memory and to the honesty of his friend. The payment was made in occasional deliveries of hemp or other articles, such deliveries covering a period usually of many months. When the day for settling accounts came, the Manóbo was allowed to spread out his little grains of corn or little bits of wood on the floor and to perform the calculation as best he could. Any mistakes in his own favor were promptly corrected by the trader, but mistakes or omissions in favor of the trader were allowed to pass unobserved. The account would then be closed and the trader would mark with a piece of charcoal on a beam, rafter, or other convenient place, the amount of the debt still due him, for it was extremely rare that he allowed the poor tribesman to escape from his clutches.

Defraudation by usury and excessive prices.—Another method of exploitation consisted in a system of usury, practiced throughout the valley but more especially on the upper Agúsan. An example will illustrate this: A Bisáya advances 5 pesos in various commodities with the understanding that at the next harvest he is to receive 10 sacks of paddy in payment. At the next harvest the Manóbo is unable to pay more than 6 sacks. He is given to understand that he must pay the balance within two months. After that period the trader goes upstream again and proceeds to collect. The paddy is not forthcoming, so the trader informs his customer that the prevailing price of paddy in such and such a town is actually 5 pesos per sack and that he accordingly loses 20 pesos by the failure to receive the paddy stipulated for and that the debtor must answer for the amount. The poor Manóbo then turns over a war bolo or perhaps a spear at one-half their original value, for the contract called for paddy and not weapons. In that way he pays up a certain amount, let us say 10 pesos, and has still a balance of 10 pesos against him, he having no available resources wherewith to settle the account in full. He is then offered the alternative of paying 20 sacks at the next harvest or of performing some work that he is unwilling to do, so he accepts the former alternative. The bargain is then clinched with many threats on the part of the trader to the effect that the Americans will cut off his head or commit some other outrageous act should he fail to fulfill this second contract.

The worst depredation committed on the Manóbo consisted of the advancing of merchandise at exorbitant rates just before harvest time with a view to purchasing rice and tobacco. It is principally at this time that the Manóbo stands in special need of a supply of pigs and chickens for the celebrations, religious and social, that invariably take place. As he has little foresight in his nature and rarely, if ever, speculates, he was accustomed to bartering away in advance a large amount of his paddy and tobacco. The result was that after paying up as much of his paddy debts and tobacco debts as he could, he found that his stock was meager, barely sufficient for a few months. So the time came when he had to repurchase at from 3 to 10 pesos per bamboo joint that which he had sold for 25 centavos.

Exploitation by the system of commutation.—Another means of defrauding perpetrated on the Manóbo was the system of commutation by which the debt had to be paid, if the creditor so desired, in other effects than those which were stipulated in the contract. The value of the goods thus substituted was reckoned extraordinarily low. For example, in the event of a failure to pay the stipulated amount of tobacco, its value in some other part of the Agúsan, where that commodity was high, would be calculated in money, and any object would be asked for that the trader might desire. Suppose the customary value of this object, a pig for instance, to be 10 pesos, at which price it would be offered to the trader, who would reply that he had contracted for tobacco and not pigs. He would go on to show that he had no use for pigs, that he could procure a pig of the same size for 2 pesos in another town, and he would finally persuade the debtor to turn over the pig for 2 pesos.

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[5] An *arroba* is 25 Spanish pounds.

I adjudicated unofficially, at the request of the Manóbos, several cases where the Bisáya trader tried to collect not only the value of a sow but of the number of young ones that it might have given birth to had it lived. These pigs had been left with Manóbos for safe-keeping and either had died from natural causes or had been killed. One Bisáya went so far as to demand payment for the chickens that a hen would have produced had it not been stolen from the Manóbo to whom it had been entrusted. This part of the claim I did not allow, so the claimant demanded pay for the eggs that might have been laid.

Wheedling or the puának system.—Another means of exploitation practiced on the Manóbos of the upper Agúsan was the *puának* system, invented by the Bisáya trader. The *puának* was some prosperous Manóbo who was chosen as an intimate friend and who, out of friendship, was expected to furnish his Bisáya friend anything which the latter might ask for. The Bisáya in return was expected to do the same.

The Bisáya paid his Manóbo friend a few visits every year, on which occasions he was received with all the open-hearted hospitality so characteristic of the Manóbo. Pigs and chickens, purchased frequently at high rates, were killed in his honor. The country was scoured for sugarcane wine or other drink, and no means were left untried to make the reception royal. The Bisáya, in the meanwhile, lavished on his host soft, wheedling words, at the same time giving him sad tales of the rise in the price of merchandise, of his indebtedness to the Chinese, and before leaving gave him a little cloth or some other thing of small value. In return he received paddy, tobacco, and such other articles as he needed. The farewell was made with great demonstrations of friendship on the Bisáya's part and with an invitation to his Manóbo friend to visit him at a certain stated time.

During his friend's visit the Manóbo had gone around the country canvassing for paddy and such other articles as he had been instructed to barter for. His wife and female relatives had stamped out several sacks of paddy for their friend. His sons and other male relatives had cleaned the Bisáya's boat and supplied him with rattan. In a word, the whole family had made menials of themselves to satisfy the Bisáya's every desire.

At the stated time the Manóbo started downstream with the various commodities that had been requested of him, paddy, tobacco, and other things. At his friend's house he was received with a great exhibition of joy and welcome. During his stay he was kept happy by constant doses of *vino*. Besides the killing of a suckling pig and of a few chickens, a little wheedling and palavering were about the only entertainment he received. But as the grog kept him in good humor and it is supposed to cost one peso per liter, he was perfectly happy, turned over his wares to the host, had his accounts balanced for him (he was usually in a hilarious condition while this was being done), received further advances of merchandise at the usual usurious rates, and left for his upland home to tell his family and relatives of the glorious time he had at his *puának's*.

Bartering transactions.—The following schedule of approximate values of commodities in the Agúsan, 1905 to 1909, will serve to show the commercial depredations committed on Manóbos and *conquistas* by the Bisáyas who have ever looked upon them as their legitimate prey.

Article	Quantity retailed	Original cost	Monetary value	Sale price, in barter, for *abaká* fiber	Gain in weighing or measuring	Value of *abaká* in Butuán
		Pesos	*Pesos*	*Kilos*	*Per cent*	*Pesos*
Rice	1 sack	5–8	12–22	100–200	30–50	16– 38
Vino	1 demijohn	5. 50	16	240	30–50	42– 48
Salt	1 sack	2. 50	12	100	10–30	21– 24
Salted fish	1 jar	6. 00	16	205		33– 37
Turkey red	1 piece	4. 00	14	106	15–25	26– 28
		26. 00				138–175

To this list might be appended the values of exchange in paddy, beeswax, and rattan and the corresponding gain made when these latter are bartered in their turn for hemp or disposed of to the Chinese merchants.

From the above list it is evident that a Bisáya trader could go up the river with goods valued at 26 pesos and within a few weeks return with *abaká* valued at 138 pesos to 175 pesos, according to the scales and other measures used. His total expenses, including his own subsistence, probably would not exceed 30 pesos.

No mention is here made of such luxuries as shoes, hats, or European clothes on which gains of from 500 to 1,000 per cent are the rule. Neither have various other usuries been included, such as high interest or payment of expenses in case of delays, all of which go to swell the gain that a Bisáya considers his right and his privilege when he has to deal with beings whom he hardly classes as men.

Among the Manóbos the credit system almost invariably prevails, based upon the sacredness with which the Manóbo pays his debts. It is true that the Christianized Manóbo occasionally is not very scrupulous in this respect, but this is because he has been fleeced so much by his Christian brethren.

Arriving in a settlement, the trader displays only a part of his wares at a time. If he has two pieces of cloth, he displays only one. Of five sacks of rice, only two are his, he claims. In answering the inquiry as to whether he has dried fish, he says that he has just a little for his personal use, for the price of it in Butuán was prohibitive. On being besought to sell a little, he secretly orders it taken out from the jar and delivered to his customer, at an outrageous price. The object of this simulation is to hasten the sales of his wares, for should he display all his stock, many of his customers might prefer to wait in hopes of a reduction in prices, a sort of a diminutive "clearance sale."

As the article for which the exchange is made is nearly always *abaká* fiber, it is evident that a certain period, longer or shorter according to the amount of fiber contracted for, must be allowed the customer. When this period exceeds a week, the stipulation is made that the payment shall be made in installments. A shorter period is allowed than is necessary for the stripping of the hemp, under the pretense that the trader is in a hurry to leave the settlement and catch a certain steamer with which he deals. This is a prudent precaution as the Manóbo is not very methodical in his affairs nor quick in his movements. A thousand and one things—omens, sickness, bad weather—may delay him in the fulfillment of his contract. It is this tardiness that gives rise to the ill feeling and bickering that are not infrequently the outcome of this system of trading. The Manóbo, moreover, has long since become aware of the stupendous gain made by the traders, and, when not dealt with gently, becomes exasperated and on occasions deliberately delays his creditor. Then again, some other trader may have got into the settlement in the meantime and seduced him into buying, cash down, some more enticing article, for this primitive man, like the rest of the world, often buys what he lays his eyes upon without any thought of the future. For this reason, the trader keeps close observation upon all who owe him, almost daily visiting their houses and profiting by the occasion to help himself to whatever little fish or meat or other edibles he may find therein. One who has been in debt a long time is a favorite victim, for when he is unable to pay his debt on time he is shamelessly required to offer a substantial apology[6] in the form of a chicken or some other edible.

GENERAL CONDITIONS OF TRADING

In general, there was no established system in the Agúsan Valley as far as the dealings of Bisáyas went. The constant fluctuation of prices was a sufficient explanation of this. Thus, rice might be worth 13 centavos per kilogram in Butuán, while at the same time it might command a price of 43 centavos on the Híbung River or in Verüela. Salted fish might be selling in Butuán for a trifle, whereas up the Simúlau a jar of it at retail might be worth 20 or 30 sacks of paddy. In general the increase in price of a commodity was in direct proportion to its distance from points of distribution. By points of distribution are meant the Chinese stores in Butuán and Talakógon.

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[6] *Ba-li-bad.*

Again the old-time custom of selling paddy at a fixed customary price held the Manóbo in commercial servitude to his Bisáya compeer. This was due to the intense conservatism of the Manóbo and to his peculiar religious tenets in this regard, both of which were fostered and sustained by the tribal priests and encouraged by Bisáyas. Could he have been induced to retain his paddy instead of selling it at 50 centavos per sack he would not have been obliged to repurchase at ₱5 per sack. The same might be said of his tobacco, which he sold wholesale by the bamboo joint at 25 centavos each, or, at most, at a peso each, and which he repurchased, paying, in times of scarcity, 20 centavos for enough to chew a few times.

The credit system, too, was an impediment to his financial advance. It seems to have been a tribal institution. During my trading tour I frequently heard my Manóbo debtors proclaim boastingly to their fellow tribesmen that I had much confidence in their integrity.

The Manóbo who could gain the confidence of the traders and accumulate his debts seemed to be an honored person, but when he was able to make sufficient payment to satisfy his creditors he was a great man. Hence, the traders played upon his vanity and advanced him such commodities as he desired, seldom obliging him to settle in full his obligations, and induced him to accept on credit a certain amount so as to retain him in bondage to them. It must not be imagined that there was anything tyrannical in the manner of collecting outstanding debts. On the contrary, it was almost always done in a gentle diplomatic way, the trader knowing full well that the Manóbo regarded a debt as sacred and that he would finally pay it. But it must not be supposed that the transactions were entirely free from disputes and quarrels. It happened occasionally that the Manóbo detected the frauds in his creditor's accounting or remembered omissions of his own in a past reckoning, and so the bickering began, the Bisáya never caring to admit his errors or frauds, while the Manóbo, who is a hard and fast bargainer, insisted on claiming what he considered his rights. As a rule, the matter was settled peaceably by the principal men of the region. Numerous instances, however, occurred wherein the Manóbo, exasperated by the numerous frauds of his creditor, awaited a favorable occasion to dispatch him. On the whole, it may be said that differences which arose between Bisáyas and their mountain compeers in eastern Mindanáo are to be attributed in no small degree to the ruinous, relentless exploitation of the unsophisticated, untutored Manóbo by the greedy Bisáya traffickers.

INTERNAL COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

By internal trading is meant those simple transactions that take place between Manóbo and Manóbo. The subject presents a striking contrast to the merciless system adopted by the Christian traders in their dealings with their pagan congeners.

The transactions are simple exchanges of the absolute necessities of life.

MONEY AND SUBSTITUTES FOR IT

There is little conception of money as such among the hillmen unless they have been in contact with Christian or Christianized traders, and even then although monetary terms are made use of, there is but a vague conception of the real value of what they represent. I asked a Manóbo of the upper Wá-wa the price of his little bamboo lime tube. The answer was 30 pesos.

Money, therefore, has no value as a circulating medium, although it may be prized as a material out of which to make rings and other ornamental objects. As substitutes, there are several units of more or less indefinite value. Thus, the value of a slave which, expressed in monetary value, varies between 15 and 30 pesos, is mentioned in connection with large fines and with marriage payments. Again, plates of the type called *píñggan* are referred to in small fines and in other payments, but as these are imported articles the price varies. On the whole, however, 100 *píñggan* are worth a good serviceable slave—that is, 30 pesos. Pigs also are mentioned as a unit of value, but here again the value is not wholly definite, as a great many of them are imported and vary with the purchasing price.

PREVAILING MANÓBO PRICES

The following list will give a fair idea of the monetary value of some of the commodities that are most frequently exchanged between Manóbos.

		Pesos
1.	A slave who can perform a full-grown person's work	30.00
2.	A slave who can do a certain amount of work	20.00
3.	A slave whose right hand can not reach the tip of his left ear	15.00
4.	A male pig 1 year old	1.00
5.	A sow that has given birth once	1.00
6.	One fathom of *abaká* cloth nearly 1 meter wide	1.00
7.	A woman's skirt of *abaká*	.50
8.	One double sack of paddy (150 liters)	.50
9.	Three double *gantas* (15 liters)	.06¼
10.	One large basket (15 liters) of *camotes*, corn, taro, etc	.06¼
11.	One bunch of bananas	.06¼
12.	One dugout, 7 fathoms long, with a beam of 4 spans	1.50
13.	One dugout, 11 fathoms long, with a beam of 5 spans	2.50
14.	One bamboo jointful of tobacco, into whose mouth the closed hand can not be easily inserted	.06¼
15.	One bamboo jointful of tobacco, into whose mouth the closed hand can be easily inserted	.12½
16.	One full-grown hen or rooster	.12½

The values above indicated are based on the monetary terms used to represent their value, and borrowed, possibly, from the terms which are still in vogue in eastern Mindanáo.[7]

From the above scale it will be seen that a pig 1 year old could be exchanged for 2 full-grown chickens, 2 sacks of paddy, and 2 bamboo joints of tobacco. It is not customary to trade in such things as *camotes*, taro, and corn, the return of them being the usual stipulation, but the corresponding values have been inserted in the above list in order to give the reader an idea of the value of food commodities.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

No measure of weight is used by the hill Manóbo. The Christianized Manóbo may have obtained some old scales of the type used by Bisáyas for weighing *abaká* fiber. These scales are steelyards, the construction of which permitted the Bisáya trader to fleece his non-Christian customers of as much as 50 per cent of their *abaká* fiber. The method of falsifying the balance was by loading the counterpoising weight with lead, and by filing the crosspiece that acts as fulcrum. Another method which might be used with even true steelyards consisted in giving the counterpoise arm a downward tilt, after the *abaká* fiber had been loaded on the other arm. This was usually done on the pretense of picking up the counterpoising weight which had been purposely left on the ground.

In measures of volume the Manóbo is almost equally destitute for he has only the *gántañg*. This is a cylindrical measure made out of the trunk of a palm tree, with a bottom of some other wood. It has a capacity of from 10 to 15 liters, but I know of no rule which fixes its exact size. An interesting point with regard to the size of this measure is that it is double that of the one used by Bisáyas.[8] It is suggested that the early Bisáya traders, on the introduction of the Spanish *gánta* and *fanega*, taught, for obvious purposes, their unsuspecting mountain friends to make a measure double the size of the legal one.

In the manner of measuring out paddy (for it is practically only for this purpose that the *gántañg* serves) there is a feature that is characteristic of Manóbo frugality and economy. The paddy is scooped with the hands, little by little, into the measure, which is not moved until it is full. Then with a piece of stick the surface of the paddy is leveled off and it is emptied into the larger receptacle. At the same time the number is counted out loudly. The intention in not moving or disturbing the measure is to allow the paddy to have greater bulk, for if it is disturbed the grains settle and it requires more to fill the measure.

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[7] *I-sá-ka sá-pi* (Bis., *ù-sa'-ka sa-lá-pi*), ₱0.50; *ka-há-ti*, ₱0.25; *Si-ká-pat*, ₱0.12½; *Si-ka͡u-a͡u*, ₱0.06¼.

[8] The *gántañg* measure in eastern Mindanáo is of two kinds, *de almacen*, "of the store," and *de provincia*, "of the province." The latter is twice the size of the former, and is universally used by the mountain peoples.

Twenty-five of these *gántañg* make a *kabán, bákkid*, or *anéga*, as it is variously called. This *kabán*, although there is no measure corresponding to it in Manóboland, would be equivalent in bulk to two sacks of rice, or about 150 liters.

The yard is the distance from the end of the thumb, when the arm is extended horizontally, to the middle of the sternum. It, of course, varies somewhat with each individual.

The Bisáya trader, in measuring cloth, considerably shortens his yard by not giving a full stretch to the arm, and by slightly turning the outstretched hand toward his body. This gain, together with another little one secured when he bites off the measured piece from the bolt, makes a total gain of 10 centimeters approximately. Remonstrances on the part of the customer are unavailing, for he is told that such is the length of the trader's yard and, if the customer is not satisfied, he is not obliged to accept the cloth. As it is a credit transaction, the poor Manóbo is obliged to yield.

The fathom [9] is the distance between the thumb tips when the arms and hands are outstretched. The fraud practiced by the Bisáya trader in the yard measure is also employed in this.

The span [10] is the stretch between the tip of the first finger and that of the thumb as they are stretched over the object to be measured.

The finger length [11] is the length of either the first or of the middle finger, according to the custom of each locality.

The joint length [12] is the length of the middle joint of the finger. It is a measure that is very seldom used.

SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVES

SLAVE TRADE

I have not visited the Agúsan Valley since 1910, so that I am unable to give any information as to the actual extent of slave trading at the present day. From 1905 to 1909 the practice was in vogue, but to no great extent. It is reported on all sides by Mañgguáñgans, Mandáyas, Manóbos, and Banuáons that since the American occupation it has diminished to a remarkable degree, due to the wonderful reputation of the Americans for having overcome the Spaniards. This diminution was a natural sequence of the decrease of war raids.

Slave trading among the Manóbos of eastern Mindanáo was practically confined to the Ihawán, Baóbo, upper Simúlau, and Agúsan Rivers. I am of the opinion that during my four years' residence in the Agúsan there were not more than 100 cases of slave trade in the regions outside of the Ihawán and Baóbo River Valleys.

The customary value of a slave has been mentioned in this chapter, but it is only proper to add that a great many considerations, such as poor health, weak constitution, and other defects which might lessen the ability of the slave to work, detract from his value. It may be said in general that the value of a slave ranges between 10 and 30 pesos, never exceeding the last figure, at which he stands on a par with an unusually good hunting dog, or with an extra large prolific sow.

Slave trading does not, in the Manóbo's mind, involve the idea of degradation which attaches to it among other nations. A slave is to the Manóbo a chattel which he can sell, kill, or dispose of in any other way that he may deem expedient.

CLASSES OF SLAVES

Captives [13] are those who have been captured from the enemy. At first their treatment may be a little harsh, or they may, when their owners happen to be angry, be killed outright. This is due to the fact that the feelings of revenge have not cooled off. But after a few days their condition and treatment is similar to that of ordinary slaves, except that more precautions are taken to prevent their escape. If fear of their escape is entertained, it is usual to sell them as soon as possible.

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[9] *Dú-pa'.*

[10] *Dáng-au.*

[11] *Túd-lo.*

[12] *Lúm-po.*

[13] *Bí-hag.*

By ordinary slaves [14] are meant those who have been purchased or who have been delivered over in payment of fines or marriages. There is no institution in Manóboland by which a freeman, not a minor, can become a slave by reason of debt. But minors, usually relatives of the debtor, sometimes in an exigency are turned over in payment of a debt. This is usually done with a view to avoiding bloodshed.

DELIVERY AND TREATMENT OF SLAVES

The manner of delivering the slave to a new owner depends ordinarily upon the feelings with which he regards the change, except in the case of children, who are easily coaxed into accepting it. In the case of older persons who have been attached to their owners, the matter is more difficult, as they display a reluctance to change hands. A ruse is then resorted to, as in a case which I witnessed. The person, in this case a slave girl, was sent to her purchaser's house, ostensibly for the purpose of procuring salt and of delivering a basket of paddy. As she was about to return her purchaser called her back into the house. She then, realizing the circumstances, burst into tears, but was soon soothed by the wives of her new owner.

On the whole slaves are not mistreated. Like all menials, they at times become remiss in the performance of what is expected of them, and accordingly are given a few blows with a stick or other convenient object. In a very passionate moment, or when drunk, the master may cut off his slave girl's hair or denude her completely in the presence of the household, but such acts are of very rare occurrence.

Immediately after being captured, or after a change of master, the slave feels his lot keenly, but as time goes on and as he realizes that there is no hope of deliverance, the remembrance of his relatives fades away and he resigns himself to his fate. Sometimes one finds a slave who has become so attached to his master that he is unwilling to return to his relatives. This is true of those who have been captured when young, and especially of girls. A fondness often grows up between the latter and their master's wife, and separation causes loud and long weeping.

A slave enjoys no rights, either personal or political. He can be disposed of without his consent either by sale or in marriage, or in any other way his master sees fit. If he runs away he is pursued and brought back to his master's house. If he runs away with frequency, and the owner is unable to dispose of him to some one else, he is simply speared to death. I never witnessed the actual killing, but trustworthy accounts authenticate the fact that formerly, at least, it occasionally took place. If a slave flees from his master's house no one may aid or abet him in his flight, though it is lawful for anyone to capture him with the intention of returning him to his master, who in this case must pay the capturer ₱15.[15]

The slave does his share of domestic service. To the female falls the task of drawing water, gathering firewood, pounding rice, cooking, and weeding; to the male that of acting as his master's companion, porter, and general messenger, and of planting *camotes* and other crops.

The slave's dress is usually sufficient to cover his nakedness and no more. Ear disks, bracelets, and similar articles of feminity are not allowed, and too neat arrangement of the hair is not countenanced, as it might be indicative of matrimonial inclinations. Marriage of his slaves is not looked upon with favor by the master, and he does not permit it unless the material advantages are so great that they will repay him for the loss of the slave's services.

I know of few slave marriages. Captives, however, are said to be married off for a good payment, when their looks and other good qualities have won the heart of some young man.

My observation and the testimony of Manóboland as to the sexual morality of slaves is that it is excellent, though no vigilance seems to be exercised over them in the matter. The female slave makes trips alone to the water place even by night, and spends many hours of the day in solitary places while working in the clearings or traveling to the granary. This sexual morality is due to the fact that intercourse with a female slave is looked down upon with unmitigated contempt.

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[14] *Á ñg-lañg.*

[15] On my last trip among the Mandáyas of southeastern Mindanáo (Karága River) I was instrumental in saving the life of a woman slave who had escaped six times. At the time of her escape six slaves, led by a boy slave of about 14 years of age, had fled from the house of their master. They were recaptured and no punishment except a good scolding and an infinity of threats was meted out to them. A few days afterwards an elderly slave again escaped. She was discovered in a neighboring house and brought back by the wife and daughter of her owner. When her master saw her he rushed from his house with spear and bolo and would have killed her had it not been for my remonstrances and entreaties.

The slave fares no worse in the matter of food than the inmates of the house; possibly he fares even better, for he gets more secret tastes of sugarcane and roasted *camotes* between meal hours; during meals he does not forget himself, as he often has the handling of the pots.

PART IV. RELIGION

CHAPTER XXII

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF MANÓBO RELIGION AND NATURE AND CLASSIFICATION OF MANÓBO DEITIES

INTRODUCTORY

The matter of Manóbo religious belief is so difficult of investigation, and withal so important, that I feel a certain amount of timidity in taking up the subject. The natural suspiciousness of the Mañóbo and his inclination not to answer questions truthfully until he has assured himself of his interrogator's motives in asking it are the principal sources of this difficulty. Then again his fear of offending the divinities, coupled with his absolute subjection in spiritual affairs to his priests, do not render the undertaking easier. And finally his primitive, untutored mind is not capable of setting forth in a satisfactory manner the intricacies, and not infrequently, the numerous variations and apparent contradictions that arise at every step in the investigation. However, my sojourn among, and intimate dealings with, both laymen and priests give me hope that the following is in its essentials a true interpretation of this primitive religion.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF RELIGION

SINCERITY OF BELIEF

The life of a Manóbo is as deep an expression of his religious beliefs as that of any man I know. Belief in the supernatural seems to be instinctive with him. He undertakes no action out of the ordinary routine without consulting the powers above, and when he has assured himself of their disapprobation, he refrains most sacredly from his intended project, even if it should be one so cherished as vengeance on an enemy. But if these higher powers manifest their approbation he carries out his project with full assurance of success.

To the Manóbo his deities and demons, spirits, giants, ghouls, and goblins are as real as his own existence, and his belief in them seems to him entirely rational and well founded, because for authority he has tradition and revelation—tradition handed down from generation to generation, revelation imparted to priests while manifesting all the indications of what he considers supernatural influence.

BASIS OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF

I have had occasion to study the working of the Manóbo mind when brought into contact with phenomena which it had never contemplated before and I observed that when the phenomenon impressed him as being not prejudicial nor unintelligible it was ascribed to a beneficent supernatural agency, but when it produced the impression of being unintelligible or detrimental it was at once condemned as being the work of evil spirits. On one occasion a Manóbo of the upper Agúsan accompanied me to Talakógon and, upon seeing the government launch, made inquiries as to its nature. His questions being answered to his satisfaction, he made his comments, praised its form, and finally declared it to be the work of a god. But when it began to move, giving forth its shrill whistle and producing the noise characteristic of a gasoline launch, he at once condemned it as being the work of evil agency.

I saw another instance illustrative of this tendency upon the arrival of the first phonograph in the Simúlau River district. My companion was a Manóbo of the upper Bahaían. Upon hearing the strains of the phonograph he concluded at once that there was an evil spirit within it. Notwithstanding the fact that I assured him to the contrary, he persisted in his belief, averring that no good spirit would give vent to such an unearthly noise.

Almost invariably my watch, cornet, compass, and barometer were condemned as being the work of malevolent spirits. Instances might be multiplied indefinitely, but the general conclusion is that anything that suggests the unintelligible, the unusual, the suspected, the gloomy, is at once attributed to inimical powers. Hence a crow that caws at night is thought to be an evil spirit. The crashing of a falling tree in the forest is the struggle of mighty giants. The rumbling of thunder, the flash of lightning, the tempest's blast, and all the other phenomena of nature are the operations of unseen agencies. The darkness is peopled with hosts of spirits. On the desolate rocks, in the untrodden jungle, on the dark mountain tops, in gloomy caves, by mad torrents, in deep pools, dwell invisible powers whose enmity he must avoid or whose good will he must court, or whose anger he must placate.

Fear then seems to be the foundation of the Manóbo's religious beliefs and observances. Untutored as he is, he fails to understand occurrences which the average trained mind can easily explain. On one occasion I was at the headwaters of the Abagá River, a tributary of the Tágo River. I had to cross the river at a point where a mighty rock stood in midstream, dividing the river in two. I noticed that each of my Manóbo carriers deposited a little stone near an aperture in the rock. I asked them why they had made their tribute to the spirit dweller of the rock, and I could not convince them that the rock was not placed there by the spirit, but was a natural result of the action of the water. They would never, they said, be able to return to the Agúsan unless they showed their good will to the spirit lord of Abagá.

MEANS OF DETECTING SUPERNATURAL EVIL

In all the concerns of life the Manóbo must secure immunity from the ill will of the multitudinous spirits that surround him. But this alone is not sufficient. He must be able to detect future evil, otherwise how can he avoid it? His ancestors for long bygone generations, have taught him how to foresee and avoid evil, for they have learned, often after bitter experience, the signs of present and approaching evil and the means of effectively avoiding it. These signs are embodied in a system of augury, that forms one of the most important parts of Manóbo religion. Hence, before all important undertakings, and, above all, whenever there is any suspicion of bodily danger or any apprehension of supernatural ill will, the omens must be sedulously consulted and the machinations of evil or of inimical spirits thereby detected.

BELIEF IN AN HIERARCHY OF BENEFICENT AND MALIGNANT DEITIES

Now it happens that at times these omens can not be observed, so that it might seem that the Manóbo is left exposed to, and defenseless against, a host of spirit enemies.[1] However, he knows a means of defense, for the good old people of yore have handed down the belief that there is an hierarchy of beneficent divinities called *diuáta* that are ever ready to be his champions against the powers of evil. The old, old, people found this faith justified and experienced the help of the beneficent gods. Why should not he?

How then is he to communicate with these invisible champions? Evidently through those who have been chosen by the deities themselves for that purpose—the order of priests called *bailán*. And so, following out the practice of his forefathers, he has recourse to the priests in more important concerns in which he can not otherwise ascertain the schemes of malignant spirits or determine the pleasure of the gods. The priest, in answer to his call, either by means of divination, or by ecstatic communion with his tutelary deity, or by appropriate offerings, learns the means to ward off the impending or suspected evil.

Living in a "land of terror," as he had up to about 35 years ago, surrounded on all sides by mortal enemies, and in constant warfare with them, the Manóbo, like his forebears, felt the necessity of having recourse to spiritual agents for protection against his enemies and for assistance in conquering them. Herein is involved another feature of Manóbo religion—the belief in a multitude of warlike spirits called *tagbúsan* with whom communication is held through the mediation of warrior chiefs called *bagáni*.

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[1] *Búsau.*

OTHER TENETS OF MANÓBO FAITH

Other points of importance in the religious ideas of the Manóbos are the belief in a future life and in the existence, immortality, and duality of the soul.[2] An inordinate fear of the dead and of all connected with them, a host of religious and of other taboos, and a belief in the efficacy of charms, talismans, and sympathetic magical means complete the summary of Manóbo religion. For champions the Manóbo has the tutelary *diuáta*; for mediators, the *bailán*; for guides, dreams, divination, auguries, and omens; for propitiation, prayers, invocations, oblations, and sacrifice; for proof of faith, tradition, revelation, and personal experience.

SPIRIT COMPANIONS OF MAN

The *umágad*,[3] or spirit companions of man, as understood by the Manóbo, may be defined as his material invisible counterparts without whose presence he would cease to live. He attributes to these spirits or souls invisibility, power of locomotion, and to at least one of them immortality. He invests not only men, but also animals and such plants as are cultivated by man for his sustenance, with souls or spirits. He will tell you that the soul of rice is like rice, and exists as a separate invisible form beside the visible material entity known as rice. I was given to understand that trees once had souls and in proof of the assertion the *narra* tree was cited, for even yet, it was explained, it bleeds when cut.[4] No other explanation is offered in the case of animals, than that they live and die and dream, therefore they must have a spirit or soul.

Vegetable souls in such plants as are used for the nourishment of man, are explained in the following way: The offerings of rice and drink which are set out for the deities, tutelary or other, are partaken of and after repast of the gods the offerings become insipid, because they have lost their "soul." I frequently tested the substantial remains of the spirits' feast and found that they had still retained their pristine savor and strength. No argument of mine, however, could convince my Manóbo friends to the contrary. The spirits had consumed the soul, and there remained, according to their staunch belief, nothing but the outward form and inert bulk of the former offerings.

The Manóbo supposes himself to have been endowed by Mandáit with two invisible companions and he is convinced that without their attendance he could not exist. These souls or spirits are not indwelling principles of life but are two separate indeterminate entities that differ only in two respects from the person whose associates they are. The first difference is that of size, for it is the general belief that they are a trifle smaller than their bodily associates. Besides being smaller, they are invisible. No mortal eye, it is said, except the priest's, has seen a man's spirit companion, and yet it is only for brief intervals that they are absent from their corporal companions. At times they crouch upon the shoulders. When the man is making ready for a journey, they do likewise. When he sets out upon his travels they follow him, one on each side in somewhat the same way as the "guardian angels" of other creeds accompany their wards. I once witnessed a little incident illustrative of this belief. It was on the middle Agúsan, when a mother was about to leave the house of birth. At the last moment she addressed the spirits of her little one, conjuring them to follow and to care for their tender ward.

Hence our souls are as our shadows, our other selves. Notwithstanding the close association between them and their human companions, they are seldom invoked. They are considered to have little, if any, power to help. It is thought that without their presence man would become mad, and in proof of this I was informed of cases where persons, on being awakened rudely and hurriedly, had recourse to the bolo, in a fit of madness due as it was thought, to the absence of their souls.[5]

It is said that when we sleep these spirits wander off for a brief space on their own mystic

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Not the metaphysical soul that is maintained in biblical and theological belief, but a material counterpart of each individual.

From *á-gad*, accompany.

The sap of the *narra* tree bears a very striking resemblance to blood. *Narra* is one of the *Pterocarpus* species.

This belief explains the reluctance that the Manóbo, like members of other Philippine tribes, feels in arousing a person hurriedly from sleep.

errands, and their doings are mirrored in our dreams. Hence the strong and abiding belief of the Manóbo in dreams. These strange companions of man have no material wants yet they lead an insecure existence, exposed, as they are, to the insidious attacks of the common foes of mortals. Hence it comes to pass that one of them, while away on its random rambles some unlucky day, is mysteriously kidnaped and finally "devoured" by a ruthless evil spirit.[6] As soon as the surviving soul realizes what has taken place, it bemoans the loss of its companion and leaving its corporal companion unattended wends its way, sad and solitary, to the land of Ibú. I have been assured by priests that this companionless soul frequently returns to the scene of sickness and there bemoans with piteous cries the loss of its companion, heaping horrid imprecations on the head of the foul spirit that wrought the evil. Only the priest can hear its wild wail of woe and see its piteous face, all suffused with tears. Upon seeing the spirit's grief the priest renews at once his supplications to his tutelary deities, beseeching them to rescue the captured soul from the clutches of its enemy and thereby save the life of the patient. Should the prayers of the priest prove unavailing, the soul wends its way to the region of Ibú, where, free from the agressions of earthly enemies, it begins its second and unending existence in the company of its spirit relatives.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE DEITIES

Manóbo religion consists primarily of a belief in an innumerable number of deities called *úmli* and of secondary deities called *diuáta*. In contradistinction to these is a multitudinous host of demons known as *búsau*, waging incessant and ruthless war against the Manóbo world. In addition to these there is a numerous array of spirits known as *tagbánua* to whom is assigned the ownership of the forests, hills, and valleys, while the various other divisions and operations of nature are thought to be under the superintendence of other preternatural beings, beneficent or otherwise.

The conception which the Manóbo has of the supernatural world is very much like his idea of the world in which he lives. His gods, like his warrior chiefs, are great chiefs, no one of whom recognizes the sovereignty of the other. *We find no idea of a supreme being as such.* The priests of one settlement have their own special deities to whom they and their relatives have recourse, while the priests of another settlement have another set of deities for their tutelaries, with whom they intercede, either for themselves or for such of their friends as may need assistance. It is true that each priest has amongst his familiars a major divinity from whom he may have experienced more help, *but in the spirit world there does not exist, according to Manóbo belief, one supreme universal being.*[7] Each priest declares the supremacy of his major deity over those of other priests, and Manóbos declare Manóbo deities to be superior to those of other tribes.

CLASSIFICATION OF DEITIES AND SPIRITS

The following is a general classification of Manóbo deities and spirits.

BENEVOLENT DEITIES

(1) *Úm-li*, a class of higher beings who on special occasions, through the intercession of the *diuáta*, succor mortals.

(2) *Diuáta*, a minor order of benignant deities, with whom the priests hold communion on all occasions of impending danger, before all important undertakings, and whenever it is considered necessary to feast or to propitiate them.

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[6] The "souls" of an ordinary priest and of war priests, as also those of the slain, are not subject to such attacks, being under the protection of numerous dieties.

[7] During the great religious movement that was at its height in 1909, there was a general belief in the existence of a *Magbabáya*, or supreme being, that was to overthrow the world, but before my departure from the Agúsan in 1910, this supreme being was multiplied and was being sold to anyone of Manóbo belief who could afford to pay the equivalent of a human life. Thus one frequently heard that So-and-So had received one or more *Magbabáya*.

GODS OF GORE AND RAGE

(1) *Tagbúsau,* a category of sanguinary gods who delight in blood and who incite their chosen favorites, the *bagáni* or warrior chiefs, to bloodshed and revenge, and ordinary laymen to acts of violence and madness.

(2) *Panaîyang,* a class of fierce deities related by ties of kinship, and subordinate to the *tagbúsau* or gods of gore. Their special function seems to be to drive men to madness.[8]

(3) *Pamáiya,* retainers of the *tagbúsau,* and their emissaries, when it is desired to incite men to acts of rage.

MALIGNANT AND DANGEROUS SPIRITS

Bú-sau, an order of insatiable fiends, who, with some exceptions, occupy themselves wantonly in the destruction of human kind. The following are some of the classes and individuals who are commonly believed in but who, unlike most of the other *búsau,* are not of a perfidious nature unless aroused to anger.

(1) *Tag-bánua,* a class of spirits who are not unkind, if duly respected, and who live in all silent and gloomy places.

(2) *Táme,* a gigantic spirit, that dwells in the untraveled jungle and beguiles the traveler to his doom.

(3) *Dágau,* a mischievous, fickle spirit that delights in stealing the rice from the granary. If aroused to anger she may cause a failure of the rice crop.[9]

(4) *Anít* or *Anítan,* is the spirit of the thunderbolt, and one of the mightier class of spirits that dwell in the upper sky world.[10]

(5) *Epidemic demons,* who hail from the extremity of the world at the navel [11] of the ocean.

AGRICULTURAL GODDESSES

(1) *Kakiádan,* the goddess of the rice, and its custodian during its growth.

(2) *Tagamáling,* the goddess of other crops.

(3) *Taphágan,* the harvest goddess, and guardian of the rice during its storage in the granary.

GIANT SPIRITS

(1) *Mandayàñgan,* a harmless humanlike giant whose home is in the far-off mountain forests.

(2) *Ápíla,* an innocuous humanlike giant, the rival of Mandayánñgan for the wrestling championship.

(3) *Táme,* the giant demon referred to above.

GODS OF LUST AND CONSANGUINEOUS LOVE

(1) *Tagabáyau,* a dangerous goddess, that incites to consanguineous love and marriage.

(2) *Agkui,* half *diuáta,* half *búsau,* who urges men to consanguineous love and to sexual excesses.

SPIRITS OF CELESTIAL PHENOMENA

(1) *Inaíyau,* an empyrean god, the wielder of the thunderbolt and the lightning, and the manipulator of the winds and storms.

(2) *Tagbánua,* who, besides being local gods reigning over the forest, have the power to produce rain.

(3) *Umoúiuí,* the cloud spirit.

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[8] They are called *ma ka-yáng-ug,* i. e., "can make mad."

[9] She is called also *Ma-ka-bún-ta-sái,* i. e., "can cause hunger."

[10] *In-ug-tú-han.*

[11] *Pós'-ud to dá-gat.*

OTHER SPIRITS

(1) *Sugúdon* or *Súgújun*, the god of hunters and trappers, under whose auspices are conducted the operations of the chase and all that pertains thereto. He is also the protector of the hunting dogs.

(2) *Libtákan*, the god of sunrise, sunset, and good weather; a god who dwells in the firmament and seems to have special power in the production of light and good weather.

(3) *Mandáit*, the soul spirit who bestows upon every human being two invisible, not indwelling, material counterparts.

(4) *Yúmud*, the water wraith, an apparently innocuous spirit, abiding in deep and rocky places, usually in pools, beneath the surface of the water.

(5) *Ibú*, the queen of the afterworld, the goddess of deceased mortals, whose abode is down below the pillars of the world.

(6) *Manduyápit*, the spirit ferryman, the proverbial ferryman who ferries the departed soul across the big red river on its way to Ibuland.

(7) *Makalídung*, the founder of the world, who set the world on huge pillars (posts).

NATURE OF THE VARIOUS DIVINITIES IN DETAIL

THE PRIMARY DEITIES [12]

The primary *diuáta* are a class of supernatural beings that dwell in the upper heavens. It is generally believed that at one time they led a human existence in Manobóland but finally built themselves a stone structure up into the sky and became transformed into divinities of the first order. They stand aloft in a category by themselves and have no dealings with the Manóbo world. On occasions the minor *diuáta* or those of the second class, when they are unable to afford man the required help, have recourse to these greater deities. During my last trip to the Agúsan Valley, it was the common report that the *diuáta* of a certain Manóbo clan on the upper Umaíam River, having been unable to protect the people from military persecution had recourse to this higher hierarchy and that it was only a matter of time when the members of the clan would be taken up into the higher-sky regions where the supreme powers dwell and where they would themselves become *úmli* or *madigónan no diuáta.*

It is thought that these deities have brass intestines and that they can draw up a house into their ethereal abodes with a gold *limbá*,[13] but the conception of them is so vague and so varying that I am unable to give further definite information.

THE SECONDARY ORDER OF DEITIES

It is with the secondary order of divinities, however, that we have to deal more at length, for they are the guardians and champions of the Manóbo in all the vicissitudes and concerns of life.

They are thought to be beings that in the long forgotten past lived their earthly lives here below and after their mortal course was run were in some inexplicable way changed into *diuáta.* Though belonging now to a different and more powerful order, they still retain a fondness for the tribesmen who sojourn here below. Selecting certain men and women for their favored friends [14] they keep in touch with worldly affairs and at the call of their favorites hasten to the help of humankind.

In physical appearance these deities are human and Manóbo-like but they are described as being "as fair as the moon." Warriors they are, to a certainty, for they are said to carry their shield and all the insignia of a Manóbo warrior chief and to fare forth at times to punish some bold demon for his evil machinations against the tribe.

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[12] Called also *úm-li* or *ma-di-góon-an no di-u-á-ta.*

[13] *Lim-bá* possibly means chain.

[14] These are the *báilan* or priests and priestesses of Manóboland.

They are said to reside on the highest and most inaccessible mountains [15] in the vicinity of their favorite priests but are ready to fly "on the wings of the wind" to any part of the world in answer to a call for help.

On these lofty heights they ordinarily lead a peaceful life. They are blessed with wives and children and have attendant spirits [16] to do their bidding. They have slaves, too, in their households, black ill-visaged demons captured in some great raid. They have few material wants, for betel nut is said to be their food but still they love to join in the feasts of mortals and to be regaled with all the good things of this world. They do not consume mortal offerings in a material way, for the offerings remain intact except for some slight fingerings that have been found at times on the surface of the rice and other offerings. It is only the "soul," or, as is held by others, the redolence of the viands that is partaken of. An exception, however, must be made in the case of the blood of victims, for this is actually consumed by the deities.

So great is their desire for the savory things of life that they are said to plague their mortal friends into providing them. Thus Mandáit, the soul spirit, makes the babe restless, and even indisposed, with no other intention than to induce the people to provide a fatted fowl. It is believed too that Manaúg, the special patron of the sick, causes many a bodily ailment in order that his idol may be set up and that he may be treated to the various delicacies that he is fond of. And the bloodthirsty war lords, Tagbúsau, must have their blood libation periodically, whether it comes from a human being or from an animal victim. It is true that this blood offering is to all appearance taken by the warrior chief or by the priest, for they ravenously suck it from the gory wound, or gulp it down from the vessel in which it has been caught. But it is believed that neither the priest nor the warrior chief drinks it, but the familiar spirits of the former, or the gods of the latter, who at the moment of sacrifice have taken possession of them, and produce in them violent tremblings and other manifestations of preternatural possession. I could get no satisfactory explanation of the manner of this possession. It is said to be effected by a mysterious corporal transformation of the divinity such as even the demons are capable of when they desire to ply their malice on humankind.

It is during this period of ecstatic seizure that the priest reveals to the assembled tribesmen the directions and desires of his deities. Breaking forth with loud voice and great belching into a wild strain, he announces to the people the recovery of the sick one, or a plentiful harvest, but it is not the priest that utters these prophecies and instructions, but the *diuáta* that speaks through him.

THE GODS OF GORE, AND KINDRED SPIRITS

These warlike beings are an order of divinities under whose special protection the priest warrior chief performs his feats of valor, and for whose special veneration he makes sacrifices and other offerings.

The prevailing idea with regard to them is that they are a class of deities whose sole delight is the blood of the human race. This is said to be their choice food, though they are willing, on nearly all occasions, to accept as a substitute that of a pig or of a fowl.

They are said to dwell in high, rocky places on far-away mountains. In order to be supplied with the delicacies of which they are so fond, they select certain individuals for their favorites and servants, and accord to them an immunity from personal danger.

It is seldom that they leave their rocky dwelling places, but when they do it is because they consider themselves neglected by their servants or when they experience an inordinate craving for blood. In such cases they hasten to plague their favorites in divers ways into watchfulness and compliance, and thereby keep themselves supplied with the viands so acceptable to them.

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[15] We find several mountains and promontories in eastern Mindanáo named after these gods, notably Mount Magdiuáta to the southwest, and the Magdiuáta range to the northwest, of the town of Liánga. Point Diuáta also, to the west of Butuán, is reported as being the dwelling place of Manóbo divinities.

[16] These retainers are called *lim-bó-tung*.

They have messengers, too. These are called *pamáiya* and are sent by their masters to human haunts to incite men to anger, and thereby bring on an occasion for bloodshed, much as the proverbial devil is said to tempt humankind.

During all ceremonial feasts in their honor they are present and partake of the blood of the victim, human or animal. And when their favorite servants go forth to take revenge upon some long-standing enemy, they accompany him and during the attack are by his side, protecting him and inciting him to superhuman deeds. And when the enemy, men and women, lie bleeding all around and the captives have been bound, these terrible spirits eat, through their favorite's mouth, the heart and liver and the blood of one of the slain, preferably that of the chief enemy.

CHAPTER XXIII

MALEFICENT SPIRITS

THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF MALIGNANT DEMONS

Standing out in strong antithesis to the benevolent divinities is an order of maleficent spirits corresponding to the proverbial devils of other cults. Throughout this paper they will be called, for want of a better name, *búsau* or demons; that is, evil agents holding an intermediate place between the higher divinities and men. No uniform tradition as to the origin of these spirits appears to exist. It is certain, however, from my investigation that the belief in such spirits antedates the recent partial Christian conquest of the Agúsan.[1] It is said that in the old, old days, these spirits were rather well disposed toward men, and that children used to be entrusted to their care during the absence of the parents. Be that as it may, at the present day they have acquired a degree of maleficence that causes them to be considered the implacable enemies of the human race.

As frequently described to me by priests and by others who claimed to have seen them, these foul spirits are human in all other respects except that they are unusually tall, 2 fathoms being the average height accorded them. Black and hideous in appearance they are said to stalk around in the darkness and silence of the night. By day they retire to dark thickets, somber caves, and the joyless resting places of the dead.

They have no families nor houses, neither do they experience physical wants and so they wander around in wanton malice toward men. Seizing an unwary human "soul," they make it a prisoner and, sweeping away with it "on the wings of the wind," in some mysterious way devour it. Or, again, simulating the shape of a wild boar, an uncommon bird, or even a fish, they inflict bodily harm on their human victim.

The story of "Ápo Bóhon"[2] illustrates the belief in the metamorphosis of these demons. Ápo Bóhon was a Manóbo of the Kasilaían River. One day, in the olden time, he went forth to hunt but had no luck, though three times he had offered his tributes to the Lord of the Agibáwa marshland. Wearied with this hunt, he lay down to rest toward evening when lo! he spied a monkey and taking his bow and dart arrow he shot it. But he could not cook it. He piled wood upon the fire but still the flesh only blackened with soot and would not cook. In his hunger he ate the flesh raw but he never returned home, for the monkey was an evil spirit and Ápo Bóhon fell into his power. Thus it is that until this day he wanders around the woods of Kasilaían and may be heard toward evening calling his dogs together for his return to his home on Agibáwa marshland. Woe betide the unlucky mortal who may cross his path, for now his quest is human. But if, upon hearing his voice, the traveler calls upon him and offers him a quid, Ápo Bóhon will pass on his way and do no harm.

METHODS OF FRUSTRATING THEIR EVIL DESIGNS

THROUGH PRIESTS

Naturally to the priest falls the task of opposing, through his influence with men's supernal friends, these malicious beings. Having got together the proper offerings he calls upon his friendly gods, one or several, and beseeches them to rescue and release the missing spirit or *umagád*, and to punish the offending demons. Well pleased with the tokens of good will offered by the priest and by his earthly friends, the friendly deities are said to hasten to their home and gird themselves for the pursuit. With lance and shield and hempen coat[3] they start off on the raid. They are described as having their hair bound up in small wooden hemispheres, their heads turbaned with the red kerchief, and their necks adorned with a wealth of charms, much like the great warrior chiefs of Manóboland. Guiding their footsteps by means of a powerful glass,[4] and traveling with tremendous speed, they are said to overtake quickly the fleeing enemy, even though they may have to travel to the other side of the world. Then begins a fierce battle between them and the enemy for the recovery of a human soul, or for the purpose of punishing the demons for acts of malice.

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[1] The introduction of Catholicism among the pagan tribes of eastern Mindanáo was begun on a large scale by the Jesuits about the year 1877.

[2] *A-po* means "grandfather" and *bo-on* "ulcer."

[3] *Lim-bó-tuñg.*

This battle is described in minutest detail by the priests during the period of divine possession through which they pass in the course of the religious ceremonies. At times a hand-to-hand combat between a friendly deity and some more powerful demon is described at great length. Again the capture of many evil spirits is the theme of a story.

A common occurrence during these combats is the use of an iron ball by the friendly deities. The sight of this is said to inspire terror in the demons and leaves them at the mercy of their opponents. Shut up in this ball as in an iron prison they are brought back in triumph to the domains of their conquerors and the rescued companion spirit of man hurries joyously back to its mortal counterpart. These evil demons are said to be held as captives in the houses of the good spirits and to serve them in the capacity of slaves, accompanying and aiding them in their warlike expeditions against other evil spirits.

BY VARIOUS MATERIAL MEANS

Besides having recourse to the *diuáta* the Manóbos make use of a reed,[5] or vine,[6] of the branches of a wild lemon tree[7] and other plants,[8] in order to counteract the evil influence of these fiends. It may be remarked that all of these cause a painful wound on an ordinary human being but that they are said to be particularly irritating to evil spirits; this is especially true of the wound made by the *sá sá* reed. Hence, on occasions when these demons are expected to be present, the priest secures the above-mentioned plants and sets them in places where it is thought the demons may be enticed to enter. It is mostly on the occasion of a death or of a birth that these precautions have to be taken for the smell of death and of human blood seems to have a great attraction for these monsters. On such occasions branches of lemon trees or of the other plants above mentioned are hung under the house or at any opening in the wall. The priest, also, frequently carries a sharpened *sá sá* reed in the hope of encountering some overbold demon. Although the wound inflicted by the reed does not kill the demon, yet it is very slow to heal and is said to be at times incurable.

Such is the fear which the evil spirits have of these reeds, vines, and branches that the mere mention of them is believed to be sufficient to frighten the demons. Fire and smoke, also, are said to keep them away and for that reason a fire is often kept burning under the house during times of sickness and death. Great care is used to keep alive the fire at night on nearly all occasions of apprehension.

Loud shouts, too, are resorted to in order to intimidate the evil spirits. During funerals the yelling is particularly noticeable; the loud yells which one hears while traveling through solitary places in the mountains and down the rivers are intended as a menace to the malevolent spirits.

BY PROPITIATION

When all other means have proved unavailing, propitiation is resorted to. I witnessed the propitiatory ceremony during several cases of serious sickness. In each case, when the offerings had been set out for the benevolent divinities on the regular sacrificial stands,[9] a corresponding offering of meat, rice, and other things was set out for the evil demons that were supposed to be responsible for the sickness. Their offerings were not placed in the house but outside, on a log or on the ground, and were not touched again, nor eaten by anyone, for the spirit of evil might have rendered them baneful.[10]

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[4] Called *espiho*. There is a universal belief among the Manóbos in an *espiho* (from the Spanish *espejo*, looking-glass) by which one can see into the bowels of the earth or to the extremities of the world.

[5] *Sá-sá*.

[6] *U-ág*.

[7] *Su-á* and *Ka-ba-yan-d*.

[8] *Ka-mili* and *Húás*.

[9] *Ban-ká-so* and *ta-lí-duñg*.

After the various supplications have been made by the priests to the good deities, the evil ones are called upon but not in the same way, for they are not allowed within the precincts of the house, where various objects, like *sá sá* and lemon branches, have been placed to prevent their entrance. They are addressed from the opening around the house as if they were at a considerable distance, and no very endearing terms are used. During cases of sickness and especially during epidemics the custom of making a ceremonial raft is very common. I have heard numerous accounts both as to the uniformity of this practice and the reason for it.

Sickness of an unusual kind and especially of a contagious nature is supposed to be due to the agency of some very powerful epidemic spirits, who ascend the river, spreading the infection, and eluding at the same time, the *diuáta* in pursuit. When the priests decide that all efforts to secure aid of the good deities are unavailing, they determine to propitiate the evil epidemic spirits in the following manner: A small raft of bamboo, 1 meter by 5 meters in the instance I witnessed, is constructed. On this is securely bound a victim, such as a pig. Fowl also may be offered on similar occasions and more or less elaborate ceremonies may be performed, like the blood-unction and the fowl-waving rite. In the ceremony which I witnessed the demons in question were formally requested to accept the pig, not to molest the settlement further, and to take themselves and their pig "down the river." The sickness was then addressed and requested to transfer itself to the body of the pig. After this the raft was freed and in its seaward course floated into the hands of persons who had less fear of demons than their Manóbo friends.[11]

THE "TAGBÁNUA" OR LOCAL FOREST SPIRITS

THEIR CHARACTERISTICS AND METHOD OF LIVING

The *tagbánua* [12] or lords of the mountains and the valleys, are a class of local deities, each one of whom reigns over a certain district. To them is assigned the ownership of the mountains and the deep forest and all lonely patches and uncommon places that give an impression of mystery and solitude.

The *tagbánua* are thought to be neither kindly nor unkindly spirits, and without guile, provided a proper deference is shown them when we trespass upon their domains.

A *tagbánua* with his family selects a particular place for his habitation, sometimes a lonely mountain, sometimes a solitary glade or some high cliff or gloomy cavern. On one of my trips from Esperanza to the headwaters of the Tágo River, I saw the dwelling place of a *tagbánua*. It was a huge bowlder, called Buhiísan, that stood at the junction of the two torrents that form the Abagá River, a tributary of the Tágo.

A favorite haunt of the *tagbánua* is a natural open place in the center of the forest. Here he builds a house, or more often makes his domicile in a *baléte* tree. I have heard it said that he may at times select the *lauán* or any other lofty tree but that his choice is usually the *baléte*. Here he dwells with his family and is said to lead a quiet, peaceful life. Day by day he wanders through his realm and provides himself with the necessaries of life. Uncommon varieties of plants, such as ferns and ricelike growths, furnish him with the vegetable part of his meal, while venison and pork are obtained from the abundance of wild boars and deer. He and his family return home toward sunset and begin to prepare supper by pounding their rice. Many Manóbos have heard with their own ears, they assured me, not only the sound of the rice mortar but all the sounds that are customarily heard in any Manóbo home.

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[10] Compare with the customs in vogue in the case of offerings made to the *diuáta*.

[11] I know that the pig in question was taken and consumed in a less religious way by a Bisáya trader.

[12] *Tag* a prefix denoting ownership, and *bá-n-u-a*, "uninhabited place," the open uninhabited country as distinguished from the territory in the immediate vicinity of the main rivers or of settled regions.

DEFINITE LOCALITIES TENANTED BY FOREST SPIRITS

There are in the vicinity of Talakógon two localities where *tagbánua* are said to reign. One is called Agibáwa and the other Kasawáñgan. Both of them are remote timberless places in the center of swampy regions. In the former the reigning deity had constructed a house, so I was told by one who claimed to have seen the posts while the house was still in the process of construction. According to other reports this deity had a herd of carabaos whose footprints had been seen by several of my friends and acquaintances.[13]

The Kasawáñgan district was my hunting ground for nearly a year and I had occasion to observe the character and habits of its deity, as interpreted to me by Manóbo guides and companions.

It was with the very greatest fear and reluctance that my first guide introduced me to the marshland. No sooner had I set foot upon it than it began to rain and my guide requested permission to return. In answer to an inquiry as to why he wished to leave me he proffered the information that he was afraid of the *tagbánua*, who was evidently displeased, for had not this deity already sent down a shower of rain? The guide then went on to say that if we persisted in transgressing on the marshland some greater evil was sure to follow. As I told him that we would make friends with the diety he consented to remain with me.

After all preparations for camping had been completed, my companion set out an offering of betel nut on a rude stand and addressing the invisible owner of the marshland, requested him to accept the betel nut and not to be displeased. My guide offered in his own defense that he had come into this region unwillingly.

After a few hours' vain endeavors to procure game, my companion made another donation, requesting the lord of the marsh to forego his ill will and permit us to get a wild boar. His prayers were unavailing for no game was forthcoming. When I lost my compass shortly afterwards my guide assured me that the misfortune was due to the persistent ill will of the *tagbánua* toward me.

I continued to visit this region week after week and had considerable success in getting game, but it was attributed, partly to the fact that the lord of the marsh had taken a liking to me, and partly to the offerings of betel nut and eggs made by my Manóbo boys.

Illustrations similar to this of the fear and deference displayed toward this invisible ruler of solitary places might be multiplied indefinitely. Suffice it to say, however, that the belief in this class of spirits is widespread throughout all tribes of eastern Mindanáo, Bisáyas [14] included.

WORSHIP OF THE FOREST SPIRITS

The existence of a *tagbánua* in any particular locality is determined by a priest who, through his protecting deities, learns the name [15] of the spirit, ascertains the cause of his displeasure on a given occasion, and prescribes the offerings to be made to him either for reasons of propitiation or of supplication.

Respect must be shown toward the *tagbánua* in various ways. His territory must not be trespassed upon, nor any of his property, such as trees, interfered with unless some little offering is made. His name, if known, as also the names of fish and of crocodiles, and of other things which are not indigenous to the region, must in no wise be mentioned. A violation of this taboo would be followed by a storm or by some other evil indicative of the *tagbánua's* displeasure, unless immediate measures were taken to appease his anger. Again, if one points the finger at places like a mountain where dwells a *tagbánua*, the displeasure of its owner is aroused and the transgressor is liable to feel the spirit's anger. It was explained to me by several Manóbos that pointing at the dwelling place of these spirits might result in petrifaction of the arm.

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[13] These carabaos were evidently the remnant, or the offspring, of a small herd that escaped to the woods in the time of the Philippine insurrection.

[14] Among the Bisáyas who come from Bohol, the respect paid the *tagbánua* amounts almost to worship.

[15] Only the priests may pronounce the name.

The occupation of a new site is almost invariably the occasion for an invocation to the *tagbánua*, especially if the site be in the vicinity of a *baléte* tree tenanted by him, for to occupy the place without obtaining his good will and permission would expose the would-be occupant to numberless vicissitudes. During hunting and trapping operations supplication is resorted to, especially when the hunter finds that game is scarce.[16]

In case it is decided by the priest, or even suspected by an individual that an adversity, such as bad weather or sudden floods, is a result of a *tagbánua's* animosity, and that the ordinary simple offerings are not sufficient to placate him, then a white chicken must be killed and the regular rites peculiar to a blood sacrifice must be performed.

It is rare, however, that a Manóbo has so far forgotten himself as to draw down the resentment of this kindly deity, and render propitiation necessary. I, however, witnessed a case wherein it was considered expedient to placate his anger; I was requested to take the necessary steps, as I was considered the object of his wrath. My Manóbo oarsmen desired to discontinue the journey at an early hour of the afternoon, but for several reasons I wished to reach a certain point before nightfall, so a little ruse was resorted to. I granted their request to rest and they very promptly went to sleep. Not long afterwards I struck a few blows on the outriggers with a piece of iron. The Manóbo could explain it in no other way except that the local *tagbánua* had been displeased with my demeanor, for had I not, they said, gone into the forest in the vicinity of his arboreal dwelling and, notwithstanding their advice to the contrary, given vent to loud and disrespectful vociferations. As we were in the vicinity of the *baléte* tree it was unanimously decided to push on. At the next few stopping places the ruse was repeated, so that no doubt was any longer entertained as to the supposed cause of the occurrence, the wrath of the *tagbánua*. Several little incidents, such as striking a hidden snag, and the increase of the flood, both of which were also attributed to this spirit's malign influence, heightened their fear. They finally begged me to stop for the purpose of sacrificing one of my chickens to the offended deity. We finally reached the desired spot and the supposed supernatural sounds were heard no longer.

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[16] In the chapter on hunting, the various observances on such occasions have been described.

CHAPTER XXIV

PRIESTS, THEIR PREROGATIVES AND FUNCTIONS

THE BAILÁN OR ORDINARY MANÓBO PRIESTS

THEIR GENERAL CHARACTER

The *bailán*[1] is a man or woman who has become an object of special predilection to one or more of those supernatural friendly beings known among the Manóbos as *diuáta.* This will explain why the word *diuatahán* is frequently used, especially by the mountain people, instead of *bailán.* I was frequently told by priests that this special predilection of the deities for them is due to the fact that they happened to be born at the same time as their divine protectors. This belief, however, is not general.

As a result of the favor in which the supernatural beings hold him, the priest becomes the favorite and familiar of spirits with whom he can commune and from whom he can ask favors and protection both for himself and for his friends. Hence he is regarded by his fellow tribesmen in the light of a mediator through whom they transact all their business with the other world. In the hour of danger the *bailán* is consulted, and after a brief communion with his spirit friends he explains the measures to be adopted, in accordance with the injunctions of his tutelary deities. Should a *balête* tree have to be removed from the newly selected forest patch, who else could coax its spirit dwellers not to molest the tiller of the soil, if not the *bailán*? Should a tribesman have a monstrous dream and no one of all the dream experts succeed in giving a satisfactory interpretation, the *bailán* is called in to consult the powers above and ascertains that the dream forebodes, perhaps, an impending sickness and that an offering of a white fowl must be made to Manáug, the protector of the sick. And should this offering prove unavailing, he has recourse to his supernal friends again and discovers that a greater oblation must be made to save the patient. And if there is a very unfavorable conjunction to omens, who else but the *bailán* could learn through his divine friends the significance thereof and whether the home must be abandoned or the project relinquished?

At every turn of life, whether the deities have to be invoked, conciliated, or appeased, the Manóbo calls upon the priest to intercede for himself, for his relatives, and for his friends.

The office of priest may be said to be hereditary. I found that with few exceptions it had remained within the immediate circle of the *bailán's* relatives. Toward the evening of life the aged priest selects his successor, recommending his choice to the *diuáta.* In one instance that I know of the mother, a *bailán*, instructed her daughter in the varieties of herbs which she had found to be acceptable to her familiars, and I was told that such is the usual procedure when the priest himself has a personal concern in the succession.

But no matter how proficient the *bailán*-elect may be in the sacred rites and legendary songs of the order, he is not recognized by his fellow tribesmen until he falls into the condition of what is known as *dundan,* a state of mental and physical exaltation which is considered to be an unmistakable proof of the presence and operation of some supernal power within him. This exaltation manifests itself by a violent trembling accompanied by loud belching, copious sweating, foaming at the mouth, protruding of the eyeballs, and in some cases that I have seen, apparent temporary loss of sight and unconsciousness. These symptoms are considered to be an infallible sign of divine influence, and the novice is accordingly recognized as a full-fledged priest ready to begin his ministrations under the protection of his spiritual friends. I know of one case on the lower

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[1] *Bai-lán* is probably a transformation of the Malay word *be-li-an,* a medicine man. (Mandáya, Bagóbo, and Subánun, *ba-li-án.*)

Lamíñga River, a tributary of the Kasilaían, where a certain individual[2] became a *bailán* without previous premonition and without any aspirations on his part. He was a person of little guile and one who had never had any previous training in the practices of his order.

When he receives a familiar deity the new priest becomes endowed with five more spirits or soul companions, for his greater protection and for the prolongation of his life. It is evident that his duties as mediator create a deadly hate on the part of the evil spirits toward him; hence the need of greater protection, such as is said to be afforded by the increase in number of spirit companions. It is generally believed that, due also to this special protection, the priests are more long-lived than ordinary men. I was informed by some that with the increase of each familiar there was an addition of five more souls or spirit companions, but I did not find this to be the common belief.

THEIR PREROGATIVES

(1) The priest holds converse with his divine friends, whose form he sees and describes, whose words he hears and interprets, and whose injunctions, whether made known directly by personal revelation or through divination or through dreams, he announces. When under supernal influence he is not a voluntary agent but an inspired being, through whose mouth the deity announces his will and to whose eyes he appears in visible incarnation.

(2) By means of his friendship with these unseen beings he is enabled to discover the presence of the inveterate enemies of human kind, the *búsau,* and even to wound them. I investigated two[3] cases of the latter kind and found that not a shadow of doubt as to the truth of the killing and as to the reality of this last-mentioned power was entertained by those who had been in a position to see and hear the facts.

(3) As a result of the favor with which he is looked upon by the beneficent deities, he is enabled to discover the presence of various spirits in certain localities, and he knows the proper means of dealing with them. This statement applies to the spirits of "souls"[4] of the departed whose wishes and wants he interprets; to the spirits of the hills and the valleys, the *tagbánua,* whose favor must be courted and whose displeasure must not be provoked, and to the whole order of supernatural beings that people the Manóbo world, with the exception of the blood spirits, the worship of whom falls to the war priests.

SINCERITY OF THE PRIESTS

On first becoming acquainted with the *bailán* system, I was very dubious, to say the least, of the sincerity and disinterestedness of these favorites of the gods. But long and careful observation and frequent dealings with them have thoroughly convinced me of their sincerity. They affect no austere practices, no chastity, nor any other observance peculiar to the order of priesthood in other parts of the world. They claim no high prerogatives of their own; they can not slay at a distance nor metamorphose themselves into animals of fierce aspect. They have no cabalistic rites nor magic formulas nor miraculous methods for producing wondrous effects. In a word, as far as my personal observation goes, they are not impostors nor conjurers, plying thrifty trade with their fellow tribesmen, but merely intermediaries, who avail themselves of their intimacy with powers unseen to solicit aid for themselves and for their fellows in the hour of trial or tribulation. "I will call on *Si Inimigus*" (her *diuáta's* pet name, his real name being Si Inámpo), said a priestess of the Kasilaían River to me once when I consulted her as to the sickness of a child, "and I will let you know his answer." On her return she informed me that the child had fallen under the influence of an evil spirit and that *Si Inimigus* required the sacrifice of a pig as a token of my good will towards him and also as a gratification of a desire that he felt for such nourishment. She departed as she came, never asking any compensation for her advice.

I might cite many cases of a similar nature that passed under my personal observation and in which I made every endeavor to discover mercenary motives. I frequently interrogated men of political and social standing as to the possibility of hypocrisy and deceit on the part of the priests. The invariable answer was that such could not be the case, as the deities themselves would be the first to resent and punish such deception. One shrewd Manóbo of the upper Agúsan assured me that the Manóbos themselves were wise enough to detect attempts at fraud in such matters.

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[2] Báya (or Bório) is the young man referred to.

[3] San Luis and San Miguel.

[4] *Um-a-gád.*

Moreover, the fact that the priest incurs comparatively heavy expenses is another evidence of his sincerity, for, in order to keep his tutelary spirits supplied with the delicacies they desire, he must offer constant oblations of pig and fowl, since he believes that when these spirits are hungry they lose their good humor and are liable to permit some evil spirit to work malice on him or on some of his relatives. Of course his relatives and friends help to keep them supplied, but at the same time he probably undergoes more expense himself than any other individual.

Finally, as further proof of the absence of mercenary motives, it may be stated that the priest is not entitled to any share of the sacrificial victim except that which he eats in company with those who attend the sacrifice and the subsequent consumption of the victim.

THEIR INFLUENCE

The priest has no political influence as a rule. I am acquainted with none and have heard of very few priests, who have attained the chieftainship of a settlement, even among the *conquistas*, or Christianized Manóbos, who live within the pale of the established government. But in matters that pertain to the religious side of life their influence is paramount, for it is chiefly due to them that tribal customs and conditions are unflinchingly maintained. The following incident is an illustration of this influence:

During a visit which I made to the Lamíñga River, a western tributary of the Kasilaían River, I met Mandahanân, a warrior chief. Among other matters I referred to the ridiculously low price, ₱0.50 per sack, at which Manóbos were wont to sell rice to the Bisâya peddlers who at that time were swarming in the district. I suggested that they dispose of their rice at the current Bisâya rate of ₱2.50 per sack. He replied that he had been of that opinion for some time, but that the four priests of his following had decided that an increase of the customary value of rice would entail a mysterious lessening of the present crop and a partial or even total loss of that of next year, the reason assigned by them being that such an action would be displeasing to *Hakiádan*, the goddess of rice, and to *Tagamáling*, the protector of other crops. These deities, he assured me, were very capricious, and when they took umbrage at anything, they either caused the rice in the granaries to diminish mysteriously, or brought about a failure in the following year's crop.[5]

To the priests may be ascribed the rigid adherence to tribal practices and the opposition to modern innovations, even when the change confessedly would be beneficial to them.

THEIR DRESS AND FUNCTIONS

The priest has no distinctive dress, but while officiating garbs himself with all the wealth of beads, bells, and baubles that he may have acquired. As a rule he has an abundance not only of these but of charms, talismans, and amulets, all of which are hung from his neck, or girded around his waist. These charms have various mystic powers for the protection of his person and some of them are said to have been revealed to him by his favorite deities. While performing the invocation and the sacred dance on the occasion of a greater sacrifice, he always carries, one in each hand, a parted palm frond with the spikes undetached.

All the rites of the Manóbo ritual consist of one or more of the following elements: Invocation, petition, consultation, propitiation, and expiation. The priest is, in fact, either alone or aided by others of his kind, the officiant in nearly every religious ceremony; laymen merely sit round and take desultory interest in the ceremonial proceedings.

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[5] The killing of Mr. Ickis, of the Bureau of Science, according to an account that I received, also demonstrates the influence exerted by the priests.

These rites are the following:

(1) The betel-nut offering.[6]
(2) The burning of incense.[7]
(3) Ceremonial omen taking.[8]
(4) Prophylactic fowl waving.[9]
(5) The death feast.[10]
(6) The sacrifice of a fowl or of a pig [11] to his own tutelaries in the event of sickness or in the hour of impending danger.
(7) The offering of a fowl or of a pig to Taphágan, the goddess of grain during the season of rice culture.
(8) The harvest ceremonies in honor of Hakiádan for the purpose of securing an abundant crop and of protecting the rice from sundry insidious enemies and dangers.
(9) The birth ceremony in honor of Mandáit for the protection of the recently born babe.
(10) Conciliatory offerings to the demons during epidemics, as also in cases where the power of the evil spirits is thought to predominate over that of the kindly deities. Madness and inordinate sexual passion, as also the continuance of an epidemic after incessant efforts have failed to secure the aid of the friendly spirits are illustrations of the power of the evil spirits.
(11) Lustration [12] either by anointing with blood or by aspersion with water.
(12) The betel-nut omen.[13]
(13) The invocation of the *diuáta* with the sacred chant.[14]

THE BAGÁNI OR PRIESTS OF WAR AND BLOOD

The *bagáni* or warrior priests are under the protection of preternatural beings called *tagbúsau*, whose bloodthirsty cravings they must satisfy.

This peculiar priesthood is not hereditary, but is a pure gift from warlike spirits, who select certain mortals for favorites, constantly guard them against the attacks of their enemies, teach them the use of various secret herbs whereby to render themselves invisible and invulnerable, bestow upon them an additional number of soul companions that in some indefinable way protect them against the ire of the resentful slain, and in general afford them an immunity from all dangers, material and spiritual.

It is believed that when the warrior priest dies his soul companions return to the war spirits from whom they proceeded, and with whom they take up their eternal abode upon the far-off mountain heights. Upon their return to these heights it is said that they are pursued by a monstrous crowd of inexorable demons and vexed spirits of those that have fallen victims to their arm, but that, owing to the power and vigilance of the mighty gods of war, they reach their last home unscathed.

Like the priest, a war chief is recognized as a priest when he falls into that state of paroxysm that is considered to be of preternatural origin. This condition is usually the result of a wild fight, in which, after slashing down one or more of the enemy, he eats the heart and liver of one of the slain and dances around in ungovernable fury. I have been frequently informed that the companions of a man thus possessed cautiously withdraw while he is under this influence, as he might do something rash. I witnessed the actions of several *bagáni* during ceremonial performances to the *tagbúsau*, and I felt no little fear as to what might be the outcome of the warrior chief's fury.

What has been said of the sincerity of the ordinary priest and of his disinterestedness and freedom from mercenary motives applies equally to the war chief in his position as war priest.

In return for the protection accorded to his select ones the gods of war require frequent supplies of blood and other delicacies, the denial of which would render the favorite liable to constant plaguing by his protectors in their efforts to make him mindful of their needs. In another chapter we shall see the means whereby the *bagáni* keeps himself in the good graces of his inexorable deities.[15]

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[6] *Pag-á-pug.*

[7] *Pag-pa-lí-na.*

[8] *Ti-maí-ya.*

[9] *Kú-yab ta má-nuk.*

[10] *Ka-ta-pú-san.*

[11] *Hín-añg ta ka-hi-mó-nan.*

[12] *Paí-as.*

[13] *Ti-maí-a ta man-ó-on.*

[14] *Túd-um.*

[15] For a full description of the rites peculiar to the warrior chief as priest the reader is referred to Chapter XXVI.

CHAPTER XXV

CEREMONIAL ACCESSORIES AND RELIGIOUS RITES

GENERAL REMARKS

The differences which I observed in the performance of ceremonies in different localities appear to be due to the vagaries and idiosyncrasies of the individual performers and not to any established system. But in the main these variations are not essential. For example, in certain localities the blood of the pig as it issues forth from the lance wound is sucked from the wound, while in others it is caught in convenient receptacles and then drank. In the following pages I will attempt to give a description of the accessories, the sacrifices, and their associated ceremonies which may be considered general for the Manóbos of the middle and upper Agúsan.

THE PARAPHERNALIA OF THE PRIEST

THE RELIGIOUS SHED [1] AND THE BAILÁN'S HOUSE

The priest has no special residence nor any special religious structure except a little wooden shed and a few ceremonial trays that will be described later. His house is not more capacious nor pretentious than that of anyone else, in fact it is often less so, but it may be recognized always by the presence of the drum and gong, by the little religious shed near by, and by the presence of a few lances, bolos, daggers, and various other objects that are considered heritages,[2] handed down from his predecessors in the priestly office. It is not unusual for the priest, especially among the Christianized Manóbos, to have two houses, one for the residence of his family and another which, by its seclusion, is better adapted for the celebration of religious rites. Hither he may repair, after assisting perhaps at the Catholic services in the settlement, to perform the pagan ceremonies that for him have more truth and efficacy than the Christian rites. While in the settlement and in contact with Christians, he is to all appearances a Christian, but in the moment of trial or tribulation he hies him to the seclusion of his other house and, in the presence of his fellow believers, performs the primitive rites in honor of beings who, to his mind, are more potent to help or to hurt than the hierarchy of Catholic belief.

In this second house, then, will be found, without fail, not only the priestly heirlooms, but all such objects as have been consecrated [3] either by himself or by one of the settlement to the friendly deities. It may be remarked here that these consecrated objects can not be disposed of except by performing a sacrifice, or by making a substitution, usually in the form of pigs and fowl which *ipso facto* become consecrated, and are eventually sacrificed to the proper deity.

EQUIPMENT FOR CEREMONIES

The altar house is a rude bamboo structure consisting of four posts, averaging 1.8 meters high, upon which is a roof of palm thatch. About 45 centimeters beneath this are set one or two shelves for the reception of the oblation bowls and dishes. The whole fabric is decorated with a few fronds of palm trees,[4] and covers a space of approximately 2.4 square meters.

The ceremonial salver [5] is a rectangular wooden tray, generally of *iláñg-iláñg* wood, usually decorated with incised, traced, or carved designs, and having pendants of palm fronds. It is the ceremonial salver on which are set out the offerings of pig, fowl, rice, betel nut, and other things for the deities.

The sacrificial stand [6] also is made out of *iláñg-iláñg* wood. It consists of a disk of wood set upon a leg, and is used for making the offerings of betel nut and other things.

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[1] *Ka-má-lig.*

[2] *Án-ka.*

[3] *Sin-ug-bá-han.*

[4] The fronds used are one or more of the following palms: Betel nut, *anibung*, *kagyas*, and coconut.

[5] *Ban-ká-so.*

[6] *Ta-li-dung.*

When it is decided to make an offering of a pig, a sacrificial table [7] of bamboo is set up close to the house that has been selected as the place of sacrifice. Upon this is bound the victim, lying on its side. Over it are arched fronds of betel-nut and other palms. This stand is used exclusively for the sacrifice of a pig. It is a rude, unpretentious structure.

CEREMONIAL DECORATIONS

Fronds of the coconut, betel nut and other palms are the only decorations used at ceremonies. The betel-nut fronds, however, [8] enjoy a special preference, being used in every important ceremony when they are obtainable. No other leaves and no flowers, unless the bloom of the betel nut be considered such, are used as decorations.

The consecrated objects, consisting of such things as lances, bolos, daggers, and necklaces, are frequently set out upon a ceremonial structure or put in the ceremonial shed in order to give more solemnity to the occasion, and it is not infrequent to find the structure draped with cloth, preferably red.

SACRED IMAGES [9]

Sacred images are of neither varied nor beautiful workmanship. At best they are but rudimentary suggestions of the human form, frequently without the lower extremities. Varying in length from 15 to 45 centimeters they are whittled with a bolo out of pieces of *báyud* wood, or of any soft white wood when *báyud* is not obtainable. More elaborate images are furnished with berries of a certain tree [10] for eyes and adorned with tracings of sap from the *kayúti* or the *narra* tree, but the ordinary idol has a smearing of charcoal for eyes and mouth and a few tracings of the same for body ornamentation.

Images are made in two forms, one representing the male and distinguished by the length of its headpiece and occasionally by the representation of the genital organ, the other representing the female, and distinguished most frequently by the representation of breasts, though in a good image there is often a fair representation of a comb.

Images are intended for the same use as statues in other religions. They are not adored nor worshiped in any sense of the word. They are looked upon as inanimate representations of a deity, and tributes of honor and respect are paid not to them, but to the spirits that they represent. I have seen rice actually put to the lips of these images and bead necklaces hung about their necks; but in answer to my inquiries the response was always the same that not the images, but the spirits, were thereby honored.

It is principally in time of sickness that these images are made. They are placed somewhere near the patient, generally just under the thatch of the roof.

The priest almost invariably has one, or a set of better made ones, which he sets out during the more important ritual celebrations and before which he places offerings for the spirits represented. In a sacrifice performed for the recovery of a sick man on the upper Agúsan, I saw two images, one male and one female, carried in the hand by the presiding priests and made to dance and perform some other suggestive movements.

Occasionally one finds very crude effigies of deities carved on a pole and left standing out on the trail or placed near the house. These are supposed to serve for a resting place for the deities that are expected to protect the settlement or the house. This practice is very common when fear of an attack is entertained, and also during an epidemic.

CEREMONIAL OFFERINGS

Offerings consist, in the main, of the blood [11] and meat of pig and fowl, betel-nut quids, rice, cooked or uncooked, and an exhilarating beverage. But occasionally a full meal, including every obtainable condiment, is set out, even an allowance of water, wherewith to cleanse [12] the hand, being provided for the visiting deities. Such offerings are set out upon consecrated plates [13] which are used for no other purpose and can not be disposed of.

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[7] *Áñg-ka.*

[8] Known as *ba-gai-bai.*

[9] *Man-á-ug.*

[10] *Ma-gu-bai.*

[11] No reference is here made to human blood, a subject which will be found treated in Chapter XXVI.

[12] *Pañg-hú-gas.*

As a rule the offerings must be clean and of good quality. The priest is very careful in the selection of the rice, and picks out of it all dirty grains. Cooked rice given in offering is smoothed down, and, after the deity has concluded his mystic collation is examined for traces of his fingering.

The color of the victims is a matter of importance, too, for the divinities have their special tastes. Thus *Sugúdan*, the god of hunters, prefers a red fowl, while the *tagbánua* display a preference for a white victim.

RELIGIOUS RITES

CLASSIFICATION

(1) The betel-nut offering.[14]
(2) The burning of incense.[15]
(3) The address or invocation.[16]
(4) The ceremonial omen taking.[17]
(5) The prophylactic fowl waving.[18]
(6) The blood unction.[19]
(7) The child ceremony.[20]
(8) The death feast.[21]
(9) The sacrifice of fowl or pig.[22]
(10) The rice planting.[23]
(11) The hunting rite.[24]
(12) The harvest feast.
(13) The conciliation of evil spirits.
(14) The divinatory rites.
(15) The warrior priest's rites.
(16) Human sacrifice.[25]

A description of the more important of these ceremonies will be found distributed throughout this monograph under the various headings to which such ceremonies belong. Thus the child ceremony is placed under the heading "birth," the death feast in the chapter on death, the warriors' sacrifice in that portion of this sketch which treats of the warrior. For the present only the minor and more general ceremonies that may be performed separately, or that may enter into the major ceremonies as subrites, will be described.

METHOD OF PERFORMANCE

The betel-nut tribute.—In all dealings with the unseen world, the offering of betel nut is the first and most essential act, just as it constitutes in the ordinary affairs of Manóbo life the essential preliminary to all overtures made by one man to another. The ceremony may be performed by anyone, but partakes of only a semireligious character when not performed by a *bailán*.

The ceremony consists in setting out on a consecrated plate,[26] or in lieu of it on any convenient receptacle, the ordinary betel-nut quid, consisting of a slice of betel nut placed upon a portion of *buyo* leaf, and sprinkled with a little lime. The priest who has more than one divine protector, must give a tribute to each one of them. In certain ceremonies seven quids are invariably set out by him, always accompanied by an invocation, the strain of which is usually very monotonous and always couched in long periphrastic preambles. It is really an invitation to the spirit whose aid is to be implored to partake of the offering.

Out in the lonely forest the hunter may set his offering upon a log for the spirit owner of the game, or if in the region of a *baléte* tree, he may think it prudent to show his deference to its invisible dwellers by offering them this humble tribute. Again, should a storm overtake him on his way, and should he dread the "stony tooth" of the thunder, he lays out his little offering, quite often with the thought that he has in some unknown way annoyed Anítan, the wielder of the thunderbolt, and must in this fashion appease the offended deity.

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[13] *A-pú-gan.*
[14] *Pag-á-pug.*
[15] *Pag-pa-lí-na.*
[16] *Tawág-táwag.*
[17] *Pag-ti-ná-ya.*
[18] *Kú-yab to mán-uk.*
[19] *Pag-lím-pas.*
[20] *Tag-un-ún to bá-ta'.*
[21] *Ka-ta-pú-san.*
[22] *Ka-hi-mó-nan.*
[23] *Tāp-hag.*
[24] *Pañg-o-múd-an.*
[25] *Hu-á-ga.*
[26] *Á-pú-gan.*

The offering of incense.—This ceremony appears to be confined to priestesses. I have never seen a Manóbo priest offer incense. The resin [27] of a certain tree is used for the purpose, as its fragrance is deemed to be especially pleasing to the deities. The priestess herself, or anyone else at her bidding, removes from the pod [28] at her side, where it is always carried depending from the waist, a little of the resin and lights it. It is then set on the altar or in any convenient spot. The direction of its smoke is thought to indicate the approach and position of the deity invoked. As the smoke often ascends in a slanting direction, it frequently directs itself toward the suspended oblation trays. This is taken as an indication that the deity is resting or sitting upon the *bankáso* tray, in which case he is called *bankasúhan,* or on the *talíduñg,* when he is said to be *talidúñgan.* This ceremony is preliminary to the invocation.

The deities are very partial to sweet fragrances like that of the betel nut frond and of the incense and seem to be averse to strange or evil smells. Hence fire and smoke are usually avoided during the celebration of regular sacrifices, as was stated before. On one occasion I wished to do a favor by lending my acetylene lamp during a ceremonial celebration, but it was returned to me with the information that the smell was not acceptable to the presiding deities.

Invocation.—The invocation is a formal address to the deities, and on special occasions even to the demons, when it is desired to make a truce with them. It is the prerogative of the priest in nearly all ceremonies. As a rule it begins in a long, roundabout discourse and extends itself throughout the whole performance, continuing at intervals for a whole night or longer in important ceremonies. It may be participated in by one priest after another, each one addressing himself to his particular set of divinities and beseeching them by every form of entreaty to be propitious.

The invocation to the good spirits is made at the discretion of the officiating priest, either in the house or outside, and in a moderate voice, but the invocation to the evil ones is shouted out in a loud voice usually from the opening around the walls of the house, as it is considered more prudent to keep the demons at a respectful distance.

In addressing his gods the Manóbo proceeds in about the same way as he does when dealing with his fellow men. He starts well back from the subject and by a series of circumlocutions slowly advances to the point. The beginning of the invocation is ordinarily in a laudatory strain; he reminds his divinities of his past offerings, descants on the size of the victims offered on previous occasions, and the general expenses of past sacrifices. He then probably recalls to their minds instances where these sacrifices had not been reciprocated by the deities. Having thus intimated to the invisible visitors, for they are thought to be present during these invocations, that he and his people are somewhat ill pleased, he goes on to express the hope that in the future and especially on this occasion they will show themselves more grateful. He next proceeds to enumerate the expenses which in their honor are about to be incurred. The fatness and price of the pig are set forth and every imaginable reason adduced why they should be well pleased with the offerings and make a bountiful return of good will and friendship. The spirits may be even bribed with the promise of a future sacrifice, or they may be threatened with desertion and the cessation of all worship of them.

After a long prologue the priest makes an offering of something, it may be a glass of brew, or a plate of rice, and confidentially imparts to his spirits the object of the ceremony. In this manner the invocation is continued, interrupted at intervals by the sacred dance or by periods of ecstatic possession of the priest himself.

Prophylactic fowl waving.—The fowl-waving ceremony may be performed by one not of the priestly order. The performance is very simple. A fowl of no special color is taken in one hand and, its legs and wings being secured to prevent fluttering, it is waved over the person or persons in whom the evil *influence* is thought to dwell and at the same time a short address is made in an undertone to this same influence,[29] bidding it betake itself to other parts. The chicken may be then killed ceremonially and eaten, but if it is not killed it becomes consecrated and is given to the priest until it can be disposed of in a ceremonial way on a future occasion.

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[27] *Tú-gak to ma-gu-bái.*

[28] This is the pod of a tree called *ta-bi-ki.*

This ceremony is very common, especially after the occurrence of a very evil dream or a bad conjunction of omens or in case of severe sickness or on the erection of a new house or granary. On one occasion it was performed on me under the impression, it is presumed, that I was the bearer of some malign influence.

I have never been definitely informed as to the reason for the efficacy of this rite, nor of its origin. Tradition handed down by the old, old folks and everyday experience are sufficient foundation for the popular belief in its efficacy.

Blood lustration.—When a fowl or a pig has been killed sacrificially, it is customary to smear the blood on the person or object from whom it is desired to drive out the sickness, or in order to avert a threatened or suspected danger, or when it is desired to nullify an evil influence. The ceremony is performed only by a priest and in the following way: Taking blood in a receptacle to the person for whose benefit it is intended, the priest dips his hand in it and draws his bloody finger over the afflicted part, or on the back of the hand and along the fingers in the case of a sick person, or on the post of the house, thereby leaving bloody stripes. During the operation he addresses the indwelling evil and bids it begone. This ceremony usually follows the preceding one and is performed in all cases where the previous ceremony is applicable, if the circumstances are considered urgent enough to call for its performance.

I once saw a variation of this ceremony. Instead of killing the fowl the priest made a small wound in one leg and applied the blood that issued to a sick man. The fowl then became the property of the priest and could never be eaten, for the evil influence that had produced the sickness in the man was supposed to have passed into the fowl.

Lustration by water.—Lustration by water is somewhat similar in its purpose to the preceding ceremony. It is performed as a subrite among the Christianized Manóbos of the lake region. I am inclined to think that it is only an imitation of an institution of the Catholic Church because I never saw it performed by non-Christian Manóbos.

The following is the cermony: When the divinities are thought to have eaten the soul or redolence[30] of the viands set out for them, and to have cleansed their hands in the water provided for that purpose, the priest seizes a small branch, dips it in this water and sprinkles the assembly. Though, on the occasions on which I witnessed this rite, the recipients did not seem to relish the aspersion, as was evinced by their efforts to avoid it, yet it was believed to have great efficacy in removing ill luck and malign influences.[31]

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[29] *Ka-dú-ut.*

[30] *Bá-ho and um-a-gád.*

[31] *Paí-ad.*

CHAPTER XXVI

SACRIFICES AND WAR RITES

THE SACRIFICE OF A PIG

Religion is so interwoven with the Manóbo's life, as has been constantly stated in this monograph, that it is impossible to group under the heading of religion all the various observances and rites that properly belong to it.[1] I will now give an account of the sacrifice of a pig that took place on the Kasilaían River, central Agúsan, for the recovery of a sick man. This sacrifice may be considered typical of the ordinary ceremony in which a pig is immolated, whether it be for the recovery of a sick man or to avert evil or to solicit any other favor.

I arrived at the house at about 4 p. m. Near the pole leading up to the house stood the newly erected rectangular bamboo stand.[2] On this, with a few palm fronds arched over it, was tightly bound the intended victim, a fat castrated pig. Within a few yards of this had been erected the small houselike structure,[3] which has been described already. It contained several plates full of offerings of uncooked rice and eggs, which had been placed there previously. The ceremonies began shortly after my arrival. Three women of the priestly order sat down near the ceremonial house and prepared a large number of betel-nut quids for their respective deities, but the spectators never ceased for a moment to ask for a share of them. Finally, however, the quids were prepared and placed on the sacred plates, seven to each plate. Then one of the priestesses placed a little resin upon a piece of bamboo and, calling for a firebrand, placed it upon the resin. The other two priestesses, seizing in each hand a piece of palm branch, proceeded to dance to the sound of drum and gong. They were soon joined by the third officiant. All three danced for some five minutes until, as if by previous understanding, the gong and drum ceased, and one of the priestesses broke out into the invocation. This consisted of a series of repetitions and circumlocutions in which her favorite deities were reminded of the various sacrifices that had been performed in their honor from time immemorial; of the number of pigs that had been slain; of the size of these victims; of the amount of drink consumed; of the number of guests present; and of an infinity of other things that it would be tedious to recount. This was rattled off while the spectators were enjoying themselves with betel-nut chewing and while conversation was being carried on in the usual vehement way. Then the drum and gong boomed out again and the three priestesses circled about in front of the ceremonial shed for about five minutes, after which comparative quiet ensued and another priestess took up the invocation. During her prolix harangue to the spirits the other two busied themselves, one in rearranging the offerings in the little shed, the other in lighting more incense, while the spectators continued their prattle, heedless of the services. After an interval of some 10 minutes the sacred dance was continued, the priestesses circling and sweeping around with their palm branches waving up and down as they swung their arms in graceful movements through the air. This continued for several minutes, until one of them stopped suddenly and began to tremble very perceptibly. The other two continued their dance around her, waving their palm fronds over her. The trembling increased in violence until her whole body seemed to be in a convulsion. Her eyes assumed a ghastly stare, her eyeballs protruded, and the eyelids quivered rapidly. The drum and gong increased their booming in volume and in rapidity, while the dancers surged in rapid circles around the possessed one, who at this period was apparently unconscious of everything. Her eyes were shaded with one hand and a copious perspiration covered her whole body. When finally the music and the dancing ceased her trembling still continued, but now the loud belching could be heard. No words can describe the vehemence of this prolonged belching, accompanied as it was by violent trembling and painful gasping. The spectators still continued their loud talking with never a care for the scene that was being enacted, except when some one uttered a shrill cry of animation, possibly as menace to lurking enemies, spiritual or other.

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[1] The reader is referred to Chapter XV for a description of the important religious ceremonies and beliefs connected with the subject of death, to Chapter X for rice culture ceremonies, to Chapter XIV for the birth ceremony. Descriptions of various other ceremonies will be found scattered through this monograph, each under its proper heading.

[2] *Añg-kan.*

[3] *Ka-má-lig.*

It was some 10 minutes before the paroxysm ceased, and then the now conscious priestess broke forth into a long harangue in which she described what took place during her trance, prophesying the cure of the sick man, but advising a repetition of the sacrifice at a near date, and uttering a confusion of other things that sounded more like the ravings of a madman than the inspirations of a deity. During all this time frequent potations were administered to the spectators, so that in the early night everyone was feeling in high spirits.

After the first priestess had emerged fully from the trance the drum and gong resounded for the continuation of the dance. In turn the other priestesses fell under the influence of their special divinities and gave utterance to long accounts of what had passed between them. It was at a late hour of the night that the whole company retired to the house, leaving the victim still bound upon his sacrificial table.

The religious part of the celebration was then abandoned, for the priestesses took no further part. Social amusements, consisting of various forms of dancing, mimetic and other, were performed for the benefit of the attendant deities and finally long legendary chants [4] by a few priests consumed the remainder of the night.

Next morning at about 7 o'clock the ceremonies were resumed by the customary offering of betel nut and by burning of incense, but instead of dancing before the small religious house the three priestesses, joined by a priest, took up their position near the sacrificial table on which the victim had remained since the preceding day. The invocations were pronounced in turn, followed by short intervals of dancing. During these invocations the victim was bound more securely, and a little lime was placed on its side just over the heart. The priest then placed seven betel-nut quids upon the body of the pig and made a final invocation. A rice mortar was placed at the side of the sacrificial table, a relative of the sick man stepped upon it, and, receiving a lance from the hands of the male priest, poised it vertically above the spot designated by the lime and thrust it through the heart of the victim.

One of the female priestesses at once placed an iron cooking pan under the pig and caught the blood as it streamed out from the lower opening of the wound. Applying her mouth to the pan she drank some of the blood and gave the pan to a sister priest.[5] At the same time a little was given to the sick man, who drank it down with such eager haste that it ran upon his cheeks. One of the priestesses then performed blood lustration by anointing the patient's forehead with the remainder of the blood. A few others, of whom I was one, had these bloody ministrations performed on them.

The priest and priestesses at this period presented a most strange spectacle. With faces and hands besmirched with clotted blood, they stood trembling with indescribable vehemence. Their jingle bells tinkled in time with the movement of their bodies. The priestesses recovered from their furious possession after a few minutes, but not so the male priest, for to prevent himself from collapsing completely he clutched a near-by tree, shading his eyes with his blood-stained hand. The drum and gong came into play again and the priestesses took up the step, circling around their entranced companion and addressing him in terms that on account of the rattle of the drum and the clanging of the gong could not be heard. He finally emerged, however, all dazed and covered with perspiration. Through him a *diuáta* announced the recovery of the patient, at which yells of approval rang out, and then began a social celebration consisting of dancing and drinking. This was continued till the hour for dinner, when the victim was consumed in the usual way.

In this instance, as in many others witnessed, the sick man recovered, and with a suddenness that seemed extraordinary. This must be attributed to the deep and abiding faith that the

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[4] *Túd-um.*

[5] Not infrequently the blood is sucked from the upper wound. This is a custom more prevalent among the Mandáyas than among the Manóbos.

Manóbo places in his deities and in his priests. The circumstances of the sacrifice are such as to inspire him with confidence and, strong in his faith, he recovers his health and strength in nearly every case.

RITES PECULIAR TO THE WAR PRIESTS

(1) The betel-nut tribute to the gods of war.
(2) The supplication and invocation of the gods of war.
(3) The betel-nut offering to the souls of the enemies.
(4) The various forms of divination.
(5) The ceremonial invocation of the omen bird.
(6) The *tagbúsau's* feast.
(7) Human sacrifice.

The first two ceremonies differ from the corresponding functions performed by the ordinary priests in only two respects, first that they are performed in honor of the war spirits, and secondly that the invocation includes an interminable list of the names of those slain by the officiating warrior chief and by his ancestors for a few generations back.

The sacred dance for the entertainment of the attending divinities with which this invocation and supplication is repeatedly interrupted will be described later on.

THE BETEL-NUT OFFERING TO THE SOULS OF THE ENEMIES

The ceremony is performed only before an expedition, with a view to securing the good will of souls of the enemies who may be slain in the intended fray. As was set forth before, souls, or departed spirits, seem to have a grievance against the living, and are wont to plague them in diverse ways. Now, in order to avoid such ill will as might follow the separation of these spirits from their corporal companions, a ceremony is performed by the warrior priest in the following way: He orders an offering of rice to be set out upon the river bank, or on the trail over which the spirits are expected to wing their way, and hastens to invite them to a conference. Then a number of pieces of betel leaf are set out on a shield, so that each soul or spirit has his portion of betel leaf, his little slice of betel nut, and his bit of lime. Then the warrior chief, or some one else at his bidding, addresses the souls without making it known that an attack [6] is soon to be made. It is then explained to these spirits that they are invited to partake of the offering in good will and peace, that the warrior priest's party has a grievance against their enemies, and that some day they may be obliged to redress the matter in a bloody way. The souls next are urged to forego their displeasure, should it become necessary at any time to redress the wrongs by force and possibly slay the authors of them. The invisible souls are then supposed to partake of the offering and to depart in peace as if they understood the whole situation.

There is an incident, which is said to occur during the above ceremony, that deserves special mention, as it illustrates very pointedly the spirit in which the ceremony is performed. All arms are said to be placed upon the ground and carefully covered with the shields in such a way that the spirit guests will be unable to detect their presence on their arrival. The betel-nut portions are placed upon one of the upper shields.

VARIOUS FORMS OF DIVINATION

The betel-nut cast.[7]—This form of divination is never omitted, according to all accounts. In the instance which I witnessed the procedure was as follows: The leader of the expedition invoked the *tagbúsau*, informing him that each of the quids represented one of the enemy, and beseeching him (or them) to indicate by the position of these symbols after the ceremony the fate of the enemy. The warrior priest or his representative, lifting up the shield with one hand under it, and one hand above it, turned it upside down with a rapid movement, thus precipitating the quids on the floor. Now those that fell vertically under the shield represented the number of the enemy who would fall into their clutches, while those that lay without the pale of the shield represented the individuals who would escape, and to whose slaughter accordingly they must devote every energy. There are numerous little details in this, as in most other forms of divination, each one of which has an interpretation, subject, it would appear, to the vagaries of each individual augur.

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[6] I was informed that a sometime friend or distant relative of the enemy is generally selected for this task.

[7] *Ba-lís-kad to ma-má-on.*

Divination from the báguñg vine.—Before leaving the point from which it has been decided to begin the march two pieces of green rattan, the length of the middle finger and about 1 centimeter thick, are laid upon the ground parallel to each other and about 2½ centimeters apart. One of these stands for the enemy and the other for the attacking party. A firebrand is then held over the two until the heat causes one of them to warp and twist to one side or the other. Thus if the strip that represents the enemy were to begin to twist over toward that of the aggressors, while that of the latter twists away from the former, the omen would be bad, for it would denote the flight of the assaulting party. Should, however, the rattan of the aggressors twist over and fall on the other, the omen would be auspicious and the march might be entered upon.

The various twists and curls of these strips of rattan are observed with the closest attention and interpreted variously. Should the omen prove ill, the *tagbúsau* must be invoked and other forms of divination tried until the party feels assured of success.

Divination from báya squares.—The *báya* is a species of small vine, a fathom of which is cut by the leader into pieces exactly the length of the middle finger. These pieces are then laid on the ground in squares. Should the number of pieces be sufficient to constitute complete squares without any remainder the omen is bad in the extreme, but should a certain number of pieces remain the omen is good. Thus if one piece remains the attack will be successful and of short duration. If two remain, the outcome will be the same, but there will be some delay; and if three remain, the delay will be considerable, as it will be necessary to construct ladders.[8]

When any of the omens taken by one of the above forms of divination prove unpropitious, the *tagbúsau* must be invoked and other divinatory methods tried until the party is satisfied that a reasonable amount of success is assured. But should the omens indicate a failure or a disaster, the expedition must be put off or a change made in the party. Thus, for instance, the bad luck [9] might be attributed to the presence of one or more individuals. In that case these persons are eliminated and the omens repeated. It is needless to say that the observance of all the omens necessary for an expedition, together with the concomitant ceremonies, may occupy as much as three days and nights.

INVOCATION OF THE OMEN BIRD [10]

Though at the beginning of ordinary journeys the consultation of the omen bird is of primary importance, yet before a war expedition it acquires a solemnity that is not customary on ordinary occasions. This ceremony is the last of all those that are made preparatory to the march.

The warrior priest turns toward the trail and addresses the invisible turtledove, beseeching it to sing out from the proper direction and thereby declare whether they may proceed or not. In one of the instances that came under my personal observation a little unhulled rice was placed upon a log for the regalement of the omen bird, and a tame pet omen bird in an adjoining house was petted and fed and asked to summon its wild mates of the encircling forest to sing the song of victory. Many of the band imitate the turtle bird's cry [11] as a further inducement to get an answer from the wild omen birds that might be in the neighborhood.

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[8] *Pa-ga-hag-da-nán.*

[9] *Pai-ad.*

[10] *Pan-áu-ag-táu-ag* to *li-mó-kon.*

[11] This is done by putting the hands crosswise, palm over palm and thumb beside thumb. The cavity between the palms must be tightly closed, leaving open a slit between the thumbs. The mouth is applied to this slit and by blowing in puffs the Manóbo can produce a sound that is natural enough to elicit in many cases response from a turtledove that may be within hearing distance. In fact, I have known the birds to approach within shooting distance of the artificial sounds.

THE TAGBÚSAU'S FEAST

In the ceremonies connected with the celebration in honor of his war lord the warrior priest is the principal personage, but he is usually assisted by several of the chief priests of the ordinary class. Such is the general account, and such was the procedure in the ceremony that I witnessed in 1907, of which the following are the main details and which will serve as a general description of the ceremony:

The appurtenances of the ceremony were identical with those described before under ceremonial accessories, except that a piece of bamboo, about 30 centimeters long, parted and carved into the form of a crude crocodile with a betel-nut frond hanging from it, was suspended in the diminutive offering house referred to so many times before. Objects of this kind, like this piece of bamboo, have a mouthlike form and vary from 30 to 60 centimeters in length. They are, as it were, ceremonial salvers on which are set the offerings of blood and meat and *gíbañg*[12] for the war deities.

In the ceremony that I am describing I noticed a plate of rice set out on an upright piece of bamboo, the upper part of which had been spread out into an inverted cone to hold the plate. The pig had been bound already to its sacrificial table, but was ceaseless in its cries and in its efforts to release itself. Several war and ordinary priests, covered with all their wealth of charms and ornaments, were scattered throughout the assembly. The war priests particularly presented an imposing appearance, vested in the blood-red insignia of their rank. Around their necks were thrown the magic charm collars, with their pendants of shells, crocodile teeth, and herbs.

About 5 o'clock in the afternoon of the day in question the ceremony was ushered in in the usual way by several male and female priests. The warrior priests did not take part till the following day, though during the night they chanted legendary tales of great Manóbo fights and fighters. The following morning, however, they led the ceremonies.

During the whole performance there seemed to be no established system or order. Both warrior priests and others took up the invocation and the dance as the whim moved or as the opportunity allowed them. One noteworthy point about the ceremony was the ritual dance of the warrior priests in honor of their war deities. Attired as they were in the full panoply of war, with hempen coat and shield, lance, bolo, and dagger, they romped and pirouetted in turns around the victim to the wild war tattoo of the drum and the clang of the gong. Imagining the victim to be some doughty enemy of his, the dancer darted his lance at it back and forth, now advancing, now retreating, at times hiding behind his shield, and at others advancing uncovered as if to give the last long lunge. Under the inspiration of the occasion their eyes gleamed with a fierce glare and the whole physiognomy was kindled with the fire of war. The spectators on this particular occasion maintained silence and attention and manifested considerable fear. It is believed that the warrior priest, being under the influence of his war god, is liable to commit an act of violence.

At the time I did not understand the tenor of the invocations that followed each dance, but was informed that they are such as would be expected on such an occasion, namely, an invitation to the spirits of war to partake of the feast and a prayer to them to accompany the party and assist them in capturing their enemies.

When the moment for the sacrifice arrived the leader of the party, the chief warrior priest, danced the final dance and, stepping up to the pig, plunged his spear through its heart, and, applying his mouth to the wound, drank the blood. Several of the other priests caught the blood in plates and pans and partook of it in the same manner. The leader put the blood receptacle under the wound and allowed some of the blood to flow into it. He then returned it to the diminutive offering house. The ordinary priests fell into the customary trance, but the war-priest, together with several of the spectators, took the blood omen. Apparently this was not favorable, for they ordered the intestines to be removed at once and examined the gall bladder and the liver.

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[12] *Gí-bañg* is the nape of the neck, and here refers to that of a pig.

The priests emerged from their trance and no further ceremonies were performed except the taking of omens. This occupied several hours and was performed by little groups, even the young boys trying their hand at it.

When the pig had been cooked it was set out on the floor and was partaken of in the usual way. There was little brew on hand. I learned that on such occasions it is not customary to indulge to any great extent in drinking.

The party expected to begin the march that afternoon; but as the scouts had not returned they waited until the next morning.

When the march was about to begin, and while the party still stood on the river bank, the leader wrenched the head off a chicken and took observations from the blood and intestines. These were not as satisfactory as was desired, but were considered favorable enough to warrant beginning the march tentatively. Upon the entrance of the party into the forest the omen bird was invoked; its cry proved favorable, and the march began.

HUMAN SACRIFICE[13]

I never witnessed a human sacrifice nor was I ever able to verify the facts in the locality in which one had occurred, but I have no doubt that such sacrifices were made occasionally by Manóbos in former times.

It is not strange that a custom of this kind should exist in a country where a human being is a mere chattel, sometimes valued at less than a good dog. When it is considered that in Manóboland revenge is not only a virtue but a precept, and often a sacred inheritance, it stands to reason that to sacrifice the life of an enemy or of an enemy's friend or relative would be an act of the highest merit. From what I have observed of Manóbo ways I can readily conceive the satisfaction and glee with which an enemy would be offered up to the war deities of a settlement, slowly lanced or stabbed to death, and then the heart, liver, and blood taken ceremonially. A very common expression of anger used by one Manóbo to another is "*huagon ka,*" that is, "May you be sacrificed."

I find verbal evidences of human sacrifices in those regions only that are near to the territory of the Bagóbos and the Mandáyas. This leads me to think that the custom is either of Bagóbo or of Mandáya origin.

The Jesuit missionary Urios [14] makes mention of the case of Maliñgáan who lived on the upper Simúlao, contiguous to the Mandáya country. In order to cure himself of a severe illness he had a little girl sacrificed. Urios describes the punitive expedition sent out against him, and the death of Maliñgáan by his own hand.

I have heard of numerous cases, especially in the region at the headwaters of the Báobo, Ihawán, and Sábud Rivers. One particular case will illustrate the manner in which the ceremony is performed. My authority for the account is one who claimed to have participated in the sacrifice.

A boy slave, who belonged to the man that arranged the sacrifice, was selected. The slave was given to understand that the object of the ceremony was to cure him of a loathsome disease from which he was suffering.[15] The preparatory ceremonies were described as being of the same character as those which take place in the ordinary pig sacrifice for the war spirit, namely, the offering of the betel-nut tribute, the solemn invocation of the war spirits and supplication for the recovery of the officiant's son, the sacred dance performed by the warrior priests, and the offering of betel nut to the soul of the slave that it might harbor no ill will against the participants in the ceremony.

The slave, the narrator informed me, was left unmolested, being entertained by companions of his age until the moment for the sacrifice arrived, when he was seized and quickly bound to a tree. The warrior priest, who was the father of the sick one, then shouted out in a loud voice to his war spirits asking them to accept the blood of this human creature, and without further ado planted his dagger in the slave's breast. Several others, among whom my informant was one, followed suit. The victim died almost instantly. Then each one of the warrior priests inserted a crocodile tooth from his neck collar [16] into one of the wounds and they became, as the narrator put it, *tagbusauán;* that is, filled with the blood spirit. The reader is left to imagine the scene that must have followed.

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[13] *Hu-á-ga.*

[14] Cartas de los PP. de la Compañía de Jesús, Cuaderno V, letter from Father Saturnino Urios, Patrocinio, Sept. 16, 1881.

[15] *Ta-bu-káu.*

Human sacrifice takes place in other forms, according to universal report. Thus one hears now and then that a warrior chief had his young son kill a slave or a captive in order to receive the spirit of bravery through the power of a war deity, who would impart to him the desire to perform feats of valor. Three warrior chiefs informed me personally that they had done this in order to accustom their young sons to the sight of blood and to impart to them the spirit of courage. I have no doubt whatsoever of the truth of their statements, as they were made in a matter-of-fact, straightforward way, as if the affair were a most natural occurrence. Accounts of such performances may be overheard when Manóbos speak among themselves.

There is also another way in which human lives are sacrificed, but it partakes less of ceremonial character than the two previous methods. I was given the names of several warrior chiefs who had practiced it. The following are the details: If the warriors have been lucky enough to kill an enemy during a fray and at the same time to secure human booty in the form of captives, they are said on occasions to turn one or more of these same captives over to their less successful friends in order that the latter may sate their bloody thirst and feel the full jubilation of the victory. I was informed that the victims are dragged out into the near-by forest, speared to death or stabbed, and thrust with broken bones into a narrow round hole. That this is true I have every reason to believe, for I heard these reports under circumstances of a convincing nature. Furthermore, such proceedings would be highly typical of Manóbo character and would probably occur among any people that valued human life so lightly and that cherished revenge so dearly. What could be more natural and more pleasing in the exultation of victory and in the wildness of its orgies than to deliver a captive, probably a mortal enemy, to an unsuccessful friend or relative that he too might glut his vengeance and fill his heart with the full joy of victory?

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[16] *Ta-li-hán,*

CHAPTER XXVII

DIVINATION AND OMENS

IN GENERAL

The Manóbo not only consults his priest in order to determine the will of the deities but he himself questions nature at every step of life and discovers, by what he considers definite and unerring indications, the course that he may pursue with personal security and success.

To set down the multitudinous array of these signs would be to attempt a task of extreme prolixity and one encompassed with infinite uncertainties and seeming contradictions.

Upon being questioned as to the origin of these manifold omens and auguries the Manóbo can afford no further information than that they have been tried for long generations and found to be true. Show him that on a given occasion the omen bird's cry augured ill but that the undertaking was a success, and he will explain away the apparent inconsistency. Show him that the omens were auspicious and that the enterprise was a failure and he will ascribe the failure to an unnoticed violation of a taboo or to the infraction of some tribal custom which aroused the displeasure of a deity.

In every undertaking he must have divine approbation to give him assurance. If one omen is unsatisfactory, he must consult another, and if that one fails also, he tries a third, and after various other trials, if all are unfavorable, he suspends or discontinues the work until he receives a more favorable answer. After getting a satisfactory omen he proceeds with the full assurance of success.

There can hardly be said to be professional augurers in Manóboland. Here and there one finds one with a reputation for skill but this reputation is never so great as to overcome differences of opinion on the part of others who also claim to be experts. In fact, where a combination of good and bad omens occurs, it is customary to hold a long consultation until the consensus of opinion inclines one way or the other.

MISCELLANEOUS CASUAL OMENS

The following are a few of the accidental omens that portend ill:

(1) Sneezing when heard by one who is about to leave the house, prognosticates ill luck for him. He must return to the house and wait a few minutes in order to neutralize the bad influence.[1]

(2) It is an evil portent to see a snake on the trail. The traveler must return and wait till next day, or if that can not be done, recourse must be had to other omens, such as the egg omen, or the suspension omen, in order to determine beyond a doubt what fortune awaits him.

(3) Should a frog, a large lizard, or any other living creature that is a stranger to human habitations, enter a house, the portent is unlucky and means must be taken at once to discover, through divination, the exact significance of the occurrence. In such cases the egg omen is tried, and then the suspension omen, and others until no doubt is entertained as to the significance of the unusual occurrence.

(4) The settling of bees on the gable ornaments of a house, or even in the immediate vicinity of the house, is a sure intimation of the approach of a war party or even of certain death, unless the occurrence has taken place during the rice-planting season and in the new clearing. The fowl-waving ceremony and the blood lustration must be performed immediately and other omens taken at once to determine whether these ceremonies were sufficient to neutralize the threatened danger. I arrived at a house on the upper Karága, shortly after the occurrence of this portent, and took part in the countervailing ceremonies. According to all reports the belief in this omen and the neutralization of it by the above-mentioned ceremonies is common to Manóbos and Mañguáñgans.

(5) The howling of a dog while asleep portends evil to the owner. This omen is considered very serious and the evil of which it is an intimation must be averted by prompt means. Moreover, the dog must be sold.

(6) The appearance of shooting stars, meteors, and comets prognosticates sickness.

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[1] *Pan-dú-ut.*

(7) The breaking of a plate or of a pot before an intended trip is of such evil import that the trip is postponed until the following day.

(8) The discovery of blood on an object when no satisfactory explanation of its presence can be found is an omen of very evil import.

(9) The nibbling of clothes by mice is an evil sign, and, though the clothes need not be discarded, neutralizing means must be resorted to.

(10) The finding of a dead animal on the farm is of highly evil import and no means should be left untried toward offsetting the threatened ill.

(11) The crying of birds at night is considered ominous; the sound is thought to be the voice of evil spirits who with intent to do harm have metamorphosed themselves into the form of birds.

DIVINATION BY DREAMS

As already stated, dreams are believed to be pictures of the doings of the soul companions of the Manóbo and in some mystic way are thought to foreshadow his own fate. Should a person yell in his sleep it is a proof that his soul or spirit is in danger, and he must be instantly aroused but not rudely.[2] The belief in dreams is strong and abiding and plays no small part in the Manóbo's religious life.

The interpretation of them, however, is so variable and so involved in apparent contradictions that I have obtained little definite and reliable information. In cases where Manóbo experts differ, and where other forms of divination have to be employed to determine whether a dream is to be considered ominous or otherwise, it is not suprising that a stranger should have received little enlightenment on the subject.

Much more importance attaches to the dreams of the priest than to those of ordinary individuals, for the former are thought to have a more general application and to be more definite in their significance. But the difficulty of interpretation may frequently make the dream of no value because it may happen that the future must be determined by recourse to other divinatory methods.

There is a general belief that both the ordinary priest and the warrior chief may receive a knowlege of future events in their dreams and also may receive medicine, but I know of only one case in which the latter claim was made. In that case a priest maintained that he had been instructed in a dream to fish for eels the following day. He stated that he had done so and that he had found a bezoar stone which he had given to a sick relative of his.

However, when once the dream has been interpreted to the satisfaction of the dream experts as ill-boding, means must be taken immediately to avert the impending evil. A common method of doing this is by the fowl-waving ceremony and in serious cases by the blood-lustration rite.

DIVINATION BY GEOMETRICAL FIGURES

THE VINE[3] OMEN

I witnessed the taking of this omen both in 1905, before the war expedition referred to on previous pages, and also at the time of the selection of a new townsite for the town of Monacáyo on the upper Agúsan. As a rule the omen is taken on occasions of this kind. The procedure in the rite is as follows:

A piece of a vine one fathom long is cut up into pieces the length of the middle finger; these pieces are then arranged as in the figure shown herewith as far as the number of the pieces permits. The sides of the square and the pieces which radiate from the corners are first laid in position. One piece is then placed in the center, and those which remain are set at right angles to the rectangle. (See fig. 2*c*, *e*.)

The six pieces of vine that are set at right angles to the rectangle, as in figure 2*a*, represent the ladders or poles by which entrance is gained to the house, represented in this case by the rectangle itself. The pieces that radiate from the four corners represent the posts that support the house. Now, whenever the pieces of vine are not sufficient to form even one "ladder," it is evident that all hopes of entering the house and getting the enemy are vain. The principle of the omen consists in the observation of the presence and number of ladders, and of the length of the central piece which represents the inmates of the house to be attacked. The following are some of the main and more intelligible figures.

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[2] If not awakened at once he may fall into a condition in which he is said to be *pa-ga-tam-ái-un*, a term that I have failed to learn the meaning of.

[3] *Bu-dá-kan*, a species of creeper.

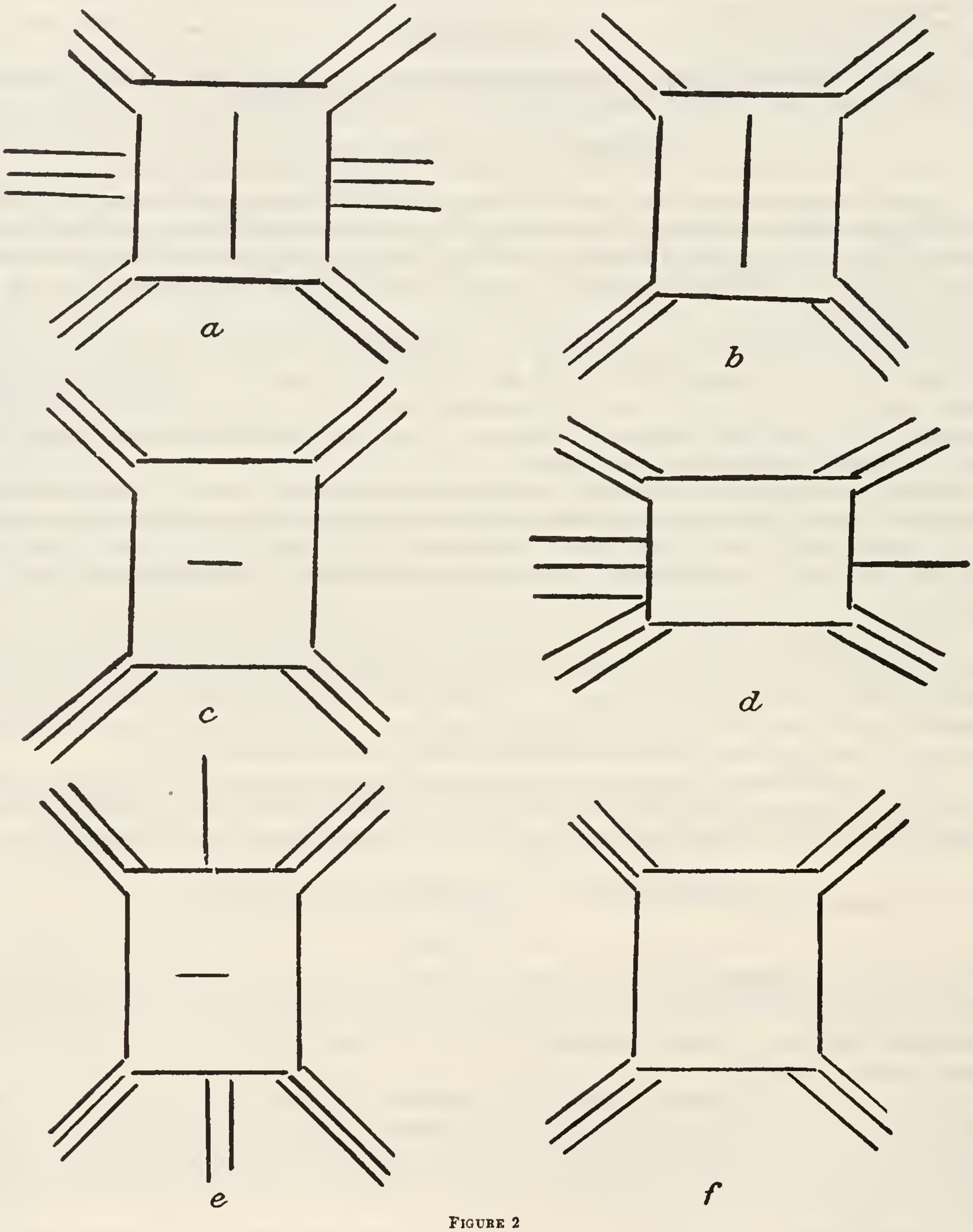

FIGURE 2

As there is no side piece or "ladder" in Figure 2 *b*, *c* it is a sign that the house of the opponent can not be entered. In Figure 2*c* the shortness of the central piece is an indication that one of the attacking party will be wounded. This configuration is called *lahúñgan*[4] and is very inauspicious.

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[4] From *la-húñg*, to carry on a pole between two or more persons.

In Figure 2*d* the necessary ladders are present and the inmates of the house will be reached. The omen is favorable and is called *hagdanan.*[5]

In Figure 2*e* there are the necessary means of getting access to the house as may be seen by the presence of the three "ladders" at right angles to the house. Moreover, the piece representing the inmates is shorter, an indication of great slaughter. This is a most favorable omen and, as there will be great weeping as a result of the killing, it is called *luha'an.*[6]

In Figure 2*f* the absence of a piece within the rectangle is symbolical of the flight of the inmates of the house so that the intended attack is put off for a few days and a few scouts sent forward to reconnoiter.

There are several other combinations to which different interpretations may be given according to whether the omen is employed for a war expedition or for the selection of a new site, but the above figures give a general idea of this method of divination.[7]

Should the above omen prove unfavorable, the sacrifice of a pig [8] or of a chicken in honor of the leader's war gods should be performed, and then another attempt to secure a favorable omen by the use of the vine may be made.

THE RATTAN OMEN[9]

The rattan-frond omen is taken to determine either the success of a prospective attack or the suitability of a new site for a house or farm. The observation is performed in the following way: A frond of rattan one fathom in length is taken and its midrib is cut into pieces each the length of the middle finger, as in the preceding omen, but in such a way that each piece of the midrib retains spikes, one on each side. These two spikes are then tied together, thus forming a kind of a ring or leaf circle. All these leaf circles are taken in one hand and thrown up into the air. Should any of these circlets be found entwined or stuck together when they reach the ground the omen is considered unlucky, for it denotes that one or more of the enemy will engage in a hand-to-hand fight with the attacking party.[10] Should, however, the different leaf circles reach the ground without becoming entangled, the omen is excellent. There are a great variety of possible interpretations arising from the number of tangles, each one of which has a special name and a special import, but I am unable to give any further reliable information as to these. This rattan-frond omen appears to be used very rarely. In fact, in some districts no great reliance seems to be placed on it by many with whom I conversed.[11]

DIVINATION BY SUSPENSION AND OTHER METHODS

THE SUSPENSION OMEN

The ordinary manner of divining future events by this method is to suspend a bolo or a dagger that has been consecrated to a deity and from its movement, or from the absence of movement, obtain the desired information. In case of emergency such a common-place object as an old smoking pipe may be used.

The object is suspended, preferably in front of a sacrificial tray, or table, and then questioned just as if it were a thing of life. The answers are somewhat limited, being confined to "yes" and "no," and are expressed by the faint and silent movement or by the utter quietude of the object suspended. Movement denotes an affirmative response to the question, quietude or lack of movement a negative answer.

I was often struck with the childlike simplicity displayed by the taker of the oracle. In the particular case wherein a pipe was employed, the party wished to discover whether it would be safe for him to proceed on a journey the following day. The pipe by a slight gyratory motion at once intimated its assent. He then besought it to make no mistake, and, after carefully stilling the movement of his oracle, repeated the question two different times, receiving each time an affirmative answer. The consultation was made within a heavy hempen mosquito net of *abaká* fiber, and, as the pipe had been suspended in a position where the heated air from the candle could affect it, it is not surprising that it displayed a tendency to be in constant movement.

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[5] From *hágdan*, a pole ladder.

[6] From *lú-ha*, a tear.

[7] The interpretation of these figures can not be given in greater detail because the Manóbos themselves can not always give consistent explanations of them.

[8] *Dá-yo to tag-bú-sau.*

[9] *Tí-ko.*

[10] The omen is then said to be *na-ba-ká-an.* The exact meaning of this term, I am unable to state.

[11] For other omens of a similar nature see Chapter XXVI.

THE OMEN FROM EGGS[12]

A fresh egg, or one that is known still to be in good condition, is broken in two and the contents gently emptied into a plate or bowl. If the white and the yoke remain separated, the omen is favorable but if they should mix, it is of ominous import. Should the egg prove to be rotten, the omen is thought to be evil in the extreme. I never in a single instance witnessed the failure of this omen. I was informed, however, that on occasions it has proved unfavorable.

DIVINATION BY SACRIFICIAL APPEARANCES

Hieromancy is a form of divination that is resorted to on all occasions where the object of a sacrifice is one of very great importance. I witnessed this form of divination practiced upon the departure of a war party in the upper Agúsan in 1907.

THE BLOOD OMEN

The blood from the neck of a sacrificed chicken or from the side of a pig is caught, usually in a bowl. If it is found to be of a bright, spotless red, without any frothing or bubbles, the omen is excellent, but the appearance of foam or dark spots, or blotches is regarded as indicative of evil in a greater or less degree according to the number and size of the spots. The appearance of circular streaks in the blood is highly favorable, as it is taken as an indication that the enemy will be completely encircled, thereby assuring the capture of all the enemy or their annihilation. In this, as in all other omens, the interpretation is given by those who are considered experts. I can afford no reliable information as to the rules governing the interpretation. Answers to inquiries show that in the interpretation of this omen there is involved an infinity of contradictions, uncertainties, and intricacies.

THE NECK OMEN

Before the expedition referred to above I observed a peculiar method of determining which of the warriors would distinguish himself.

The leader of the expedition seized a fowl, made a short invocation, wrenched the head from the body and allowed the blood of the beheaded bird to flow into a bowl. When all the blood had been caught in this vessel, the leader held up the still writhing fowl, leaving the neck free. Then several of those present addressed the fowl, beseeching it to point out the ones who would display most valor during the attack. Naturally, through the violent action of the muscles, the neck was twisted momentarily in a certain direction. This signified that the person in whose direction it pointed would show especial courage during the fray. The fowl was questioned a second and a third time with the result that it always pointed more or less in the direction of some one of the party famed for his prowess, which person was then and there acclaimed as one of the Hectors of the coming fight.

I was repeatedly assured that this omen is always consulted before all war expeditions[13] or war raids. In the lake region of the Agúsan Valley the omen is interpreted differently for it is said to be good if the neck finally twists itself towards the east or towards the north.

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[12] *Ti-mai-ya to a-tá-yug.*

[13] *Mañg-ái-yau* is a word used by nearly all tribes in Mindanáo to express a band of warriors on a raid, or the raid itself. Mr. H. O. Beyer, of the Bureau of Science, tells me that the word is used also by some northern Luzon tribes. I myself found it in use by the Negritos of the Gumaín and Kauláman rivers in western Pampanga.

THE OMEN FROM THE GALL

The only rule with regard to the gall bladder is that it should be of normal size in order to denote success. An unusually large, or an unusually small one, prognosticate, respectively, misfortune or failure.[14] When the gall bladder is unusually large, however, the omen gives rise to great misgivings and calls for a very careful observance of the following omen, for it portends not only failure but disaster.

THE OMEN FROM THE LIVER

This omen is taken from the liver of pigs only. In the observation of it dark spots and blotches are an indication of evil and are counted and examined as to size and form. For all of these there is a corresponding interpretation, varying, probably, according to the idiosyncrasies of each individual augur.

On occasions of great importance such as war raids, or epidemics, this omen is always consulted. But it is taken with great frequency in other contingencies as an auxiliary omen to overcome the influence of previous evil ones.

THE OMEN FROM A FOWL'S INTESTINAL APPENDIX[15]

I have never determined whether the appendix of a pig is a subject for augury or not. If it is, it escaped my observation. The appendix of a chicken, however, is invariably observed as an auxiliary to the observation of the liver and the gall of a pig. If it is found to be erect, that is, at right angles to the intestine, it is considered a favorable omen but if found in a horizontal or supine position with reference to the intestine, it is said to be highly inauspicious. In every case which I saw the omen was favorable.

ORNITHOSCOPY

IN GENERAL

Divination by birds is confined practically to the turtledove.[16] This homely inert creature is considered the harbinger of good and evil, and is consulted at the beginning of every journey and of every undertaking where its prophetic voice can be heard. Should its cry forebode ill, the undertaking is discontinued no matter how urgent it may be. But should the cry presage good, then the project is taken up or continued with renewed assurance and a glad heart, for is not this bird the envoy of the deities and its voice a divine message?

No arguments can shake the Manóbo's [17] faith in the trusty omen bird. For him it can not err, it is infallible. For every case you cite him of its errors, he quotes you numberless cases where its prophecies have come true, and ends by attributing the instance you cite to a false interpretation or to divine intervention that saved you from the evil prognosticated by the bird.

RESPECT TOWARD THE OMEN BIRD

The omen bird is never killed, for to kill it would draw down unmitigated misfortune. On the contrary, it is often captured and is carefully fed and petted, especially when an inmate of the house is about to undertake a journey. The prospective traveler takes a little *camote* or banana and, placing it in the cage, addresses the captive bird and asks it to sing to its companions of the woods that they too in turn may sing to him the song of success and safe return.

And again, on the safe return of the traveler, if there is a captive omen bird in his household, it is a common practice to feed it and give it drink, addressing it tenderly as if it had been the cause of the success of the trip.

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[14] In the former case the omen is said to be *gu-tùs* and in the latter case *gí-pus*.

[15] *Pós-ud*. This appendix is a small blind projection found on the intestines of fowls.

[16] *Li-mó-kon*.

[17] Mandáyas, Mañgguáñgans, Dehaháons, and Banuáons of the Agúsan Valley have practically the same beliefs as the Manóbos in regard to this omen bird.

When the undertaking is one of importance, such as the selection of a site for a new clearing, or one fraught with possible danger, such as a trip into a dangerous locality, the free wild bird of the woods and not the captive bird is solemnly invoked.[18] It is requested to sing out its warning or its auspicious song in clear unmistakable tones. Before a war expedition an offering of rice is set out on a log near the house as a further inducement to it to be propitious.

INTERPRETATION OF THE OMEN BIRD'S CALL

It frequently requires an expert to interpret exactly the meaning of the various positions from which the bird has sung and in certain cases even several experts can not arrive at a consensus of opinion. Hence the following interpretation is intended as a mere general outline from which an idea may be gained of the intricacies and sometimes apparent contradictions involved in Manóbo ornithoscopy.

The observations may be divided into three kinds, good, bad, and indifferent, and these three kinds into infinite combinations, for the interpretation of the first original observation may be modified and remodified by subsequent cries proceeding from other directions. Thus what was originally a good omen, may become, in conjunction with subsequent ones, most fatal.

The directions of the calls are calculated from eight general positions of the bird with reference to the person making the observation.

(1) Directly in front.
(2) Directly behind.
(3) Directly at right angles on the right.
(4) Directly at right angles on the left.
(5) In front to the right and at an angle of 45°.
(6) In front to the left and at an angle of 45°.
(7) Behind to the right and at an angle of 45°.
(8) Behind to the left and at an angle of 45°.

The first direction is bad. It denotes the meeting of obstacles that are not necessarily of a very serious character unless subsequent observations lead to such a conclusion. The trip need not be discontinued but vigilance must be exerted.

The second direction[19] is also bad. It is a sign that behind one there are obstacles or impediments such as sickness in the family. The trip must not be undertaken or continued until the following day.

The third and fourth directions[20] are indeterminate. One's fate is unknown until subsequent omen cries reveal the future, hence all ears are alert.

The fifth direction[21] is good and one may proceed with full assurance of success.

The sixth position[22] merely guarantees safety to life and limb but one must not be sanguine of attaining the object of the trip.

The seventh and eighth directions are like the second direction; that is, bad.

Between the above directions are others that receive an intermediate interpretation. There may also be combinations of calls from different directions. The omen bird heard in the fifth or in the sixth direction augurs success and safety, respectively, as we saw above, but if heard simultaneously from those two positions it is considered a most fatal omen; the trip or enterprise must be abandoned at once. Again if the bird calls from the fifth position and then after a short interval from the eighth position, success is assured but upon arriving at the destination one must hurry home without delay.

Should, however, the cry proceed from the sixth direction and then be immediately followed by one from the seventh, great vigilance must be exerted, for the cry is an intimation that one will have to use his shield and spear in defense.

I have found the interpretation of the omen bird's call so varied and so difficult that I refrain from entering any further into the matter. Suffice it to say that at the beginning of every journey the bird is consulted and its call interpreted to the best of the traveler's ability. Should it be decided that the call augurs ill he invariably abandons the trip until the following day when he makes another attempt to secure favorable omens. It thus happens that his journey may be delayed for several days. On one occasion I was delayed three days because the cry of this mysterious bird was unfavorable.

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[18] *Táu-ag-táu-ag* to *li-mó-kon*.

[19] Called *ga-bíñg*.

[20] On the upper Agúsan it is called *bá-us-bá-us*, on the central, *bí-tang*.

[21] Called *bág-to*.

[22] Also called *bág-to*.

BIRDS OF EVIL OMEN

Besides the turtledove there is no other bird that is the harbinger of good luck. There are, however, several that by their cry, forebode evil. Thus the cry of all birds that ordinarily do not cry by night is of evil omen. The various species of hornbills, crows, and chickens are examples. The cawing of crows and the shrieking of owls in the night have a particularly evil significance, for these birds are then considered to be the embodiment of demons that hover around with evil intent.

An unusual cackling of a hen at night without any apparent reason is also of ill import. On one occasion it was thought to be so threatening that the following morning the owner went through the fowl-waving ceremony and killed the hen for breakfast. He told me that he had to kill it or to sell it because bad luck might come if he kept it around the house.

Again, the alighting of a large bird, such as a hornbill, on the house forebodes great evil. Ceremonial means must be taken without delay to avert the evil presaged by such an occurrence. On one occasion I observed the fowl-waving ceremony, the sacrifice of a chicken, and the blood lustration performed with a view to neutralizing the evil portent.

CHAPTER XXVIII

MYTHOLOGICAL AND KINDRED BELIEFS

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

The story of the creation of the world varies throughout the Agúsan Valley. In the district surrounding Talakógon creation is attributed to *Makalídung*, the first great Manóbo. The details of his work are very meager. He set the world up on posts, some say iron posts, with one in the center. At this central post he has his abode, in company with a python, according to the version of some, and whenever he feels displeasure toward men he shakes the post, thereby producing an earthquake and at the same time intimating to man his anger. It is believed that should the trembling continue the world would be destroyed.

In the same district it is believed that the sky is round and that its extremities are at the limits of the sea. Somewhere near these limits is an enormous hole called "*the navel of the sea*,"[1] through which the waters descend and ascend. This explains the rise and the fall of the tide.

It is said that in the early days of creation the sky was low, but that one day a woman, while pounding rice, hit it with her pestle, and it ascended to its present position.

Another version of the creation, prevalent among the Manóbos of the Argáwan and Híbung Rivers, gives the control of the world to *Dágaú*, who lives at the four fundamental pillars in the company of a python. Being a woman, she dislikes the sight of human blood, and when it is spilled upon the face of the earth she incites the huge serpent to wreathe itself around the pillars and shake the world to its foundations. Should she become exceedingly angry she diminishes the supply of rice either by removing it from the granary or by making the soil unproductive.

According to another variation of the story, which is heard on the upper Agúsan, on the Simúlau, and on the Umaíam, the world is like a huge mushroom and it is supported upon an iron pillar in the center. This pillar is controlled by the higher and more powerful order of deities who, on becoming angered at the actions of men, manifest their feelings by shaking the pillar, thereby reminding mortals of their duties.

CELESTIAL PHENOMENA

THE RAINBOW

The rainbow, according to the general account, is an inexplicable manifestation of the gods of war. At one end of the rainbow there is thought to be a huge tortoise, one fathom broad. The appearance of the rainbow is an indication that the gods of war, with their associate war chiefs and warriors from the land of death, have gone forth in search of blood. If red predominates among the colors of the rainbow it is thought that the mightier war spirits are engaged in hand-to-hand combat; but if the colors are dark, it is a sign of slaughter. If the rainbow should seem to approach, precautions are taken to defend the house against attack, as it is believed that a real war party is approaching.

On no account must the finger be pointed at the rainbow, as it might become curved.

THUNDER AND LIGHTNING

Thunder is a demonstration by Ánit of her anger towards men for disrespect to brute animals. Lightning is spoken of as her tongue and is described as being a reddish tongue-shaped stone that is flung by her at the guilty one. Ánit is one of the mighty spirits that dwell in Inugtúhan, the sky world, and together with Inaíyau is the wielder of the thunderbolt and of the storm.

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[1] *Pó-sud* to *dá-gat*.

She is a very watchful spirit and, in case one offends her, he must hurry to a house and get a priest to appease her with an offering of blood. The belief in this tongue stone is universal, but no one claims to have seen one nor can anyone tell where it can be found.

ECLIPSE OF THE MOON

The almost universal belief regarding an eclipse of the moon is that a gigantic tarantula [2] has attacked the moon and is slowly encompassing it in its loathsome embrace. Upon perceiving the first evidences of darkness upon the face of the moon, the men rush out from the houses, shout, shoot arrows toward the moon, slash at trees with their bolos, play the drum and gong, beat tin cans and the buttresses of trees, blow bamboo resounders and dance around wildly, at the same time giving forth yells of defiance at the monster saying, "Let loose our moon," "You will be hit by an arrow." The women at the same time keep sticking needles or pointed sticks in the wall in the direction of the enemy that is trying to envelop the moon.

The explanation of these curious proceedings is simple. If the moon does not become freed from the clutches of this gigantic creature, it is believed that there will be no dawn and that, in the eternal darkness that will subsequently fall upon the world, the evil spirits will reign and all human apparel will be turned into snakes.

During the eclipse the priests never cease to call upon their deities for aid against the mighty tarantula that is menacing the moon.

As to the origin, habitat, and character of this tarantula I have never been afforded the least information. The huge creature seizes upon the moon, but soon releases it on account of the shouts and menacing actions of the human spectators. Objections that one may raise as to the invisibility, magnitude, and other obvious anomalies are at once refuted by the simple and sincere declaration that such belief is true because it has been handed down from the days of yore.

ORIGIN OF THE STARS AND THE EXPLANATION OF SUNSET AND SUNRISE

It is said that in the olden time the sun and the moon were married. They led a peaceful, harmonious life and two children were the result of their wedlock. One day the moon had to attend to one of the household duties that fall to the lot of a woman—some say to get water, others say to get the daily supply of food from the little farm. Before departing she crooned the children to sleep and told her husband to watch them but not to approach them lest, by the heat that radiated from his body he might harm them. She then started upon her errand. The sun, who never before had been allowed to touch his bairns, arose and approached their sleeping place. He gazed upon them fondly and, bending down, kissed them, but the intense heat that issued from his countenance melted them like wax. Upon preceiving this he wept and quietly betook himself to the adjoining forest in great fear of his wife.

The moon returned duly and, after laying down her burden in the house, turned to where the children slept, but found only their inanimate forms. She broke out into a loud wail, and in the wildness of her grief called upon her husband. But he gave no answer. Finally softened by the long loud plaints he returned to his house. At the sight of him the wild cries of grief and of despair and of rebuke redoubled themselves until finally the husband, unable to soothe his wife, became angry and called her his chattel.[3] At first she feared his anger and quieted her sobs, but finally, breaking out into one long wail, she seized the burnt forms of her babes and in the depth of her anguish and her rage, threw them out on the ground in different directions. Then the husband became angry again and, seizing some taro leaves that his wife had brought from the farm, cast them in her face and went his way. Upon his return he could not find his wife, and so it is to this day that the sun follows the moon in an eternal cycle of night and day. And so it is, too, that the stars stand scattered in the sable firmament, for they are her discarded children that accompany her in her hasty flight. Ever and anon a shooting star breaks across her path, but that is only a messenger from her husband to call her back. She, however, heeds it not but speeds on her way in never-ending flight with the marks of the taro leaves[4] still upon her face, and with her starry train accompanying her to the dawn and on to the sunset in one eternal flight.

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[2] *Tam-ban-a-káu-a.* (Bisáya, *ba-ka-náu-a.*) Some say that a huge scorpion is the cause of eclipses.

[3] *Máñg-gad* (chattel) and *bin-ó-tuñg* (purchase slave) are the ordinary terms of reproach used by an angry husband toward his wife and refer to her domestic status as originating in the marriage payment.

THE STORY OF THE IKÚGAN,[5] OR TAILED MEN, AND OF THE RESETTLEMENT OF THE AGÚSAN VALLEY

It seems that long, long ago a ferocious horde of tailed men, Tíduñg,[6] overran the Agúsan Valley as far south as Veruéla. They were tailed men from all accounts, the tail of the men being like a dagger, and that of the women like an adze of the kind used by Manóbos. For 14 years they continued their depredations, devastating the whole valley till all the Manóbos had fled or been killed, except one woman on the Argáwan River or, as some say, on the Umaíam.

When the Manóbos first arrived in the Agúsan Valley they tried to withstand the tailed men. The Manóbos of the Kasilaían River are said to have dug trenches and to have made valiant resistance, but were finally obliged to flee to the Pacific coast.[7] It is said that when encamped near the present site of San Luis these tailed folks slept on a kind of nettle[8] and being severely stung, took it for a bad omen and returned.

As to the origin and departure of these invaders nothing seems to be known, but they devastated the valley from Butuán to Veruéla and from east to west.

The solitary woman who had hidden in the *runo* reeds of Argáwan continued to eke out an existence and to pass her time in weaving *abaká* cloth. One day as she was about to eat she found a turtledove's egg in one of her weaving baskets and she was glad, for meat and fish were scarce. But when the hour to eat arrived she forgot the egg. Thus it happened day after day until the egg hatched out, when lo! instead of a little dove there appeared a lovely little baby girl who, under her foster mother's care and guidance, throve and grew to woman's estate.

Now it happened that, as the war had ended, scouts began to travel through the country to discover whether the Ikúgan had really departed, and one day a band of them found the woman and foster daughter. Amazed at the young girl's marvelous beauty the chief asked for her hand. The foster mother granted his request, but upon one condition—that he would place a married couple upon every river in the valley. Well pleased with such a simple condition he started upon his quest and before long succeeded in placing upon every river a married couple. In this way came about the repopulation of the Agúsan Valley. The chief then married the beautiful maiden and peace reigned throughout the land.

GIANTS

The great mythic giants of Manóboland are *Táma*, *Mandayáñgan*, and *Apíla*. All three are described as of marvelous height, "as tall as the tallest trees of the mountains," and their domain is said to be the deep and dark forest.

Táma is a wicked spirit, whose special malignancy consists in beguiling the steps of unwary travelers. Leading his victim off the beaten trail by cunning calls and other ruses, he devours him bodily. His haunt is said to be sometimes the *baléte* tree, as the enormous footprints occasionally seen in its vicinity testify. A Manóbo of the Kasilaían River assured me that he had seen them and that they were a fathom long. I have heard various accounts of this fabulous being all over eastern Mindanáo.

Mandayáñgan, on the contrary, is a good-natured, humanlike giant, who loves to attend the combats of Manóboland. He is said to have been one of the great warriors of the days of yore. His dwelling is in the great mountain forests, where live the gods of war.

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[4] Some say that spots upon the moon are a cluster of bamboos; others, that they are *baléte* trees, and others again, that they are the taro marks referred to.

[5] From *i-kug*, tail.

[6] It would be interesting to know whether these Tíduñg were members of a tribe in Borneo that made piratical raids to the Sulu Archipelago.

[7] It is true that the Manóbos of the Tágo River, province of Surigáo, claim kinship with those of the Kasilaían and Argáwan Rivers, but their migration from the Agúsan Valley seems to have been comparatively recent, if I may believe their own testimony.

[8] Ság-ui.

Apíla is an innocuous giant whose one great pleasure is to leave his far-off forest home and, crashing down the timber in his giant strides, go in quest of a wrestling bout with Mandayáñgan. The noise of their fierce engagement can be heard, it is said, for many and many a league, and there are not wanting those who have witnessed their mighty struggle for supremacy.

Besides these three greater giants, there are others, lesser but more human, the principal of whom is *Dábau*. *Dábau* lived on a small mountain in view of the present site of Veruéla. It is said that, before beginning his trip up the Agúsan, he sent word to the inhabitants of the Umaíam River that on a certain day he would pass through the lake region and that all rice should be carefully protected against the commotion of the waters.[9]

On the appointed day he is said to have seized the trunk of a *palma brava* palm and, using it for a pole, to have poled his bamboo raft from Butuán to the mouth of the Maásin Creek, near Veruéla, in one day.[10] With him lived his sister, also a person of extraordinary strength, for it is on record that she would at times pluck a whole bunch of bananas and throw it to her brother on a neighboring hill.

PECULIAR ANIMAL BELIEFS

There is, besides the various omens taken from birds, bees, dogs, and mice, a very peculiar observance prevailing among the tribes of eastern Mindanáo with regard to members of the animal kingdom. This strange observance consists in paying them a certain deference in that they must not be laughed at, imitated, nor in anywise shown disrespect. This statement applies particularly to those creatures which enter a human haunt contrary to their usual custom. To laugh at them, or make jeering remarks as to their appearance, etc., would provoke the wrath of Anítan[11] the thunder goddess, who dwells in Inugtúhan. If they enter the house, they must be driven out in a gentlemanly way and divinatory means resorted to at once, for they may portend ill luck.

I have myself at times been upbraided for my levity toward frogs and other animals. I also received numerous accounts of disrespect shown to brute visitors to a house and of the ill results that might have followed had not proper and timely propitiation been made to Anítan. The two following incidents, of which the narrators were a part, will sufficiently illustrate the point.

Two Manóbos of the Kasilaían River entered a house and, upon perceiving a chicken that was afflicted with a cold, began to make unseemly remarks to it by upbraiding it for getting wet. Shortly after it began to thunder and, remembering the offense that they had committed, they had recourse to their aunt, a priestess, who decided that Anítan was displeased and had to be propitiated. Finding no other victim than a hunting dog, for the chicken was considered by her ceremonially unclean, she at once ordered the dog to be killed for Anítan. The thunder and the lightning passed away promptly. It may be noted here that the dog may have had considerable value, for a really good hunting dog commands as high a value as a human life.

In another case on the same river the narrator had captured a young monkey. When he arrived at the house its uncouth appearance caused a little merriment and induced the owner to place upon its head a small earthen pot in imitation of a hat. Almost immediately the first mutterings of thunder were heard, and the owner, remembering his indiscretion, slew the monkey and offered it in propitiation to Anítan. As he had expected he averted the danger that he feared from the threating thunderbolts.

In some cases those who are guilty of this peculiar offense become turned into stone, unless they take the proper means of appeasing divine wrath, as the following legend will show.

THE PETRIFIED CRAFT AND CREW OF KAGBUBÁTAÑG

In the old, old days a boat was passing the rocky promontory of Kagbubátañg.[12] The occupants espied a monkey and a cat fighting upon the summit of the promontory. The incongruity of the thing impressed them and they began to give vent to derisive remarks, addressing themselves to the brute combatants, when lo and behold, they and their craft were turned into stone, and to this day the petrified craft and crew may be seen on the promontory and all who pass must make an offering,[13] howsoever small it be, to the vexed souls of these petrified people. If one were to pass the point without making an offering, the anger of its petrified inhabitants might be aroused and the traveler might have bad weather and rough seas.[14]

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[9] The nearest settlements to the channel through which Dábau must have passed were several kilometers distant.

[10] This trip is a row of from 8 to 12 days in a large native canoe and under normal conditions.

[11] Called also Á-nit and In-a-ní-tan.

[12] *Kag-bu-bá-tañg* is a point within sight of the town of Placer, eastern Mindanáo.

In further explanation of this singular belief it may be stated that the imitation of the sounds made by frogs is especially forbidden, for it might be followed not merely by thunderbolts, as in some cases, but by petrifaction of the offender; in proof of this I will adduce the legend of Añgó, of Binâoi.[15]

AÑGÓ, THE PETRIFIED MANÓBO

Añgó lived many years ago on a lofty peak in the eastern Cordillera with his wife and children. One day he went to the forest with his dogs in quest of game. Fortune granted him a fine big boar, but he broke his spear in dealing the mortal blow. Upon arriving at a stream he sat down upon a stone and set himself to repairing his spear. The croaking of the near-by frogs attracted his attention and, imitating their shrill notes, he boldly told them that it would be better to cease their cries and help him mend his spear. He continued his course up the rocky torrent, but noticed that a multitude of little stones began to follow behind in his path. Surprised at such a happening he hastened his steps. Looking back, he saw bigger stones join in the pursuit. He then seized his dog and in fear began to run but the stones kept on in hot pursuit, bigger and bigger ones joining the party. Upon arriving at his *camote* patch he was exhausted and had to slacken his pace, whereupon the stones overtook him and one became attached to his finger. He could not go on. He called upon his wife. She, with the young children, sought the magic lime[16] and set it around her husband, but all to no avail, for his feet began to turn to stone. His wife and children, too, fell under the wrath of Anítan. The following morning the whole family had petrified up to the knees, and during the following three days the process continued from the knees to the hips, then to the breast, and then on to the head. And thus it is that to this day there may be seen on Bináoi Peak the petrified forms of Añgó and his family.

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[13] The offering may consist of a little piece of wood, in fact anything, and must be thrown overboard while one is passing the point.

[14] There is said to be a similar locality near Taganíto, between Clavér and Carrascál.

[15] *Bin-á-oi* is the name of an oddly shaped peak at the source of the River Añgadanán, tributary of the Wá-wa River. From the upper Tágo its white crest may be seen overlooking the source of the stream Malithug that delivers its waters to the Tágo River through the Borubuán.

[16] Limes and lemons, it will be remembered, are supposed to be objects of fear to the evil spirits.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE GREAT RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT OF 1908–1910

THE EXTENT OF THE MOVEMENT

The religious revival of 1908 to 1910 began, according to universal report, among the Manóbos of the Libagánon River.[1] It was thence propagated eastward till it extended over the whole region that lies south of the eighth parallel of north latitude and east of the Libagánon and Tágum Rivers. If the rumors that it spread among the Manóbos of the upper Paláñgi, among the Subánuns, and among the Atás be true (and the probability is that it is so), then this great movement affected one-third of the island of Mindanáo, exclusive of that part occupied by Moros[2] and Bisáyas. I am acquainted with some Bisáyas who, moved by the extent and intensity of the movement on the upper Agsúan, became adherents.

Among the Christianized and non-Christianized Manóbos, Mandáyas, Mañgguáñgans, and Debabáons I know of only a few men and of not a single woman or child old enough to walk who did not take part in it.

Upon my arrival in Compostela I was told about this religious revival, but to make myself better informed I went to the settlement of the one who had introduced the movement into the Agúsan Valley. The following is his story, corroborated since that time in every detail by unimpeachable evidence.

REPORTED ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF THE REVIVAL

One Meskínan,[3] a Manóbo of the Libagánon River, was taken sick with what appeared to be cholera. He was abandoned by his relatives. On the third day, however, he recovered and went in search of his fugitive people. Naturally his appearance caused consternation, but he allayed the fears of his fellow tribesmen by assuring them that his return was not due to the influence of any evil spirit but to that of a beneficent spirit, who, he asserted, had presented him with a medicine which he showed them. They readily gave credence to his story in view of his marvelous recovery, and also because of the extraordinary state of trembling and of apparent divine possession into which he fell after recounting his story. Accounts of this event spread far and wide, until it reached the Máwab River,[4] but in so altered a form that it not only attributed to Meskínan an ordinary priesthood but declared that he had actually been transformed into a deity, and that as such he could impart himself to all whom he might desire to honor. The chief of the Mansáka group of Mandáyas on the Máwab sent an urgent message to relatives of his near Compostela. My informant was one of these, and he described to me the midnight exodus of the whole settlement on its way to Máwab. The following is substantially his account.

Upon their arrival at Máwab the most powerful chief on the river laid before them the messages that had been received from Libagánon; how Meskínan had been changed into a deity and had ceased to perform the natural functions of eating and drinking. On the following day a messenger arrived at Máwab settlement, purporting to come directly from Meskínan. He stated that Meskínan had announced the destruction of the world after one moon. The old tribal deities would cease to lend their assistance to those that garbed themselves in black.[5] In the intervening time he (Meskínan) would direct men how to save themselves from destruction.

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[1] The Libagánon River is the western influent of the Tágum River, which empties into the northern part of the gulf of Dávao.

[2] I am informed by Capt. L. E. Case, P. C., deputy-governor of Dávao, that the Moros of Máti took a zealous part in the movement. It is then not improbable that the Moros of the gulf of Dávao participated in it likewise.

[3] Meskínan is the religious pseudonym of Mapákla, a Manóbo of the Libagánon River.

[4] A tributary of the Hijo River which empties into the gulf of Dávao.

[5] My informant interpreted this as meaning non-Christianized people. This reference to dark-colored dress is not clear.

My informant said that the following orders were issued by Meskínan:

(1) All chickens and pigs were to be killed at once; otherwise they would devour their owners.

(2) No more crops were to be planted.

(3) A good building for religious purposes was to be erected in each settlement.

(4) In each settlement there was to be one priest [6] who must have received his power from Meskínan himself, and several assistants [7] who were to help to propagate the news and to perform the prescribed services in distant "churches."

(5) The services were to consist of praying to Meskínan, performing sacred dances in his honor, and *forwarding offerings to him.*

My informant described to me how several people of Máwab settlement went over the Libagánon for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of the numerous messages and of the ceaseless rumors. On their return they reported that Meskínan was truly a deity; that his body was all golden; that he ate only the fragrance of offerings made to him; and that he bestowed his special protection on those alone who made these offerings. The visitors to Libagánon brought the news that the toppling over [8] of the world would take place within one moon, and that the orders of Meskínan, the Magbabáya, should be carried out at once, for otherwise, when the day of destruction arrived, all would be irretrievably lost; husband would be separated from wife, and mother from child; pigs and chickens would prey upon whomsoever they could catch, and all would live a life of darkness and despair. But those who had complied with instructions would be saved; their bodies, at the moment of the fall of the world, would become golden and they would fly around in the air with never a care for material wants, *the men on their shields, and the women on their combs.*

A high priest from the Tágum River conferred a "*Magbabáya*"[9] or spirit upon my informant and upon several others who were to act as his assistants and emissaries.

The people who had assembled at Máwab settlement decided accordingly to erect an immense house for the performance of the religious acts enjoined by the Magbabáya of Libagánon. In this edifice they passed one month in expectation of the impending cataclysm. Men, women, and children, half starving as my informant assured me, danced and sang to the sound of drum and gong, while he and his assistants broke out at intervals into supplications to the Magbabáya of Libagánon and fell into the state of violent exaltation that was the outward manifestation of the fact that a spirit had taken possession of them.

SPREAD OF THE MOVEMENT

Toward the end of the month word was received from Meskínan that the end of the world would not take place for three more moons in order that every settlement might have an opportunity of erecting its religious house and of saving itself thereby from the impending doom. The priests and their assistants were bidden to spread the news far and wide, even in the most inaccessible haunts of the land.

My informant and his relatives then returned to their settlement on the Báklug River, but only to find that their pigs and chickens had been stolen by Christianized people of Compostela. They constructed a religious house of very fine appearance and faithfully fulfilled all the other behests of the Magbabáya.

All this time reports and messages as to the approach of the end of the world kept pouring into Compostela from Libagánon, so that it was not long before my informant was invited to establish a religious house in Compostela. As this town is the principal intertribal trading point to which Christianized Manóbos, Mañgguáñgans, and Mandáyas resort, it is evident that within a short time word of the approaching calamity was received and believed by all the surrounding peoples, and my informant, the high priest, was invited to establish "churches" in all the settlements of Mandáyaland. Through the instrumentality of other priests and their assistants the movement spread among the Debabáons of the Sálug country, among the Mañgguáñgans of the Mánat and Sálug districts and among the Manóbos of the upper Agúsan, the Baóbo, the Ihawán, and the Simúlau Rivers.

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[6] Called *pun-ó-an.*

[7] *Tai-tái-an,* that is, "bridges," meaning probably that these emissaries were to be the bridge over which the religious doctrines would pass in spreading from settlement to settlement.

[8] *Kí-liñg.*

[9] As the narration proceeds an attempt will be made to explain this term.

This great religious movement was known as "Túñgud."[10]

ITS EXTERIOR CHARACTER AND GENERAL FEATURES

When I arrived on the upper Agusan the movement was in full swing, and I had every opportunity to hear the messages and rumors from Libagánon and to watch the proceedings of the high priests and of their assistants. I was handicapped by my inability to follow the language used in the sacred songs and supplications, but I had many of them interpreted to me. With this exception the following statements as to the character of the movement are first hand.

The first and most tangible feature of the revival was the lack of food. No rice nor taro had been planted because of the Magbabáya's injunction, so that the whole population of the upper Agúsan and of the Mandáya country had been compelled to subsist for the months preceding my arrival on the taro that had already been planted and on the *camote* crop. Hence on my arrival rice was so scarce that it cost me three days' wandering, no little amount of begging, and a good round sum of money to procure a supply sufficient for my own needs. The scarcity or utter lack of food was further made evident by the fact that on several occasions I had to leave settlements because I was unable to get food.

When in their homes the people showed fear at all hours, but especially during the night. The falling of a tree in the forest, the rumbling of thunder, an earthquake, an untoward report from Libagánon, and similar things would draw from them the repetition, in low fearful tones, of the mystic word "*túñgud,*" and would send them off in a hurry to the religious house. In Compostela the people vehemently denied to the visiting Catholic missionary their adherence to the new movement, but as he was leaving the town an earthquake occurred and the words "*túñgud, túñgud,*" broke from the lips of one of the most influential men in the town.

Another and very noticeable feature of the movement, indicative of its profound influence upon these people, was the cessation of all feuds and quarrels. After all that has been said on the subject of Manóbos in general and their social institution of revenge in particular, one can readily realize and greatly marvel at the paramount influence exerted by the great revival of those two years. Bisáyas and others more or less conversant with Manóbo ways and character were amazed at the wonderful effect which this religious movement exerted on these peoples, one and all. From tribe to tribe, from settlement to settlement, from enemy to enemy, traveled priests, assistants, everybody. Mañgguáñgans, who seldom or never visited Compostela, might be found performing their religious services there. Some of them even went so far as to penetrate into the almost inaccessible haunts of the upper Manorígao Mandáyas, the hereditary and truculent enemies of Compostela whom even the Catholic missionaries could never convert. Debabáons from the Sálug-Libagánon region went fearlessly over to the Karága, Kasáuman, and Manái districts and returned unscathed. Many a time in Compostela and other places I heard it remarked concerning a particular individual that, were it not for the order of the Magbabáya of Libagánon to refrain from quarrels and to forego revenge, he would be killed.

So great then was the sway of this religious movement that the natural law of vengeance yielded to it and its adherents almost starved themselves for it.

THE PRINCIPAL TENETS OF THE MOVEMENT

NEW ORDER OF DEITIES

In the first place the spirit that received a particular individual under his tutelary protection was either a new divinity communicable to others or one of a new class of divinities. I incline to the latter interpretation as being more in accordance with general Manóbo religious ideas. In either case the old order of deities was relegated to an inferior position, and no further worship was paid to them. The Magbabáya, whether one or more, had come, according to all the statements of Meskínan, to announce the dissolution of the world or at least of that part of the world inhabited by those who dressed in black—that is, pagan peoples—and to teach men to save themselves from a future life of darkness and desolation.

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[10] I am unable to give any suggestion as to the meaning of this word, nor have I been able to find anyone, from high priests down, who pretended to know its meaning.

After his deification Meskínan acquired the power to impart himself to such as he deemed worthy, if they presented themselves to him. They were said, after being thus endowed, to have a *Magbabáya*, in much the same way as we speak of a person having got the spirit. Upon further development of the movement certain individuals acquired the power of imparting their spirit to others, but a spirit bestowed personally by Meskínan was considered to be of greater potency than that granted by others.

OBSERVANCES PRESCRIBED BY THE FOUNDER

The means prescribed by Meskínan through his priests and emissaries for escaping from the consequences of the approaching demolition were:

(1) The construction of well-made and clean religious buildings [11] in each settlement.

(2) The frequent worship of him in these buildings by dance and chant under the direction of local priests or of their assistants.

(3) The material offerings of worldly goods to these same officiants.

That these injunctions were carried out faithfully and in the most remote regions I can personally testify. All through the mountainous Mandáya country (Kati'il, Manorígao, Karága, and the very sources of the Agúsan) I found the same religious structures, the same class of priests and faithful congregations. As I learned in my last trip in 1911 up the Karága, the Christianized Mandáyas of the coast towns in the municipalities of Karága, Bagáñga, and Kati'il had joined the movement. From Bagáñga to the point on the Libagánon that was the cradle of the movement is a linear distance of some 120 kilometers, and it takes under very favorable conditions at least seven days of continuous travel over unspeakable trails to communicate from one point to the other. Yet the religious movement spread from Libagánon to Bagáñga and to more distant points in an incredibly short time.

As a further proof of the fidelity with which the observances were carried out, let me say that I frequently dropped into settlements only to find the houses practically empty and the inhabitants all assembled in the religious house. While passing along the trails I could hear on all sides the roll of drums from the distant almost inaccessible settlements as the settlers danced in honor of their unseen gods. Upon my arrival probably the first words that greeted me would be "*Túñgud, túñgud.*"[12] In some places, as on the central Kati'il, I could not open my mouth to speak without hearing the women and children utter at once these strange words. Perhaps it was their idea that my conversation might bring about the consummation that they feared so much.

In many places I was not allowed to enter the religious buildings, being assured that the new local deity might be displeased, but in such places as I was permitted to enter I noticed the following:

(1) A small alcove [13] in one corner, frequently provided with a door, sometimes of the folding type. The purpose of this alcove was to serve as a sanctuary solely for the priests and for their assistants. Within they were supposed to hold closer communion with their deities, while the worshipers chanted and danced outside. As the story of the movement proceeds, the real purpose of this alcove or stall will be explained.

(2) An altar consisting of a shelf supported on two legs and having on it offerings of bolos, daggers, lances, and necklaces, together with a supply of drink.

(3) A drum and gong, a mat or two for dancing, and a hearth made out of four logs set upon the floor.

(4) Eight or more rudely carved posts supporting the house. Along the walls small carved pieces of wood intended for ornamentation.

(5) Great cleanliness under and in the immediate vicinity of the building. In Compostela the devout worshipers actually carried sand from the river and spread it on the ground around the building. Flowers, a variety

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[11] *Ka-má-lig.*

[12] Besides this there was another mystic word equally unintelligible, *ta-gá-an.*

[13] Called *sin-á-buñg.*

of wild begonia, I think, were planted around some of the buildings. Such actions as these showed the zeal with which the movement inspired them, for in the regulation of their homes such ornamentation is unprecedented.

(6) An offering stand close to the building. On this were placed offerings of betel nut and drink, which were deemed acceptable to the deities.

RELIGIOUS RITES

Several rites, such as that of the conferring of a *Magbabáya*, I was unable to witness, because up to the time of my departure from the upper Agúsan they were not usually performed there, but nearly always over on the Libagánon, Tágum, or Máwab Rivers. The investment of priests and emissaries with *Magbabáya* spirits did take place a few times in Compostela, but I was not permitted to attend, the assigned reason being that my presence might be displeasing to these deities. The ordinary religious performance, however, in honor of Meskínan I witnessed repeatedly, and will now describe a typical one.

The ceremony was performed at a settlement on the central Kati'il. The high priest and his assistants were my guide and carriers who had taken advantage of my trip to earn a little and at the same time to spread the new religion.

Upon our approach to the settlement one of the assistant priests went ahead to announce our arrival. The first building we reached was the religious house. Before ascending the notched pole that served for a stairs the high priest gave a grand wave of his arm and asked in a loud voice: "Art thou here already, perchance?" In answer I heard a distinct whistle proceeding, as I thought, from the building. The priest went on: "When dids't thou get here?" This was answered by several low whistling sounds which the priest interpreted to mean "early this morning." The dialogue was continued in a similar strain for several minutes, the responses always being in the form of low prolonged whistling or low sharp chirps, and always proceeding, as it seemed to me, from the building, though to others the sound appeared to come from the opposite direction or from the sky, so they said. I questioned the priest and he pointed his hand in a diametrically opposite direction to that from which the sounds appeared to me to come.

When we went up into the building we found nearly the whole settlement assembled. The high priest gave the latest report from Libagánon, which was to the effect that Meskínan had determined not to overthrow the world for three months more in order to give the settlements that had not yet joined the movement an opportunity to do so and thereby to save themselves. The high priest went on to tell the listeners how the Magbabáya of Libagánon had departed to the underworld and had taken up his abode near the pillars of the earth; how he had been engaged in weaving a piece of cloth and had only 1 yard to finish, upon the completion of which the world would be destroyed. After having convinced the audience of the necessity of making known these particulars to neighboring clans and of complying with the orders of Meskínan, he announced the request of Meskínan that a certain number of lances be donated from each settlement. When he had concluded his narration, which was substantiated by his assistants, it was proposed by the assembled people that he perform the *túñgud* services, whereupon he and his assistants danced and chanted for about an hour, the tenor of the chants being, according to the interpretation given to me, the latest doings and orders of the great Magbabáya of Libagánon.

The following morning it was decided to hold a sacrifice in honor of Meskínan, so the chief of the settlement with great difficulty procured a pig. All being ready and the pig being in position on the sacrificial table with the usual fronds, the ceremony began. Even while vesting himself in a woman's skirt, according to the customs adopted in the performance of the religious dance, the high priest manifested signs of the influence of his *Magbabáya*, for he trembled noticeably. One feature of the dance was different from those of the ordinary religious dance in that the priest carried a small shield in one hand and a dagger in the other, though he did not make any pretense of performing the dagger dance as described in a previous part of this monograph.[14] The use of this shield was enjoined as part of the new ritual and was intended to remind the congregation that faithful male followers would be saved by means of their shields when the world toppled over.

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[14] It may be noted here that the Mandáya dance is neither so graceful nor so impressive as the Manóbo dance. The feet move faster and there are fewer flexings of the body and no mimetic movements, so characteristic of the Manóbo dance. Neither is a woman's skirt worn nor are handkerchiefs carried in the hands.

The high priest danced only about two minutes, because his spirit came upon him, and he fell down upon one knee, unable to rise. I never saw a more gruesome spectacle. A bright unnatural light gleamed in his eyes, his countenance became livid, the eyeballs protruded, a copious perspiration streamed from his body, the muscles of his face twitched, and his whole frame shook more and more vehemently as the intensity of the paroxysm increased. Fearing an utter collapse, I assisted him to his feet and left him resting against the wall.

As soon as the high priest fell under the spell of his spirit, one of the assistants broke forth into a loud chant, which ever and anon he interrupted with a loud coughlike sound followed by the words, "*túñgud, túñgud, tagúan.*" This chant, as well as the subsequent ones, was taken up by several of the assistants successively and, according to the interpretation furnished me, dealt with the wondrous doings of Meskínan in the underworld and described in detail the end of the world as announced by Meskínan. In succession each of the priests, including the local ones, danced and fell under the influence of their deities, but not with such vehemence as the high priest whose spirit was declared to be "very big."

An important point to be noted in the dance was the removal by the dancer at some part of the dance of his sacred headdress,[15] the emblem of his new priesthood. This was a kerchief which was supposed to have been given personally by Meskínan to everyone upon whom he had conferred a *Magbabáya.* Removing his handkerchief the priest waved it over the heads of the congregation and finally over or near any object that he desired. This was an intimation that such object became consecrated and thereby the property of the great Magbabáya of Libagánon. A refusal to surrender it was tantamount to perdition when the end should come. Such was the doctrine universally preached and as uniformly believed and practiced.

Continuing the ceremony, the high priest made several efforts to dance, but always with the same result. He chanted, however, frequently, but always made use of many words that had been taught him by his spirit and which were unintelligible to my interpreters.

After about two hours we all left the religious building and took up our positions around the sacrificial table, the priests in the center. Those whose spears, daggers, bracelets, and other property had been consecrated by the waving of a priest's headdress now deposited them under or near the table.

The high priest was the principal officiant, but was assisted by his fellow priests from the Agúsan and by the new local priests. None of the priests of the old religion took any part, the old gods being supposed to have yielded to the new Magbabáya.

The only divergences from the usual ceremonial proceedings on the occasion of a sacrifice were the placing of the sacred headdresses over the victim and the omission of omen taking, blood libation, and blood drinking. The pig was killed by plunging a dagger through its left side, the blood was caught in a pan, and the meat was consumed in a subsequent feast in which the priests did not participate, not being permitted, they said, by their respective deities.

The scene that followed the killing of the pig was indescribable. The priests covered their heads and faces with their sacred kerchiefs and trembled with intense vehemence, some leaning against the posts of the sacrificial table, the high priest himself groveling on the ground on all fours, unable to arise from sheer exhaustion. When the death-blow had been dealt to the victim they broke into the mystic words, "*túñgud, túñgud, tagúan,*" with loud coughs at the end. These words were taken up by the bystanders and shouted with vehemence. Many of them, especially the small girls, fell into paroxysms of trembling. Many of the men and adult women divested themselves of their property, such as necklaces, bracelets, and arms, and laid them near the sacrificial table. Others promised to make an offering as soon as they could procure one.

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[15] *Mo-sá.*

THE REAL NATURE OF THE MOVEMENT AND MEANS USED TO CARRY ON THE FRAUD

I can state unqualifiedly that the whole movement carried on in the Agúsan Valley among the Mandáyas, Debabáons, and Mañgguáñgans of the Sálug-Libagánon region was a fraud from beginning to end. I state this on the testimony of the high priest who introduced it into the Agúsan Valley, on that of the other priests, and on my own discovery of the fraud. The abandonment of the movement and the open avowal of the Mandáyas of the Karága, Manorígao, Bagáñga, Mánai, and Kasáuman Rivers, who are still bemoaning the loss of many valuables that they had given as offerings, is unimpeachable evidence that the whole movement was a great religious deception.

I have no reason for doubting the wonderful recovery of Meskínan, whose real name was Mapákla, nor do I see any improbability in the report that he fell suddenly under the influence of a spirit, for such an occurrence is not without precedent in Manóboland. I will admit even that at the beginning belief in the revival was sincere, but as time went on and the reputation of the power of Meskínan's spirit became greater, abuses crept in, so that shortly after my arrival in Compostela the whole system became an atrocious deception for the purpose of wheedling innocent believers out of their valuables.

The scheme was most probably engineered by some Mandáyas of the Tágum River in league with one of the men of the Máwab River and two of the upper Sálug. The Mandáyas of the Tágum River have had dealings with Moros from time immemorial, and undoubtedly they learned from them much craft and chicanery. It is far from being impossible that they were prompted by Moros in the present case or that Moros themselves set the movement afoot. I have one reason for being inclined to adopt the latter opinion, namely, that the Moros did actually originate a movement of this kind in the seventeenth century as stated by Combes in his "Historia de Mindanáo," and a similar movement about the year 1877, as is mentioned in one of the Cartas de los PP. de la Compañia de Jesus.

Let us now examine the various artifices by which the fraud was carried out.

THE SACRED TRAFFIC

Meskínan lived somewhere up the Libagánon River, far from the Tágum, and was therefore practically out of communication with the Agúsan. Hence there was little danger of discovery in reporting him deified and his body all golden. After his deification he was always absent, either "down at the pillars of the earth" or on an "island at the sea" or winging his way "on a shield through the starry region." It is easy to understand how difficult it would be to secure an interview with him under these circumstances.

As soon as it was reported from the Tágum and Máwab Rivers that Meskínan could take anyone under his special protection—in other words, that he could bestow his spirit upon others—several went over to Tágum and Máwab and did actually receive a spirit, but only at the hands of those who purported to be the representative of Meskínan. Now those who received this spiritual influence were expected to give a consideration [16] for the gift, or *Magbabáya*, as it was called. As time went on this usage developed into the custom of paying the equivalent of a slave (₱30) for every *Magbabáya* received from the representatives of Meskínan. This payment had to be made not only for the original bestowal of these spirits but also in case of their flight and return, for they were of a fugitive disposition. I have seen several young fellows start off for Libagánon in fear and trembling to redeem their runaway spirits. It may be noted here that the flight of a spirit was ascribed to some act on the part of its possessor that provoked its displeasure. Thus one young fellow assured me that his *Magbabáya* had fled because of his failure to abstain from eating rice.

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[6] Called *á-lo*. Perhaps this is an abbreviated form of the Spanish word *regalo*, which means gift, and which is a word of frequent use among those with whom the Catholic missionaries came in contact.

I have seen Mandáyas of the Kati'il River, men of influence and of renown, travel over to the Máwab—a wearisome journey of some four days—loaded down with lances, bolos, daggers, slaves, and other chattels, with which to purchase a *Magbabáya*. I saw them return, too, happy in the possession of their newly acquired spirits but worse off in a worldly way.

But the religious traffic was not confined to the sale of *Magbabáya* alone. Wooden images and sacred handkerchiefs, supposed to proceed from Meskínan, were sold at very profitable rates, as were also religious shields, and various other objects. Thus on one occasion I made a present to a high priest of several yards of cloth. My astonishment may be imagined when I discovered that he had cut it up into handkerchiefs which he had disposed of far down the Kati'il River for the equivalent of 5 pesos apiece, assuring the purchasers that they had been made and consecrated by the great *Magbabáya* of Libagánon, and that they were of the utmost efficacy in case of sickness, and above all on the day of dissolution. I asked my friend, the high priest, why he dared to perpetrate such a fraud on his fellow tribesmen. He said that the Máwab and Tágum people had fooled him out of all his possessions and that he was taking this means to get back the equivalent.

A chief from the upper Sálug sold a wooden religious image for the value of ₱15 on the Bahaían River. He asserted that it was presented to him by Meskínan as a marvelous cure for all the ills of life. I was present in the house of this selfsame chief and high priest while he was whittling out similar ones.

During my recent trip to the Manorígao River I was shown kerchiefs of khaki that had been sold by a high priest of Compostela about two years before. The indignation and threats of the owners were terrible when I explained to them that I had traded the khaki for some Mandáya skirt cloth. One cunning individual made a feint at throwing the responsibility on me, but happily I was able to evade the liability.

RELIGIOUS TOURS

In order that the pious fraud might be carried out more effectively and with less risk to the missionaries of it, it was proclaimed at the beginning that all feuds should cease and that all quarrels were tabooed. This permitted intercourse between former enemies and enabled the priests and their assistants to travel unmolested from settlement to settlement. Together with an injunction that prohibited any controversy as to the truth of the movement or of any of its tenets, under penalty of failing to participate in its ultimate advantages, the proscription of feuds and quarrels insured personal safety to all who might desire to visit other settlements.

To provide a lodging for the great number of priests and others who would presumably visit settlements outside of their own, the originators of the fraud decided and proclaimed that religious structures should be erected in every settlement. It was thought, probably, that the erection of these would give greater *éclat* to the affair and thereby tend to bring about a general and more ready adherence to the movement.

As a safeguard against the discovery of the fraud, it was taboo to dispute or to express doubts about any detail of the doctrines, even the most minute. As a further precaution against the suspicions of doubting Thomases, great care was exerted in the selection of priests and of their assistants. In nearly every case the persons selected were *active, popular, and, apparently at least, guileless young men.* I myself was shocked on discovering to what length these young fellows, in all other respects attractive and popular, went in their propagation of the fraud and of their insidious utilization of its benefits.

They traveled from settlement to settlement, bearing the latest reports about Meskínan; how he had failed to come to an agreement with the ancient deities, how he was wandering around in the starry regions; how he had assistants who were forging chains of steel with which to pull up the religious building in the hour of the earth's doom. After convincing their listeners of the gravity of the situation and of the necessity for renewed efforts, they would dance, chant, tremble, prophesy, shake their sacred kerchief at or over some desired object, receive a harvest of donations, and go on their way rejoicing with the sacred booty in their possession.

An idea of the magnitude of the pious offerings sometimes made may be gained from the following list of articles received by a high priest from the upper Sálug during a religious tour from the Agúsan to the Manorígao, Karága, Mánai, and Kasáuman districts.

3	old English muzzle-loaders.
100	ornamental silver breastplates.
300	old Spanish and Mexican pesos.
60	pieces of Mandáya skirt cloth.
9	pigs (not including those that had been sacrificed in the course of the tour).
30	various other objects, such as suits of clothes.

I estimate the cash value of the above to be, more or less, 1,000 pesos, an amount with which the priest could have purchased 33 slaves or 5 of the most costly maids in his tribe.

The case of a high priest who was under old financial obligations to me is another instance of the extent of the sacred traffic. Upon my arrival I advised him of my purpose and told him to get ready to settle his debt. Though he had absolutely no property at the time, he assured me that he could pay as much as a thousand pesos, so he started out for a trip among the Mandáyas of Manorígao and within a few weeks received enough pious offerings wherewith to pay his debt.

THE WHISTLING SCHEME

The greatest deception of all was the whistling scheme. This was carried on usually at night, because it was distinctly against the spirit of the movement to call upon one's *Magbabáya* for an answer except at nighttime and in the absence of a bright light, unless the *Magbabáya* of the priest or priests present first intimated his desire to speak.

The method of audible communication between the priest and his familiar deity was very simple. The priest called out in his ordinary voice, "*Magbabáya.*" If the deity was present, and had not gone off on some errand of his own, or had not run away, he answered by a long, low whistle. The interrogating priest then went on to consult the deity about the matter which he had in view, whether the end of the world was nigh, whether the prospective trip would be dangerous, or whether a boar hunt would be successful. The deity answered by a number of whistles, intelligible to the priest only, and long or short according to the amount of information supposed to be conveyed.

That this procedure was fraud I need not say. I investigated the matter personally and found that the whistling was done either by the priest himself or by a colleague of the priest. Thus in Kati'il, where I first heard it, I slyly looked into the alcove whence the sound proceeded and descried one of my companions, an assistant of the priest, squeezed into one corner with his hand over his mouth for the purpose of disguising the direction of the sound.

Upon the first favorable opportunity I quietly upbraided my companion, the high priest, for his complicity, but he merely conjured me not to reveal it to anyone else lest he and his companions be killed.

On another occasion I heard a high priest question his divinity as to the amount of a fine to be imposed and distinctly heard 15 low chirps proceeding from the supposed *Magbabáya* in answer. The priest interpreted this to signify 15 pesos. As the priest continued to consult his familiar on various subjects, I proceeded to investigate and saw a young friend of mine seated in a hammock, his head bent down and his hand placed at his mouth in an effort to divert the direction of the sound. I was within a few feet of this young fellow and could plainly see by the light of the kitchen fire the attitude of the impersonator and distinctly hear his whistling. The seance continued for some 10 minutes, the impersonator chirping out answers to the questioning priest. The listeners were fully convinced that the sounds were of divine origin and expressed that conviction by uttering some such expressions as, "Oh what a beautiful voice the Magbabáya has," "*Túñgud, Túñgud,*" "Oh, he is up on the roof now!" As it is often difficult to determine the direction whence a sound comes, the people would sometimes dispute as to where the god was, one maintaining, for example, that he was above the house, while another maintained that he was below it. Of course such matters were referred to the priest, who always knew the exact location of the imaginary god.

Some priests made use of small bamboo contrivances and some used their little hawk bells to produce the voice of their spirits. In one case the use of a small jingle bell elicited expressions of great admiration for the softness and sweetness of the supposed deity's voice. "Oh, what a melodious voice," one would say, while another would respond, "Yes; it is like a tiny flute."

Seances of this kind were of constant occurrence and yielded the priest a harvest of donations. Those who desired to acquire definite knowledge concerning any subject of importance had to ask a priest to consult his deity, and after the consultation they were expected to make a suitable offering. I once called upon a priest to find out for me the name of the individual who had stolen my scissors. The deity did not respond at the first call, for the reason that, as the priest informed me, he had gone on a trip to Libagánon, so we postponed the consultation in order to afford him time to recall the absent divinity. I can not say what means he was supposed to have taken to bring about the return of the spirit, but the extra service cost me a trifle more. Not long after, when the fire did not cast such a glare and the light had been extinguished, there was a fairly audible chirp proceeding, as all those present said, from the *camote* clearing. "Ah! he is here," they all said. The priest then accosted the deity in this manner: "Why dids't thou delay, Magbabáya?" and then went on to find out the name of the stealer of my scissors. The supposed deity, however, would not reveal the actual name lest I should quarrel with the individual—a proceeding that would be in violation of a current taboo—but he vouchsafed me the information that it was a female that was guilty. As it turned out subsequently the supposed divinity erred on this point, so as a matter of policy I claimed the restitution of what I had paid the priest for the consultation.

PRETENDED CHASTITY AND AUSTERITY

Chastity and austerity also were means calculated to promote faith in the sincerity of the priest, and consequently in the truth of their assertions and divine interpretations. The abstention from sexual intercourse was strictly enjoined on all who had received a *Magbabáya*, and observance of the restriction was rigid apparently. The priests and their wives slept in the religious building, but did not cohabit, the men sleeping in one place and the women in another. But, as I was told by one high priest before my departure that he had observed the injunction only in appearance, I am inclined to think that the same was true of all the other priests.

Abstinence from food was also enjoined by the decrees of the great *Magbabáya* of Libagánon. Hence priests pretended to abstain from all food when in their own settlements but during their religious tours ate and drank on the plea that the spirits had forbidden them to abstain, as such abstinence might cause offense because of the laws of hospitality, which require a visitor not to refuse the bounty of his host. The customs as to abstinence were not uniform. One priest maintained that his deity required from him total abstinence while he was in his own settlement. Another asserted that only partial abstinence was required of him, as, for example, from rice, or from chicken, or from drink, and he observed the rule rigidly. Total abstinence, however, was only a pretense. I had occasion to verify this fact in the case of a priest who maintained emphatically that he had not eaten a morsel for three whole days. I went to his house and found him eating inside the mosquito-bar. Of course I was fined for my curiosity.

The doctrine of the withdrawal of the ancient tribal divinities and the substitution for them of the new-fangled ones at a time of such common peril was well calculated to arouse the inherent religious fanaticism and fear of these primitive peoples. Let us review the principal points of the creed. The ancient deities had abandoned the world in disgust and decreed its downfall. The great *Magbabáya* of Libagánon had gone down to the pillars of the world and was prepared to shake the earth to its very foundations until it toppled over. He and the spirits with whom he communicated were powerful deities, able and disposed to rescue their worshipers not only in the awful moment of dissolution when the earth would become a vast charnel house full of darkness and desolation, but also in all the concerns of life up to the very end.

These new-fangled spirits were endowed with marvelous powers. They could resuscitate the dead, restore the sick to health, discern the future, impart invulnerability and other wondrous qualities, and in the moment of final dissolution rescue their faithful worshipers from the irrevocable vengeance of the ancient tribal divinities. Many and many a Manóbo told me, when I suggested to him the possibility of error or of deception in the whole system, that it was better to be sure than sorry, and that it was well worth the loss of the worldly goods to be sure of securing immunity from the threatened danger. Who would not be afraid when even the mighty *Magbabáya* of Libagánon would at times demand a lance from every settlement and keep careful watch? When many of them began to discover the fraud they were ashamed to confess their credulity and fanaticism, and so, seeing a good opportunity to recover their pecuniary losses, joined in the fraud and deliberately swindled others out of their temporal goods.

THE END OF THE MOVEMENT

The beginning of the end came about December, 1910. The various inconsistencies in the reports from Libagánon, the continual postponement by Meskínan of the end for one flimsy reason or another, the discovery by individuals of lies and fraudulent conduct on the part of the priests, the hunger and misery consequent upon the abandonment of the crops, the constant advice on the part of Bisáyas and others, and the ever-increasing scarcity of valuables that might be given as offerings to the priests and to their assistants—all these contributed to bring about the termination of a religious swindle that victimized at least 50,000 people.

It is evident that when the time announced for the dissolution approached some reason for its failure to take place would have to be patched up and propagated. Thus in the beginning the catastrophe was to take place after one moon, but Meskínan made a long journey for the purpose of interceding with the old tribal gods and succeeded in getting a prorogation of three moons. Toward the end of the three moons, Meskínan decided to wait for one more before putting into execution the fatal decree. And so things went on from moon to moon. Now the end would be postponed because Meskínan had to finish a mystic piece of cloth on a loom near the pillars of the world. Then it would not take place because he had hied him to an "island of the sea." And thus things continued until people began to weary of the suspense and to suspect the fraud.

At the time of my departure from the upper Agúsan the whole country was getting into a turmoil. The Mandáyas, enraged at the loss of their property bootlessly bestowed on the priest, threatened to make an attack upon the people of the Agúsan. The Manóbos announced their intention of raiding the Debabáons. The Mañgguáñgans menaced the Tágum Mandáyas. In a word trouble was so imminent that had it not been for the establishment of government on the upper Agúsan to protect the Christianized peoples already settled in towns, probably there would have been much bloodshed.

SIMILAR MOVEMENTS IN FORMER YEARS

In the "Cartas de los PP. de la Compañia de Jesus" I find similar movements reported. One is reported in a letter of Father Pastells of May 2, 1877, and the other in some other letter, the date and writer of which I am unable to cite. The general features were the same, that is, the appearance of a person, in one case a woman, in another a child, with body all golden, who announced the destruction of the world. Crops were not to be planted, domestic animals were to be killed, and all were to await in prayer and fasting the consummation. The object of these frauds was to make the Christian conquest of the upper Agúsan peoples impossible.

On my trip to the upper Karága a venerable old Mandáya informed me that in his youth there had been a similar fraud which was engineered by the Moros of Súmlug, on the east side of the gulf of Dávao, and that when the Mandáyas of Karága discovered the fraud they made a raid on the authors of it and killed many.

I also find mention of a similar movement in a letter from Father Urios,[17] dated Jativa, July 26, 1899. It seems that one Manáitai, a Manóbo chief, residing at the headwaters of the Bahaían River, was told by his familiar spirit, Sindatúan, to lead all the Manóbos of Patrocinio back to the mountains. By orders of Sindatúan the whole clan was to meet in one house and for the space of one moon they were to unite in prayers and shouts, at the end of which time all would be transported, body and soul, into the sky.

The letter states that Manáitai was obliged to abstain from everything except roots, sugarcane, and fish. The worshipers of Sindatúan complied with directions in every particular, even to the burning of candles; but as there was no immediate prospect of a celestial assent, the belief was abandoned and the parties concerned returned to their original creed and observances.

From these examples it does not seem too bold to state that religious revivals of a similar character may be looked for periodically, perhaps every 10 or 15 years, especially on the occurrence of public perils such as contagious diseases or fear of invasion.

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[17] Cartas de los PP. de la Compañia de Jesus, 9: 533, 1891.

APPENDIX

HISTORICAL REFERENCES TO THE MANÓBOS OF EASTERN MINDANÁO

EARLY HISTORY UP TO 1875

From 1521 until 1877 Manóbo history is for the most part veiled in the obscurity of traditional accounts of the past. Now and then it is brightened by the transient light of a missionary's pen only to relapse into the unfathomable darkness of the past. The few traditions that come down to us in Manóbo legendary song and oral tradition furnish but little light in the darkness, and that little is probably not the pure and simple light of truth, but the multicolored rays of the popular imagination that have transformed warriors into giants and enemies into hideous monsters. Thus Dábao, of whom mention will be made presently, was a giant according to the general tradition. The Moros that invaded the Agúsan are spoken of as "tailed men." There is, however, one tradition—persistent and universal—to the effect that up to 1877, and even later, though in a lesser degree, there was war—ruthless, relentless, never-ending war. This tradition is borne out by the events that succeeded the advent of the missionaries and their efforts to thrust Christianity upon a people who neither understood its doctrines nor relished its rigorous precepts.

1521

Mention of the Agúsan River and of Butuán is found in the writings of various historians, notably of Father Francisco Combés [1] who states that Magellan landed in Butuán in 1521. It is believed by various historians that the first mass in the Philippine Islands was celebrated here, and that the planting of a cross on a small promontory at the mouth of the Agúsan River was intended by Magellan as a formal occupation of the Philippine Islands in the name of Spain.[2] A later governor, to commemorate this event, erected a monument which stands to this day near the mouth of the Agúsan River.

1565–1574

A letter from Andrés Mirandola to Philip II [3] some time after the arrival of Legaspi in 1565 states that Mirandola was ordered to explore the islands of Magindanáo and to seek a port called Butuán. Upon arrival in that town he made friends with the chief. He found Moros trading at the port. He describes the people as being of a warlike character. In another letter of Mirandola,[4] dated 1574, we find Butuán spoken of as a district with much gold.

1591

In various letters and other documents translated by Blair and Robertson from original sources we learn that the district of Butuán was an *encomienda* [5] and that tributes were collected as early as 1591.

1596

In Chirino's [6] relation it is set forth that in 1596 the Jesuits, Valero de Ledesma and Manuel Martinez, began their missionary labors in the Agúsan Valley where they found the inhabitants "by no means tractable on account of their fierce and violent nature." Christianity, however, made surprising advances, so great that the principal chief of the district, Siloñgan, divorced five of his wives, and protected the missionaries in every way possible.[7] Religious fervor is said to have reached such a height that the people publicly flagellated themselves until the blood flowed.

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[1] Historia de Mindanáo y Jolo (Madrid, 1897), 76.

[2] It is strange that Pigafetta who records the doings of Magellan with such marvelous minuteness, does not mention this first mass.

[3] E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, The Philippine Islands, 34: 202, 1906.

[4] Ibid., 3: 233.

[5] An *encomienda* was a royal allotment or grant of land, including the natives that lived thereon, to a Spaniard for the purpose of government.

[6] Ibid., 12: 315.

Ledesma and Martinez were succeeded by other Jesuit missionaries who preached the doctrine to the Hadgaguánes,[8] "a people untamed and ferocious—to the Manóbos and to other neighboring peoples." [9]

There must have been opposition to the propagation of Christianity as we find that a fort was constructed in Línao [10] some time after 1596. The headman, however, of the Línao region invited one Father Francisco Vicente to visit his people and it seems that "even the blacks [11] visited him and gave him hopes of their conversion." [12]

Morga in his Sucesos [13] speaks of Butuán as being peaceable. He makes mention of the industry of obtaining civet from the civet cats.

1597

In the General History of the Discalced Augustinian Fathers, by Fray Andres de San Nicolas,[14] we learn that missionaries had penetrated the district of Butuán as early as 1597, but that they had been unable to withstand the hostility of the mountain people.

1622

In 1622 the Recollects succeeded the Jesuits in ecclesiastical administration of Butuán district. Father Jacinto de Fulgencio seems to have been the most energetic of the band of eight that undertook the conquest, for it is related [15] that he traveled 50 leagues up the river, preaching the faith to the villages. "He had serious and frequent difficulties in making himself heard," polygamy and slavery being the two great obstacles to the reception of the Christian doctrines. The results, however, were successful, for he is said to have converted 3,000 souls, and to have founded three *conventos* [16] one of which was in the village of Línao.[17] At this period Butuán is said to have had 1,500 Christians, and Línao, or Laylaía as it was also called, 1,600 souls.

1629

In 1629 [18] there was a general uprising of the Súlus and of the Karágas. One Balíntos arrived in Butuán with letters from the famous Corralát, decreeing the death of all the missionaries and urging the people of Butuán to rebel, but they, "with a faithfulness that has ever been a characteristic of them," refused to follow the orders of Corralát, and instead of killing the missionaries, protected them by every means in their power.

1648

The arrival of the Dutch in Manila [19] in 1648 incited the natives to sedition. A decree, issued by the Governor of Manila, Don Diego Faxardo, helped to foment the restlessness into rebellion. Santa Terésa [20] sets forth some of the results of the rebellion among the Manóbos.

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[7] Ibid., 13: 47, et seq. It is interesting to note here that Ledesma in one of his letters mentions the fact that the Ternatans were accustomed to swoop down on the coast of Mindanáo and kept the natives of Mindanáo on the alert. In citations from other writers quoted by Blair and Robertson we find evidence of dealings of the Ternatans, both friendly and unfriendly, and with the natives of Mindanáo.

[8] Perhaps the Hadgaguánes here referred to are the Higagáons or Banuáons of the present day.

[9] Ibid., 44: 60.

[10] Línao was a town situated some miles to the south of Veruéla. It and the surrounding country subsided in recent times. Its former site is now under a maze of mad torrents that carry the waters from the upper to the middle Agúsan.

[11] We should bear in mind that Spanish historians frequently referred to the mountain people as *little blacks* (Negrillos), otherwise we might be led to believe that the ancestors of the present people living in the vicinity of the old townsite of Línao were Negritos.

[12] Ibid., 44: 60, et seq.

[13] Ibid., 15.

[14] Ibid., 21.

[15] Ibid., 21: 221.

[16] A *convento* is a building erected for the accommodation of the spiritual administrators of a town and their assistants.

[17] Ibid., 21: 221.

[18] Ibid., 35: 65.

[19] Ibid., 36: 126.

[20] Historia de los religiosos descalzos, translated by Blair and Robertson (36: 128, et seq.).

He says that there were certain wild Indians in the mountains of Butuán in the Province of Karága.[21] "They had kinky hair, oblique eyes, a treacherous disposition, brutish customs, and lived by the hunt.[22] They had no king to govern them nor houses to shelter them. Their clothing was just sufficient to cover the shame of their bodies, and they slept wherever night overtook them. They were pagans, and in their manner of life almost irrational. They were warlike and waged an incessant war with the coast people." Santa Terésa describes how Dábao, a Manóbo chieftain of great strength and sagacity and undoubtedly the original of the legendary giant that still lives in Manóbo tradition, stirred up rebellion and succeeded in killing many Spaniards in Línao.[23]

The rebellion extended all over the valley and Fray Augustin and other churchmen lost their lives as a result. It was finally suppressed by the capture of innumerable slaves. "Manila and its environments were full of slaves." "The Butuán chiefs, who were the mirror of fidelity, suffered processes, exiles, and imprisonments; and although they were able to win back honor, it was after all their property had been lost." [24] In 1651 peace was restored by the return of the innumerable slaves captured by the Spanish forces.

1661–1672

Between the years 1661 and 1672 the Recollects pursued their evangelical labors in the Agúsan Valley, notwithstanding the constant opposition of the Manóbos. Father Pedro de San Francisco de Asis describes the natives as being "robust and very numerous." He says that in time of peace they were tractable, docile, and reasonable, had regular villages, lived in human society, were superior to the surrounding mountain people, and were easily converted. He claims that there were 4,000 converts living between Butuán and Línao. The people to whom he refers are most probably the ancestors of the Bisáyas of the present day, because, as we shall see later on, the Christianized Manóbo towns of the present day did not exist before 1877.

Father Combés [25] is the authority for the statement that Butuán was the origin of "the rulers and nobility of all the islands of Jolo and Basílan." The following is the extract:

> But the rulers and nobility of all the islands of Jolo and Basílan recognize as the place of their origin the village of Butuán (which, although it is located in this island, is within the pale of the Bisáyan Nation) on the northern side, in sight of the Bóol, and but a few leagues away from Léyte and from Bóol, islands which are in the same stage of civilization. Therefore, that village can glory at having given kings and nobility to these nations.[26]

Speaking of the native peoples and their customs San Antonio [27] in 1744 says that "Some of the Manóbos in the mountains of Karága (who are heathen and without number, although some are Christians, a people civilized and well inclined to work, who have fixed habitations and excellent houses) pay tribute."

We learn from the same authority that one of the missionaries obtained wonderful results in the conversion of Manóbos in Línao. He was unable to specify the number but says that it increased greatly, for up to that time there were only 3,000 converts in the whole district of Butuán. My authority seems to believe that there were two classes of people around Línao, the one whom he distinctly calls Manóbos—"tractable, docile, and quite reasonable," living in villages in human society in a very well ordered civilization—and the other, an inferior people leading a brutish life. It is reasonable to suppose that the people whom San Antonio refers to as Manóbos are the ancestors of the present Bisáyas of Veruéla, Bunáwan, and Talakógon, who have traditions as to the pagan condition of their ancestors.

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[21] The Province of Karága at this time extended from Dapítan on the northwest of Mindanáo to Karága on the southeast.

[22] The reference to the possession of kinky hair might lead us to think that the ancestors of the present Manóbos were Negritos. The only trace of curly hair among the Manóbos of the Agúsan Valley is observed among those who occupy the northwestern parts of the valley, and northeastern contiguous to Butuán.

[23] Santa Terésa says that a poisoned arrow pierced the leg of a soldier. This reference to the use of poisoned arrows, taken in consideration with Santa Terésa's description of the Manóbos of that region as being kinky haired, and living by the hunt, seem to indicate that the Manóbos of those days were Negritos. A further evidence is added by the application of the term *Negrillos* (little Negroes) to Manóbos. The use of poisoned arrows is, to this day, a distinctly Negrito custom. At the present time the use of poisoned arrows is unknown to Manóbos and, as far as I have been able to learn, no tradition as to the former employment of them exists.

[24] Blair and Robertson, 36: 134.

[25] Ibid., 40: 126.

[26] San Francisco in his Cronicas (see Blair and Robertson, 40: 312) says: "They [the Butuáns] are the origin of the best blood and nobility of the Basílans and Joloans, for the king of Jolo even confessed that he was a Butuán." It is surprising to note the dialectical similarity between Súlu and the variety of Bisáya spoken in the Agúsan Valley. Words that are not found in any other Bisáya dialect, are common to these two dialects. It is therefore probable that formerly there was intercourse between the two peoples.

[27] Ibid., 40: 298.

Concepcion [28] gives a detailed record of the Moro raids in Mindanáo. "Butuán was laid waste and some 200 captives seized; the little military post at Línao, up the river, alone escaped.' The tradition of the fight between the Moros and the people of Línao still exists among the Bisáyas of the Agúsan Valley. A statue of the Virgin is still preserved in Veruéla that is said to have been struck by a ball from a Moro *lantaka* (small cannon). It is believed that this unseemly accident aroused the anger of the Virgin herself, who promptly turned the tide of battle against the Moros. The only tradition regarding this invasion that I found extant among the Manóbos is the legend of the tailed men, and of their own flight.

FROM 1875 TO 1910

1800–1877

For the nineteenth century we have few historical records of the Manóbos until the Jesuits who had been expelled from the Philippines in 1768 and returned in 1859, resumed their work in eastern Mindanáo in 1875. The material concerning the Manóbos is contained in a series of selected letters [29] from the missionaries in the field to their provincial and higher superiors. Though containing little ethnological data of a detailed character, they afford in their *ensemble*, a vivid picture of the work of the missionaries in reducing the pagan tribes of Mindanáo to civilization and outward Christianity. Dates of the formation of the various town and *rancherias* [30] are furnished; with the names of the chiefs, friendly and in many cases unfriendly, the opposition on the part of the mountain people to the adoption of Christianity, and the armed resistance on their part to its implantation, as well as the interclan feuds, frequently with details as to the number of slain and of captives, and the number of converts in each district are stated. In a word, these letters form a most valuable and accurate account of the Christian subjugation of a large portion of the pagan peoples of Mindanáo.

1877

In the Agúsan Valley the first efforts of the missionaries were directed to the Bisáyas or old Christians, as they are called, of Butuán, Talakógon, Veruéla, and Bunáwan. Father Bove [31] in 1877 writes that he reunited many Bisáyas of Híbung and Bunáwan in Talakógon, which is at present one of the few municipalities in the sub-Province of Butuán. He notes the extent of the slave trade between Manóbos and Bisáyas, and that he made a preliminary trip to the upper Agúsan and to the upper Sálug. In the same year Peruga visited Bunáwan and organized the church among the Bisáyas of Bunáwan who had not been annexed to Talakógon. In the meantime Urios and others rounded up the stragglers of Butuán, Tolosa (now Kabarbarán), and Maínit.

1879

In 1879 Urios reports the establishment of Las Nieves, Remedios, Esperanza, Guadalupe, Maásam (now Santa Ines), and San Luis, all of which *rancherias* of *conquistas* [32] or Christianized Manóbos are still in existence.

In the same year Luengo, who was in charge of the Bisáya settlement of Talakógon, succeeded in settling the Manóbos to the south of Talakógon in the town of Martines. These Manóbos were for the most part from the Rivers Pudlúsan, Lábnig, and Aniláwan. He comments on the ignorance of the Talakógon Bisáyas who came, he asserts, from the Rivers Sulibáo and Híbung, and from the district west of Mount Magdiuáta.

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[28] Ibid., 48: 163.

[29] These letters are called Cartas de los PP. de la Compañía de Jesus de la mision de Filipinas, and were printed consecutively in Manila from 1876 to 1902 and probably later.

[30] A rancheria is a small dependent settlement of Christianized people.

[31] Cartas de los PP. de la Compañía de Jesus, 3.

[32] *Conquista* is a Spanish word meaning conquest. It is of universal use in the Agúsan Valley to denote a recently Christianized member of a non-Christian tribe.

The same year Pastells converted 771 Manóbos of the Simúlao River. He then visited the upper Agúsan, and negotiated with the pagans of that district—a conglomerate group of Mandáyas, Mañgguáñgans, Manóbos, and Debabáons—for the foundation of Compostela and Gandia. He founded Moncayo, and Jativa (pronounced Hativa), with Debabáon and Manóbo converts, respectively.

Urios took up the work of Pastells on the River Simúlao and baptized 1,000 Manóbos, whom he induced to found the town of Tudela. He then pursued his work among the Manóbos to the south of Veruela and founded the town of Patrocinio. He reports that for some trifling reason the town was moved not long after. From 1905 to 1909 I know that the site of the town was changed five times.

La Concepcion,[33] near Nasípit, San Vicente, San Ignacio, and Tortosa were founded the same year. Urios remarks that the class of people that he induced to settle in the last-mentioned town were half-Negrito. The present inhabitants are known as Manóbos but a casual glance will convince one of their Negrito derivation.

During the same year Urios founded Loreto on the Umaíam River, and succeeded in getting the Manóbos of San Rafael to settle in Túbai. This is interesting as the inhabitants of Túbai pass for Bisáyas at the present day.

1881–1883

From 1881 to 1883 we find continuous reports of the armed opposition of all the uncoverted peoples to the adoption of Christianity, so much so that troops had to be stationed in Esperanza and Talakógon. Guadalupe and Amparo were abandoned, the ostensible reason being fear of Doctor Montano who was taking anthropometrical measurements of Manóbos in the towns through which he passed, but as Urios remarks, this was only a pretext for withdrawing from a form of life that did not suit them. Guadalupe was burned by the pagans shortly after its abandonment. Several new towns had been formed, namely, Maásao, Bugábus, Óhut, Los Remedios, and Hauilián, but the opposition of the still un-Christianized people increased, and, as a result, all the newly formed towns on the lower and middle Agúsan, except La Paz, Loreto, and the Simúlao towns, were abandoned. One reason assigned for this was the fear entertained by the inhabitants that revenge might be taken on them for the murder of certain Butuán Bisáyas who had been killed by the *conquistas* of Esperanza. However, there is little doubt but that the real reason for the abandonment was the fear on the part of the newly Christianized people toward their mountain congeners and relatives, for it must be borne in mind that the newly Christianized people were the tools used by the missionaries to reach the pagans. These *conquistas* were prevailed upon to act as intermediaries, interpreters, guides, carriers, and soldiers. It is obvious that their cooperation with the missionaries, especially in armed expeditions, brought upon them the enmity of the pagan peoples whom the missionaries intended to convert, sometimes *nolens volens*. To avoid the ill feeling of the pagans and the results that would follow as a consequence, the *conquistas* preferred to flee and join the pagans, or at least to maintain a neutral attitude.

1883

The desertion of all the towns on the lower Agúsan meant the return of some 5,000 *conquistas* to their original manner of life, for at this period the total number of converts in the valley was 11,000.[34] The upper Agúsan had 1,500, La Paz, 1,000, and the Simúlao district, 2,000.

On the upper Agúsan affairs followed the same trend. The Mandáyas of the Kati'il River killed 180 on the Húlip River. Jativa and Búal were attacked by Mandáyas, the latter place being abandoned immediately. Baóbo, "the river of *bagani*,"[35] continued to keep Patrocinio, Búai, and Gracia on the alert.

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[33] This *rancheria* is not in existence.

[34] Ibid., 5: 71.

[35] A *bagani* is a Mandáya, Mañgguáñgan, Debabáon, or Manóbo warrior who has a certain number of deaths to his account and who gives evidence of being under the influence of war deities.

Notwithstanding these vicissitudes, the missionaries succeeded in establishing Pilar, a Mañgguáñgan town, on the Mánat. It is described as being made up of the most ignorant and depraved people on the upper Agúsan. In the same year (1883) Gracia was founded between Patrocinio and Jativa. This town is not now in existence, and I am unable to state just where its location was, unless it may have been near the present site of Langkiláan. On the lower Agúsan, Gángub, or Nuevo Guadalupe, and Tortosa on the Kabarbarán River were formed. Neither of them is in existence at the present day.

The missionaries, not yet being able to reunite the Manóbos, directed their activities to the conversion of Mamánuas. Hence in 1883 we read that the Mamánua settlements of Santa Ana, San Roque, San Pablo, Santiago, and Tortosa were formed, the total number of converts being about 800. Most of these settlements are still in existence, though there are times when not a soul may be found in any of them.

1884

In 1884 little is recorded. It was calculated that at this time there were still 6,000 unconverted pagans in the upper Agúsan district. Jativa, which was the headquarters of the mission, and which had a population of 156 families, was attacked by Mandáyas. On the lower Agúsan matters were at a standstill, the conversion of 134 Mamánuas being the only important item that is recorded in the letters.

1885

On the Pacific coast the labors of the missionaries had been confined to the Bisáyas up to 1885, in which year Peruga converted the pagan Mandáyas of Marihátag and Kagwáit. He also ascended the Tágo River converted the pagan Mandáyas of Alba, establishing at the same time a town of that name.

Guardiet worked among the Manóbos to the west of Hinatu'an and baptized 217 in Ginhalínan near Javier (pronounced Havier). He made his way over to the Híbung River and founded Los Arcos with 80 converts.

There is no record of the work in 1885 among the Manóbos of the lower Agúsan except that Urios founded the town of San Ignacio near Butuán. On the upper Agúsan, however, things took a turn for the worse. Eighty families, or a little more than half of Jativa, abandoned the town. All the people of Gandia went out but were finally persuaded to return and associate themselves with the people of Compostela. The Mañgguáñgans of Clavijo (pronounced Claviho)[36] moved to Gandia. Not long afterwards Compostela, Gandia, and Jativa were abandoned, the town of Compostela having been burned on two separate occasions. The same year, however, they were re-formed.

1886

In 1886 Moncayo and Pilar were deserted and Jativa was attacked. On the lower Agúsan affairs remained in *status quo*. The Mamánua settlements were increased by one which was located on the Dáyag River, near Maínit.

In the middle Agúsan, Gracia and Concepcion were founded on the Ihawán River.

It is interesting to note that the total number of converts in the Agúsan Valley from 1877 to 1886 is put down at 17,840 souls, living in 42 towns.[37]

1887

In 1887 it became necessary to increase the number of troops in Jativa, owing to the flight of the inhabitants of Moncayo, Compostela, and Gandia. As a consequence of this move, these towns re-formed. San Isidro was abandoned this same year.

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[36] I can not state just where the town of Clavijo on the upper Agúsan was located. Up to 1908 there was a town of the same name on the middle Agúsan, near the mouth of the Ihawán River, but it consisted entirely of Christianized Manóbos, and not of Mañgguáñgans such as are stated by my authority to have been the people of Clavijo on the upper Agúsan.

[37] Ibid., 11, appendix.

1887–1888

On the lower Agúsan the missionaries, notably Urios, continued their labors and succeeded in gaining over to Christianity many of the Banuáon people of the upper Óhut and Líbang Rivers. The year 1887–88 seems to have been one of comparative peace except in the district to the west of La Paz, on the Argáwan River, where it became necessary to make use of armed troops.

1889

In 1889 cholera got into the Agúsan Valley. The inhabitants of Tortosa abandoned their town. On the Pacific coast Puntas penetrated among the Manóbos of the Tágo River above the town of Alba, and Alaix visited the Mamánuas of Kantílan and Lanusa, among whom he made 84 converts. In the same year Peruga made more Mandáya converts in Alba on the Tágo River.

1890

In 1890 Moncayo and Gandia had a feud, as a result of which the people of the former abandoned their town. Matters progressed so favorably on the Argáwan that Sagunto was pacified and Asuncion was founded farther up on the same river. This town is no longer in existence, but a small *rancheria* called Tilyérpan was founded in 1906 nearer to Sagunto. Bása on the Kasilaían River and San Isidro on the Bahaían River were founded the same year, but, on the other hand, an outbreak of fever led to the abandonment of Gracia and Concepcion on the Ihawán. Many Mamánua and Mandáya converts were added to Los Arcos. The conversion of these is attributed to the fighting that had previously taken place in Las Navas and Borbon, on the same river. Milagros on the Óhut was founded this same year.

1891

The year 1891 does not show any further special development except the foundation of a Banuáon settlement, called Concordia, on the Líbang River.

In 1892 Vigo and Borja (pronounced Borha) on the Baóbo River were established. Manóbos of the Sibágat River were converted and a settlement was founded at its juncture with the Wá-wa. This settlement is now called Pait. San Miguel on the Tágo River was founded with 25 families, most of whom were Manóbos. This town is no longer in existence. Amparo, on the other hand, was abandoned, and my authority for this statement remarks that this was the seventh time since its foundation that the town had been abandoned. Other towns had passed through the same experience, though not so many times.

1893

In 1893 Misericordia, now no longer in existence, was reestablished on the Bugábus River. San Estanislao, at the mouth of the Labáo River, was founded this year. It is not in existence under this name. Santa Fe is the present name and the settlement occupies a new site, selected in 1908, I think.

On the Tágo River the conversion of the Mandáyas was completed and more Manóbos were added to the roll of Christians, thus bringing the number of Christianized Manóbo families to 80.

In the Agúsan Valley, Moncayo and Milagros were abandoned.

1894

In 1894 Castellon was founded at the mouth of the Lángkilaan River. At the present day no such town is in existence, though near the old town site of Castellon there is a small *rancheria* called Lángkilaan.

During the same year Pilar, which up to this time had been on the Mánat, was transferred to the Agúsan, between Gandia and Compostela. Another town is said to have been founded on the Mánat River. Gerona, between Moncayo and Gandia, Cuevas on the Bahaían, and Corinto on the Agsábo, a branch of the Óhut, were founded during this year, and San Isidro was re-formed.

1900–1905

I have been unable to peruse the letters of the missionaries from 1894 to the present day, but I was given to understand by well-informed Bisáyas of Butuán that at the time of the Philippine insurrection in 1898 the Christianized Manóbos lived in a state of comparative tranquillity. During the time of the revolution few outbreaks are recorded, notwithstanding the fact that the missionaries had abandoned their upriver parishes and the Spanish troops had been withdrawn. From 1900 to 1905 affairs on the lower and middle Agúsan, excepting along the upper Kasilaían, Argáwan and Umaíam, were very peaceful, a fact that was due to the enthusiasm with which the Christianized Manóbos devoted themselves to the culture of *abaká* and to the production of its fiber. On the upper Kasilaían, Argáwan and Umaíam, Ihawán, and Baóbo there occurred occasional killings and the country was always in a condition of alarm.

On the upper Agúsan, especially in the region of Compostela, the old feuds broke out and it became necessary for the government of the Moro Province to station troops at Compostela.[38]

The number of converts from the pagan peoples in the Agúsan Valley up to 1898 must have reached 25,000, divided as follows: Mamánuas, 1,000; Banuáons and the branch of Manóbos occupying the northeastern part of the valley, 3,000; Mandáyas, 2,000; Mañgguáñgans, 1,000; Debabáons, 1,000; Manóbos, 17,000. These came finally to live in some 50 towns, including the unstable settlements of Mamánuas. From 1898 until the present time the conversion of pagans in the Agúsan Valley has been insignificant.

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[38] Upon my arrival in the Agúsan Valley in 1905 I found the following *rancherias* in existence:

On the main river, Butuán (a Bisáya settlement), San Vincente, Amparo, San Mateo, Las Nieves, Esperanza, Guadalupe, Santa Ines, San Luis, Martines, Clavijo, San Pedro, Veruéla (a Bisáya settlement), Patrocinio, Langkiláan, Hagimítan, Tagusáh, Búai, Moncayo, Gerona, Gandia, Pilar, Compostela, and Taga-únud.

On the Óhut River, Milagros and Remedios.
On the Wá-wa River, Vérdu.
On the Líbang River, Concordia.
On the Kasilaían River, Basa.
On the Híbung River, Borbon, Ebro, Prosperidad, Azpeitia, and Los Arcos.
On the Súlibao River (tributary of the Híbung), Novele and Rosario.
On the Argáwan River, La Paz and Sagunto.
On the Umaíam River, Loreto, Kandaugong.
On the Simúlao River, San Jose, Bunáwan (a Bisáya settlement), Libertad, Basa, Tudela, and San Isidro.
On the Nábuk River, Dugmánon.

From 1905 to 1910 the following towns were formed:
Santa Fe, at the mouth of the Labáo River.
Pait on the Wá-wa, at the mouth of the Sibagat River.
Nuevo Trabajo (pronounced Trabaho), a few hours up the Maásam River.
Ba'ha', on the Híbung River between Prosperidad and Azpeitia.
Tillerpan and Kamóta, above Sagunto on the Argáwan.
Violanta, Santo Tomas, and Wálo, on the upper Umaíam.
Maitum, on the river of the same name, which is a tributary of the Híbung River.
Mambalíli, below Bunawan on the Simúlao River.

Comparing the towns in existence at the beginning of 1910 with those whose establishment is reported in the Jesuit letters we find that the following towns have ceased to exist:
Tolosa, some few hours up the Kabarbarán River.
Tortosa, on a river to the west of the present Máasao.
San Ignacio, a little to the south of Butuán.
Concepcion, near the town of Nasípit.
San Rafael (I do not know the location of this town, but I am under the impression that it was located near Túbai).
Nuevo Guadalupe, near the present Guadalupe.
Misericordia, about 12 miles up the Bugábus River.
Hauwilián, at the mouth of the Hauwilián River.
San Estanislao, at the mouth of the Labáu River.
Patai, between Martires and Borbon.
Basa, on the Kasiliágan River.
Las Navas, on the Híbung.
Asuncion, on the Argáwan River.
Clavijo, on the Agúsan near the mouth of the Ihawán River.
Gracia and Concepcion, on the Ihawán River.
Bigo and Borja, on the Baóbo River.
Castellon, Gracia, Clavijo, and Jativa, on the upper Agúsan
San Miguel, on the Tágo River (Pacific coast).

METHODS ADOPTED BY THE MISSIONARIES IN THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE MANÓBOS

The methods adopted by the missionaries in the conversion of the pagans in Mindanáo are made clear in a report by Father Juan Ricart, S. J., to the Governor General of the Philippine Islands.[39] The following extracts are pertinent:

> The first thing that the missionaries seek to attain before penetrating the territory occupied by these pagans is a knowledge of the various races or tribes dwelling therein, of their customs and superstitions, of their feuds and wars, who are their enemies and their allies, respectively, the names of the principal chiefs, their traits of character, and finally their particular dialect as far as it may be possible to acquire it. Then they dispatch selected and trustworthy emissaries, preferably inhabitants of the Christian towns who have commercial dealings with the pagans, bidding them announce the intended visit of the missionary. On the appointed day, the missionary, armed with meekness and condescension, presents himself, speaking to them with dignity and authority. He tells them that he is their friend, that he wishes them well, that he has known of such-and-such misfortunes that have befallen them, and that in pity he comes to succor them. He invokes the name of the king and of the governor of the district, whose power they had learned to fear and respect through their dealings with the Christians. He reminds them of some wrong that either they or their neighbors had committed on the Christians, for it is seldom that they are not guilty of some fault or other, and intimates to them that it is the intention of the governor to send soldiers to punish them for their conduct. He (the missionary), however, has interceded with the governor on their behalf and has received a promise from him that he will not only pardon their fault but that he will take them under his protection and defend them against their enemies. He (the missionary) goes on to explain the advantages of civilized life, and the mildness of Spanish rule, as far as their limited understanding can grasp. He undoes their suspicions, forestalls their misgivings, and overcomes their fears; and by means of presents and kind words, especially to the little ones, he strives to soften their hearts. These interviews and lengthy discussions are repeated as often as it is opportune or necessary, every effort being made in the meanwhile to convince and gain over the chiefs and elders, a result that will be attained all the more quickly if he succeeds in settling their differences, in bringing about peace with some more redoubtable enemy, or in helping them in the attainment of any proper object that they may have in view. All this does not take place without great long-suffering and bitterness on the part of the missionary. Having decided on a site that is to their own liking and even according to their superstitions, though sometimes it be not best adapted for the purpose, a day is selected for the clearing, a *plaza*[40] and streets are plotted out, and then the erection of the tribunal and of the private dwellings begins.
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> It is at this period that the constancy and firmness of the missionary is taxed, for he has to overcome the unspeakable sluggishness of the uncivilized people, and to defeat the futile and continuous pretexts that they invent for the purpose of desisting from the work and of returning to the obscurity of the forest. It is helpful to be able to provide sufficient alimentation for them for a few days at least, so that it will not be necessary for them to return to the mountains in search of food. At the same time it is expedient to give them little rewards to induce them to begin their plantations near the new town by planting *camotes* and other crops which yield quickly.
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> The appointment of officers for the government of the settlement is the next step and must be conducted in a most solemn manner, it being sometimes necessary to increase the number of jobs in order to satisfy the ambition of the chiefs and of the elders. The chosen ones are presented with the official staff of command in the name of the governor, and with the traditional jacket. Thus the new town is established. It is placed under the rule and guardianship of the Gobernadorcillo[41] of the nearest Christian town, for the purpose of bringing about compliance with the orders that emanate from the chief of the province.
>
> The missionary maintains his power and influence through an inspector, who is usually a person of trust and worth among the older Christians, and through two teachers, preferably a married couple selected from among the best families. These then take up their residence in the new town and begin their teaching.
>
> As soon as the new settlement gives evidence of stability and perseverance, an effort is made to have the governor of the district visit it in order that the newly converted Christians may lay aside their fear, gain new courage, and learn to become devoted to the government.
>
> The presence of an armed force upon suitable occasions is also calculated to have some effect at this early period, as it serves to keep quiet the dissatisfied and grumbling ones, of whom there are always some, as well as to infuse a feeling of fear into outside enemies who might be inclined to trouble the settlement, either because they do not regard it in an auspicious light or because they wish to satisfy a desire for revenge which they have harbored for a long time. Up to this time these unhappy people (the pagans) have had no other law than the caprice of their chiefs, nor other justice than oppression by the strong, nor other customs than an amorphous mass of practices that are at once repulsive and opposed to the natural law. Their guides and their teachers

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[39] Ibid., 11, appendix.

[40] A public square.

[41] This means in Spanish "little governor," and was the name given to the chief executive of a municipality in Spanish days. It corresponds to "mayor" at the present time.

have been augurs or visionary women who, in connivance with the chief, sometimes make them abandon the territory in which they live for fear of some invisible deity, sometimes make them launch themselves on neighboring peolpe in order to avenge some supposed grievance, or sometimes induce them to sacrifice a slave to appease the anger of their gods. While such influences are paramount, there can be no firmness nor possible security for the new settlement; on the day least expected it will be found deserted and even burned. On the other hand, it becomes necessary to give these people, recently denizens of the forest, a simple code that contains the principal duties of man, that sets forth the relation of one to another, that teaches subjects to obey their superiors, the strong to protect the weak, and parents to teach their children, and that enjoins upon all work and mutual respect.

It is also necessary to satisfy the innate desire, if we may so speak, for a cult, that natural feeling for a religion which these people, like all others, have. It is necessary to substitute for their barbarous and inhuman practices others that may lift them up and revive their drooping and pusillanimous spirits. It is necessary that in the town there should be something to attract and to hold them with irresistible charm. In a word, the faith must be preached to them and they must be baptized; a religion and a church are necessary. Until a great part of the inhabitants of a new settlement have been baptized, until the feast of the patron saint and other religious ceremonies have been solemnly celebrated, it is useless to hope for the stability of the new town. The Catholic religion is a simple and powerful means for transforming those savages into good Spanish subjects; it is the mold wherein they leave their barbarous practices and shape themselves perfectly unto ours.

The missionaries do not speak of baptism nor of religion till they have gained the good will of the pagans, until they realize that they are being listened to willingly and that they (the pagans) put trust in their words. When they begin to like the Spaniards, and to hold in esteem their customs and ideas, then the missionaries gently insinuate themselves and begin to teach them the truths of our holy faith and to show them the observances and rites of our religion. At the beginning some sick person or other is baptized: afterwards, when there is some prospect of stability, the children, and finally the adults, provided that they have been instructed as much as their capacity and the circumstances permit. With this prudent procedure the missionary encounters no serious obstacle. His evangelic eloquence easily convinces those simple people of truths so much in harmony with human nature and of practices so much in accord with the good inclinations of mankind. The tendency that they still retain to maintain their ancient superstitions vanishes before the sway exerted by that superior man from whom they have received so many favors. The greatest difficulty for them consists in leaving the free life of the forest and in bringing themselves to live in a settlement with its attendant restrictions; this is especially true in the case of the chiefs and of such others as previously had exercised any authority. But having once adopted Christianity, baptism costs them nothing. Here and there one finds a chief who is opposed at the beginning to being baptized because he has several wives, but this condition, though it is not approved, is toleràted, provided he does not trouble the others nor disturb the settlement. But as a rule all become ashamed and repent, and end by yielding and by following the example of the rest. The grace of God is of transcendent power in these transformations. The savage, as long as he continues pagan, is governed in all his acts by ancient observances inspired by superstition and fanaticism. It is only when he has been baptized that he understands the necessity of a change of life and customs. Then he ceases to be Mañóbo or Mandáya, in order to be a Christian; he relinquishes his pagan name and in the course of time can hardly be distinguished from the inhabitants of the ancient Christian towns. Even the Mamánuas, a group of Negritos usually considered to be recalcitrant, now live submissively and joyfully in their settlements.

THE SECRET OF MISSIONARY SUCCESS

I endeavored during my tours in the interior of eastern Mindanáo to ascertain definitely the secret of the success of the Spanish missionaries in inducing forest-loving people to leave their ancient homes and ways and adopt a life of dependence, political, economic, and religious, and I have arrived at the following conclusions, based on the information furnished me by the *conquistas*, both those who are still living under the effective control of the Government and those who have returned to their primitive haunts.

(1) In a great many regions the first factor of success is the personal equation. Some of the missionaries, notably Urios and Pastells, must have been men of wonderfully winning ways and of deep tact, if I am to believe my informants. In districts such as the upper Sálug, where many of the Christianized Debabáons had retired for many years, I was told stories of the wonderful condescension of Urios, and of his understanding of Debabáon ways and customs. The pagans present on one occasion assured me that if Urios were to visit them, they would all be baptized. In other districts I heard other missionaries spoken of whose names were so garbled that I have been unable to identify them. In most of the districts there were kind inquiries for one or another of the missionaries and expressions of regret that they could not see them again.

(2) In other regions (upper Umaíam, upper Argáwan, and others) the chief means used were threats of extermination, and, in cases, armed expeditions were actually sent out to overcome opposition to the adoption of Christianity. I base this statement on the testimony of *conquistas* who asserted that they were acquainted with the facts, and who went into such minute details as to lead me to believe that they were telling the truth.

How far such action is due to irresponsible and overzealous officers leading these expeditions I am unable to say, but the impression given me by my informants invariably was that such expeditions were planned by the missionaries for the purpose of forcing Christianity upon the pagans. Bisáyas were frequently in charge of native soldiers and for commercial reasons were interested in the conversion of the mountain people to Christianity, so that it would not be surprising if they took unauthorized measures to effect the Christianization of the pagans.

(3) The third factor of success was the distribution of presents and alms by the missionaries. Frequent mention is made of this throughout the Jesuit letters. It undoubtedly did a great deal toward attracting the pagan people and convincing them of the friendship, from their point of view, of the missionaries toward them. It has been my experience that with a people of this stamp one present has more persuasive force than ten thousand arguments. It opens the way to conviction more readily than kind words and condescending manner, as it puts the tribesmen under a feeling of obligation.

(4) The fourth factor was the general policy adopted by the missionaries of posing as mediators between the Government and the pagans. This, coupled with a previous general knowledge of the conditions of the country, and of the customs and language of the people, and accompanied by a dignified but condescending and genial manner, enabled the missionaries to ingratiate themselves at once into the favor of the people they were visiting.

(5) The next and last factor in the conversion of the pagan peoples was the religious character of the men who undertook it. Religion appeals strongly to all primitive people and especially to the peoples of eastern Mindanáo, in which, as will be seen in the fourth part of this monograph, there seems to occur periodically a religious movement that for the time being subverts the ancient religious beliefs. It is natural then, that the pomp and glitter of Catholic ceremonial appealed strongly to the Manóbo. I can not say, from my observation, that he became a very devout worshiper in his new faith. In fact, I know that the average Christianized Manóbo understands little, and practices less, of the Catholic doctrines. In so far, however, as the imposition of the doctrine was a means to an end, namely, to radicate him in selected centers where he fell within social and governmental control, it can not be criticized. On the other hand, the effect of the change was, I am inclined strongly to believe for the worse, for he lost that spirit of manliness and independence that is a characteristic of the pagan, and he became a prey to the more Christianized people within whose sphere of influence and exploitation he fell. I have always been struck by the differences, moral, economic, and even physical, between the debt-ridden, cringing *conquistas*, and his manly, free, independent, vigorous pagan compeer. One-half of the *conquista's* time is consumed in contracting debts to the Bisáya trader, and the other half in paying them. His rice is sold before it is harvested. His *abaká* patch often is mortgaged before the planting is completed. He is an economic serf to an inconsiderate taskmaster.[42]

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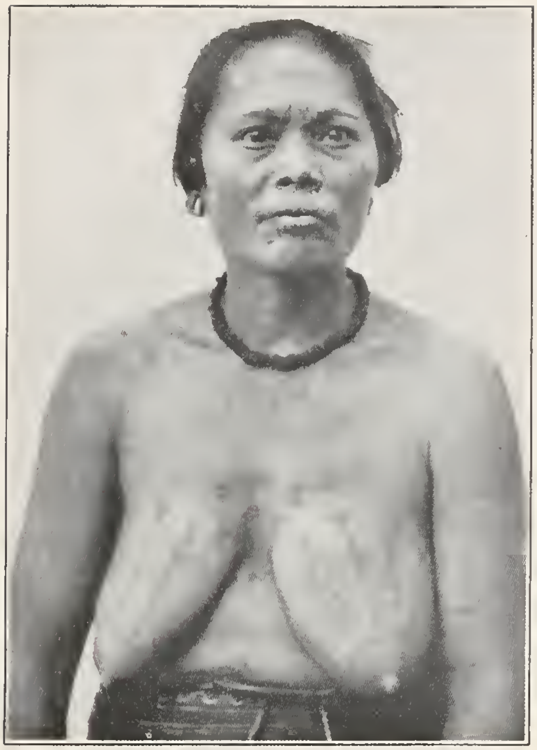
[42] The special government established in the subprovince of Butuán took immediate steps toward ameliorating the condition of the *conquistas* by opening trading posts on the lower and middle Agúsan, so that the above observations refer to the period preceding the formation of the special government.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

PLATE 1. *a*, *b*, Manóbo women. Lankilaan, upper Agúsan. Note tattooing. *c*, Forearm of woman in *d*. *d*, Mandáya woman. Compostela. Note shaven eyebrows and personal ornaments.



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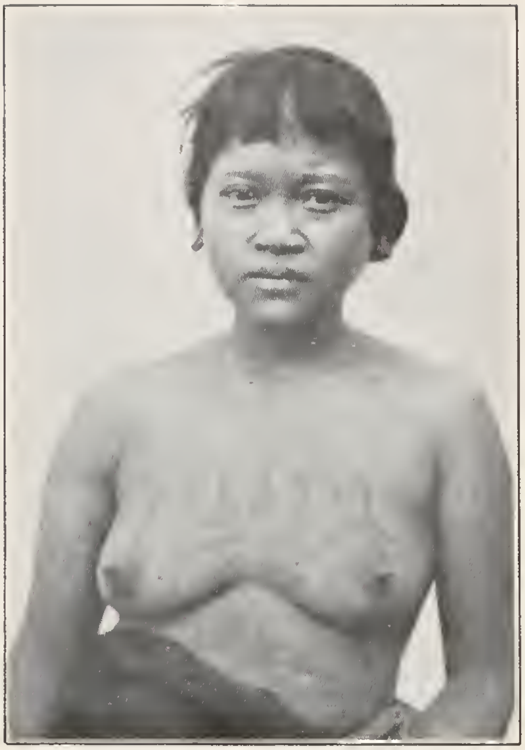

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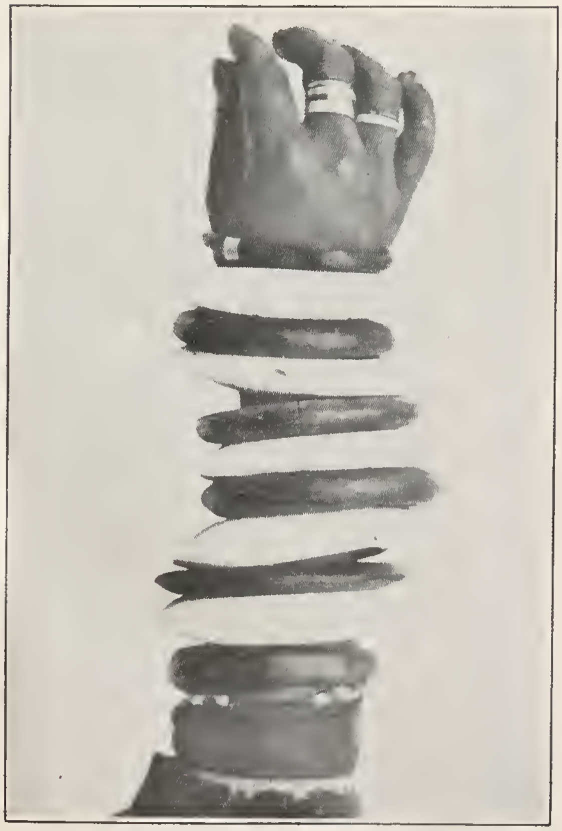

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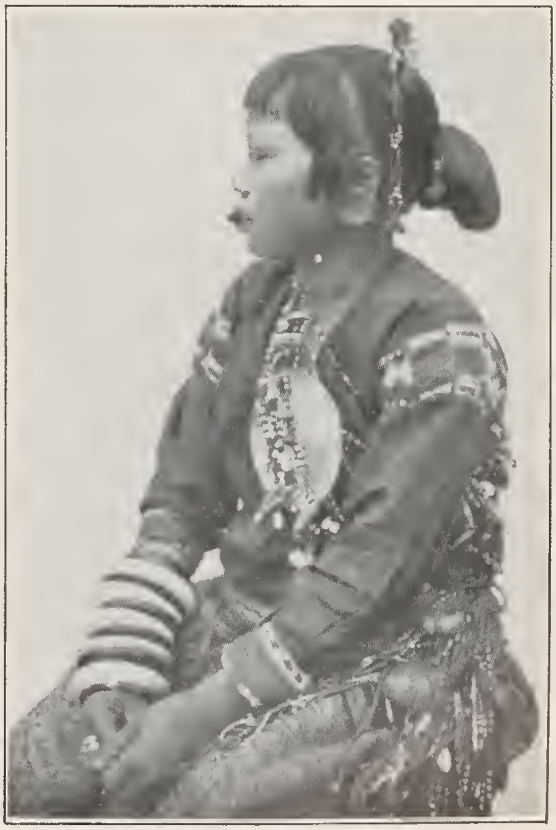

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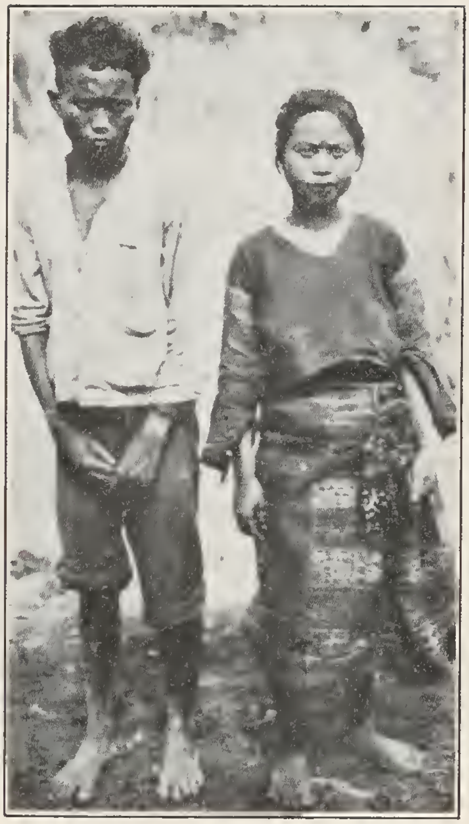

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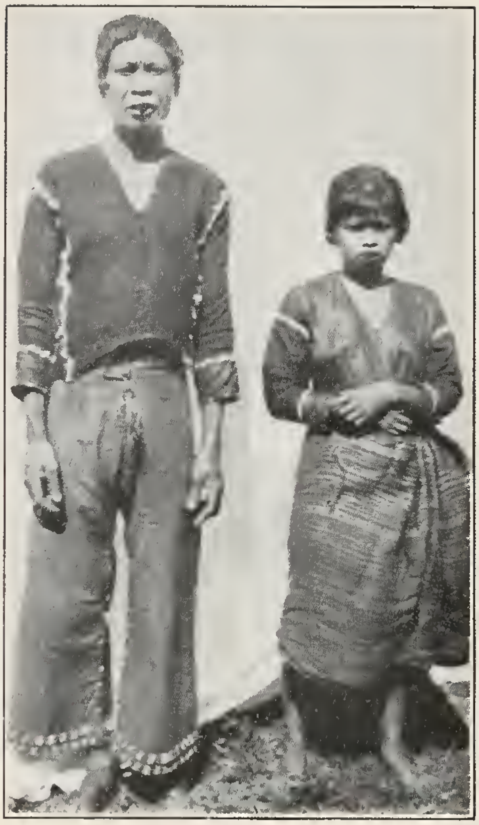

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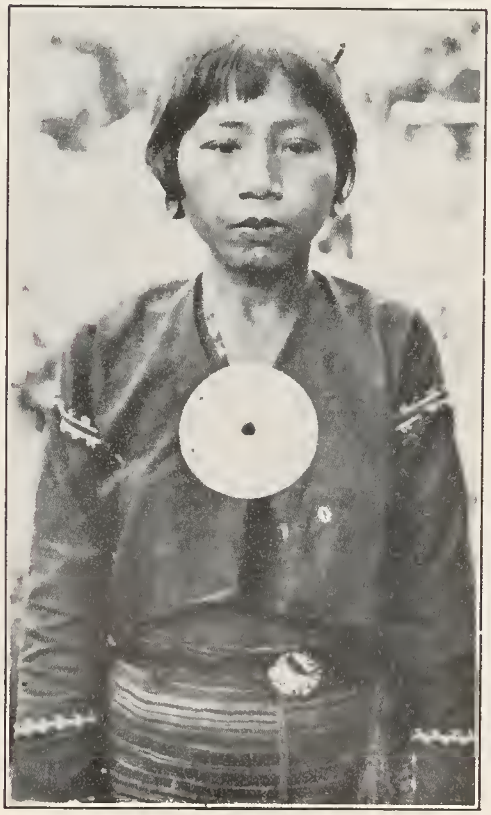

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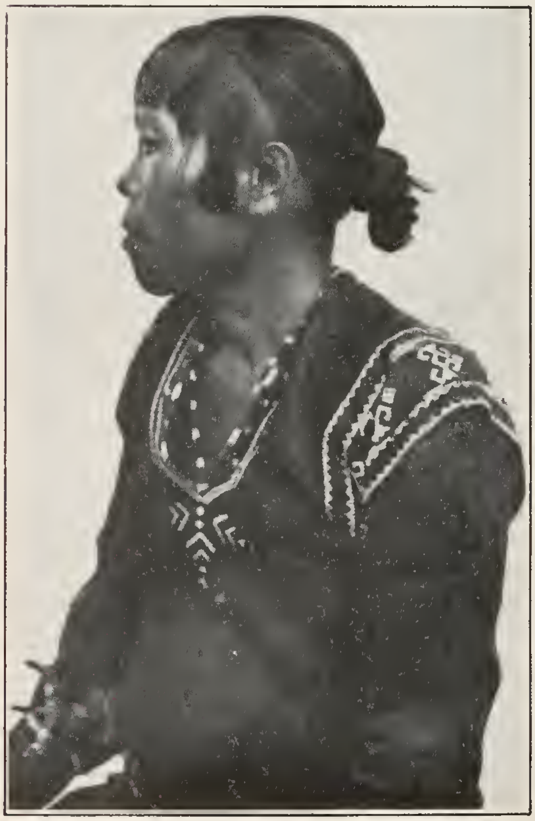

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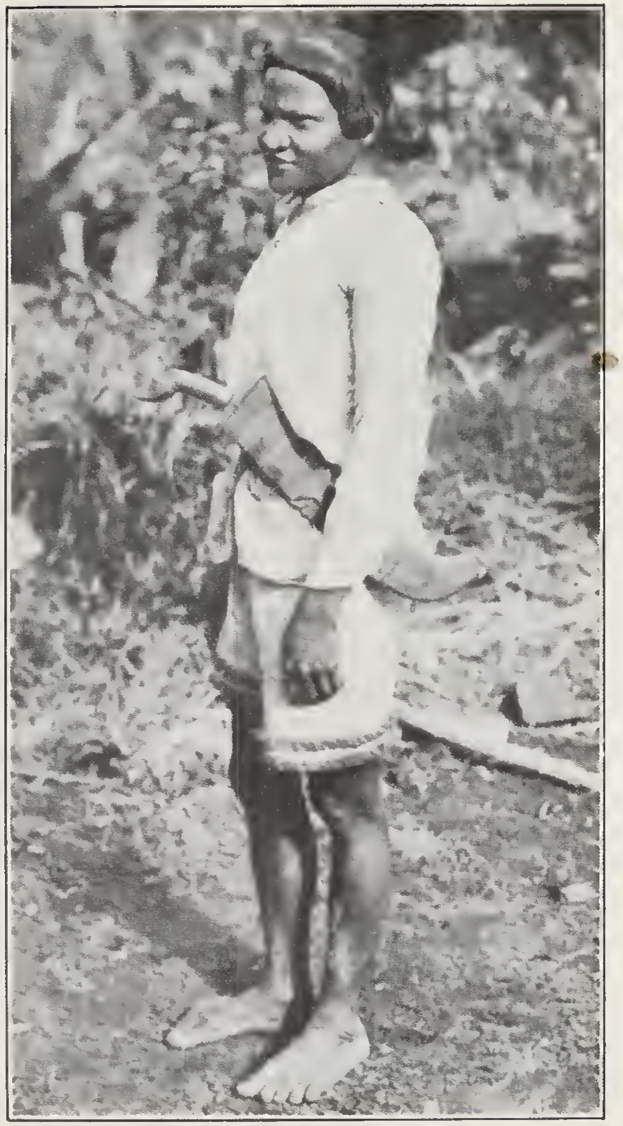
PLATE 2. *a*, Mañgguáñgan man and Manóbo woman. Jativa, upper Agúsan. *b*, Debabáon man and Manóbo woman. Upper Agúsan. *c*, Manóbo woman. Tagusáb, upper Agúsan. *d*, Mandáya man. Compostela, upper Agúsan.

PLATE 3. *a*, Manóbo man. Tagusáb, upper Agúsan. *b*, Manóbos. Ihawán River, Agúsan Valley.

PLATE 3



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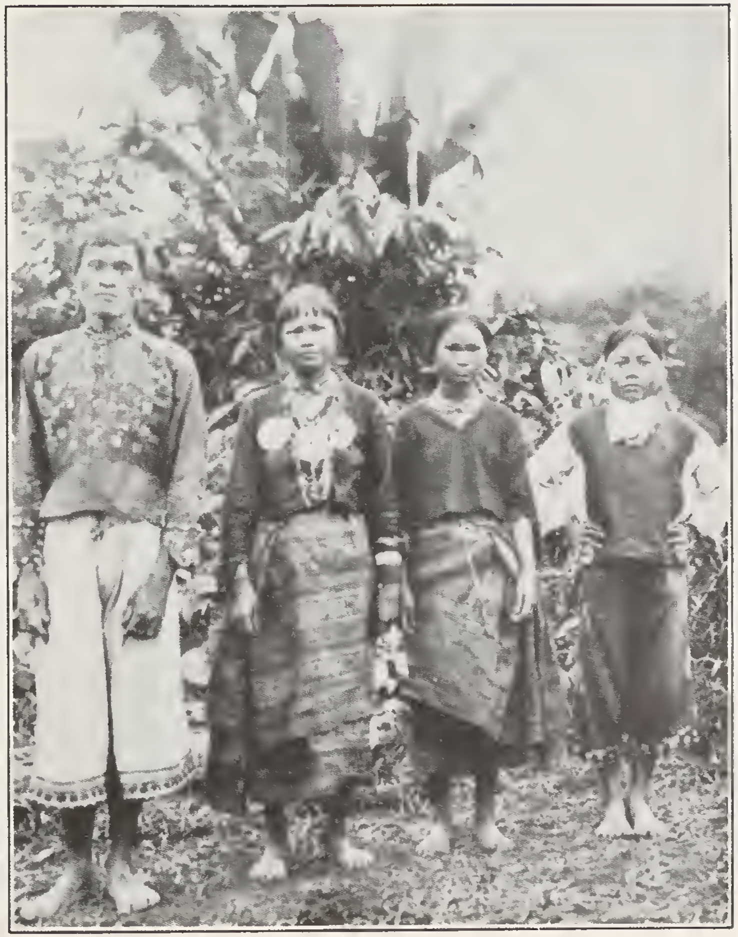

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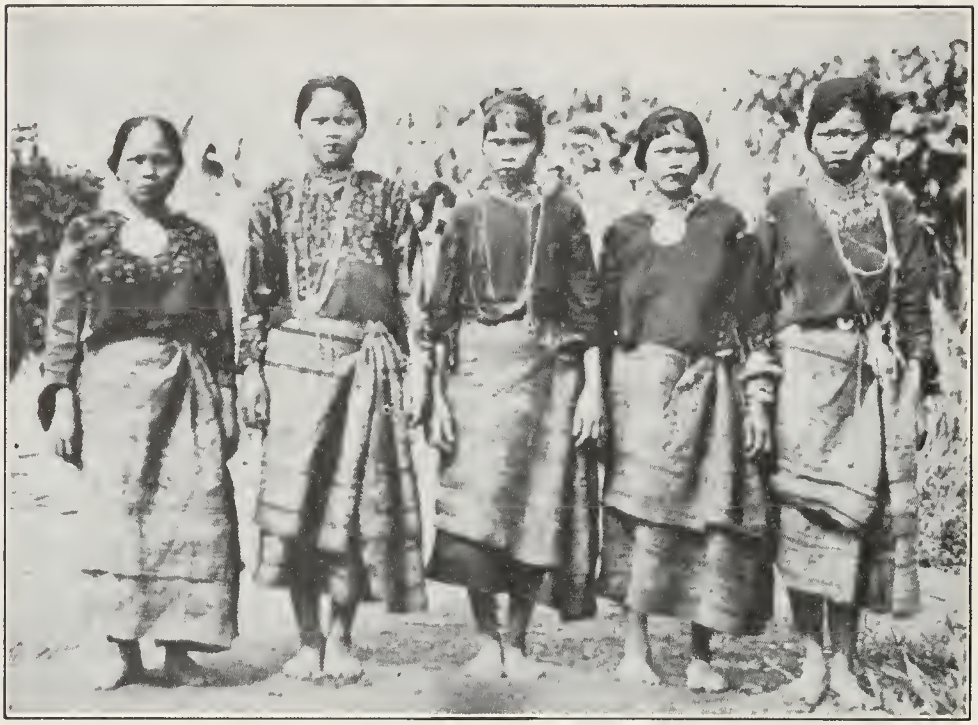

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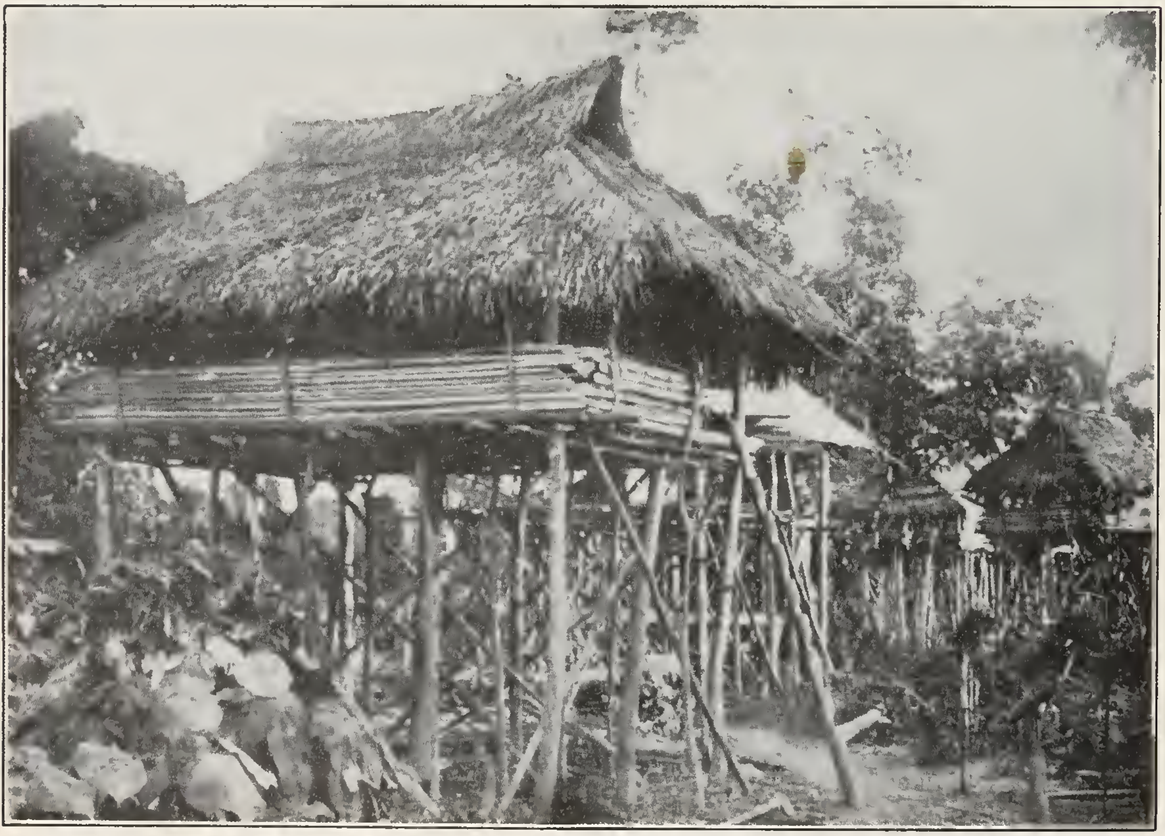

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Plate 4. *a*, Manóbo women. Umaían River, Agúsan Valley. *b*, Manóbo house. Moncayo, upper Agúsan. Note thatched roof, notched pole, and opening around the sides above the walls.

Plate 5. *a*, Manóbo house, built for defense. Near Veruéla, upper Agúsan. *b*, Manóbo house. Gandia, upper Agúsan. Note notched pole, numerous posts, smoke vent, gable pieces, thatched roof, and bamboo shingles.

a

b

PLATE 6

a *b*

PLATE 6. *a*, Typical Manóbo house. Near Compostela. *b*, Manóbo house. Central Agúsan. Built on a tree stump for defense. Such houses are now very rare.

PLATE 7. *a*, Armor coat made of *abaká*, with war chief's red jacket inside. Upper Agúsan Manóbos. *b*, Manóbo *abaká* skirt, woven in red, white, and black. This is the only lower garment worn by women. It serves at night as a blanket. *c*, White trousers made of *abaká*. Central Agúsan. *d*, Trousers made of blue cotton cloth. Upper Agúsan. *e*, Mandáya *abaká* skirt. Worn by Manóbos when obtainable. The design is produced by the tie and dye process.

PLATE 7

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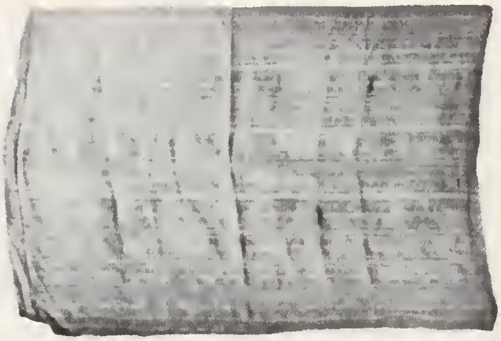
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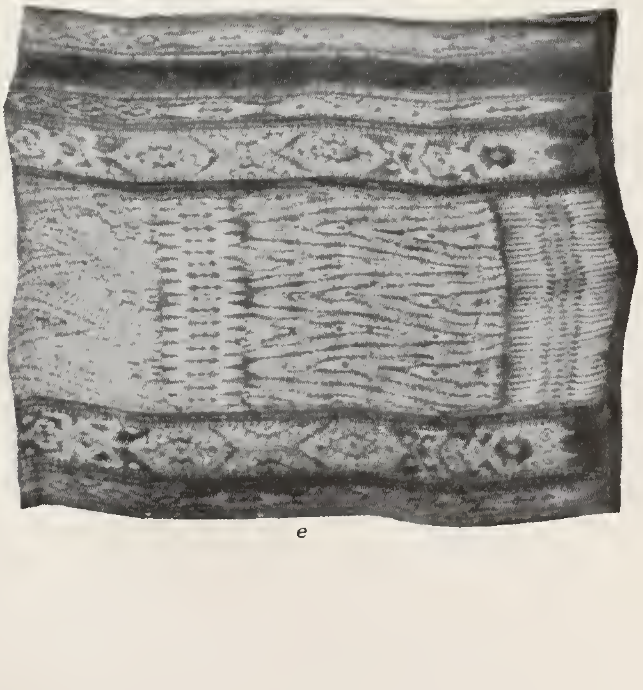
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PLATE 8

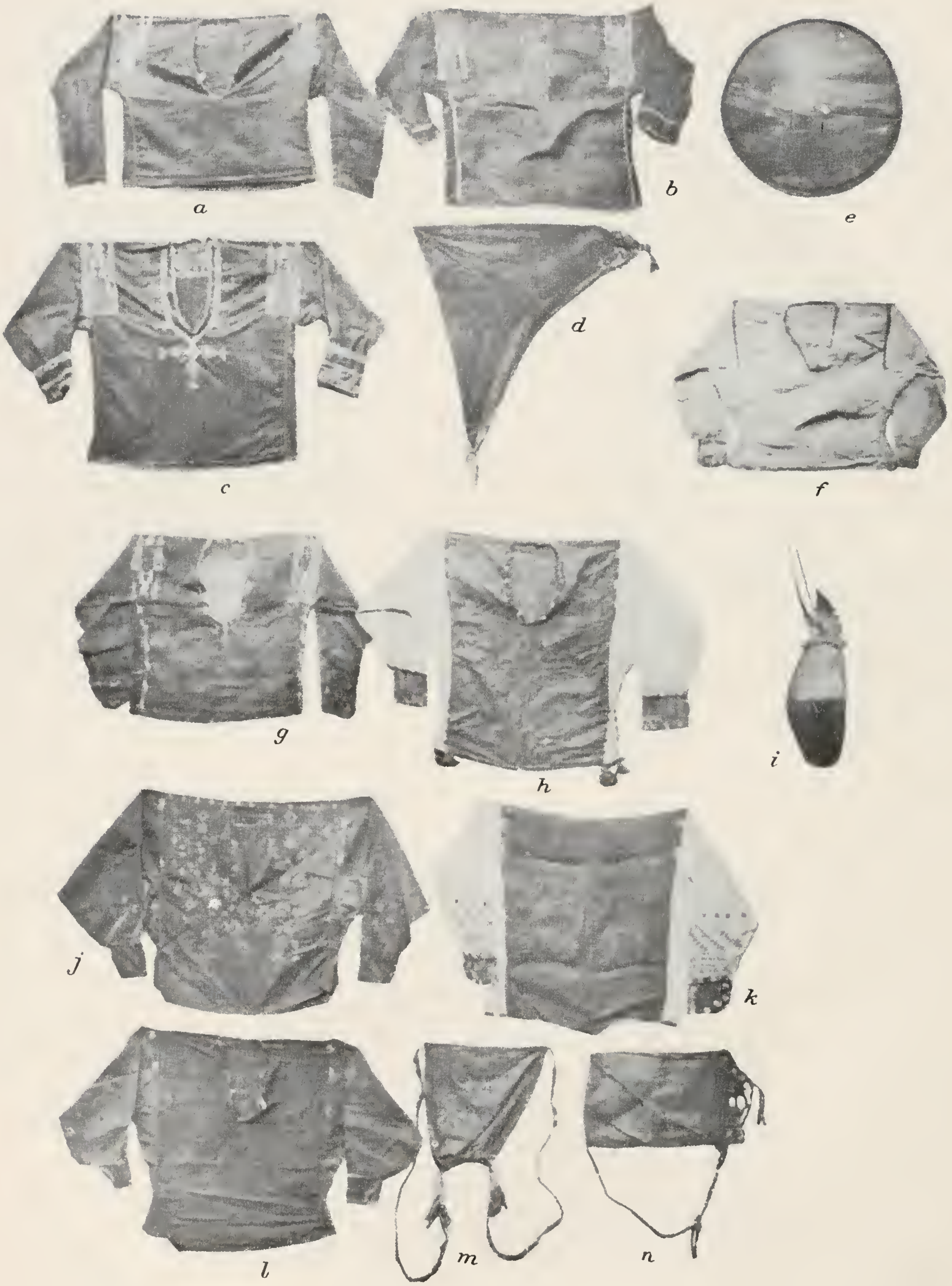
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PLATE 8. *a, b,* Women's jackets of cotton and *abaká,* embroidered with red, yellow, white, and black cotton yarn. Upper Agúsan. *c,* War chief's red jacket. Insignia of *bagani*-ship used by Manóbos of the upper Agúsan. *d,* War chief's red headkerchief. This indicates that the wearer has killed at least three people. *e,* Hat of sago palm bark. Middle Agúsan. *f,* Man's jacket worn by wild Manóbos of the eastern and central Cordilleras. *g,* Man's jacket. Upper Agúsan style. *h,* Central Agúsan style. *i,* Hat worn in the Agúsan Valley south of 8° latitude. *j,* Woman's jacket. Central Agúsan. *k,* Ihawán and Baóbo style. *l,* Manóbo-Mañguáñgan style. *m,* Manóbo betel-nut bag. *n,* Betel-nut bag made of Mandáya *abaká* and cotton cloth.

PLATE 9. *a*, Cage for keeping the sacred omen bird. *b*, *d*, Bamboo guitars. *c*, Wooden two-stringed guitar. *e*, *f*, *h*, Bamboo flutes. *g*, Bamboo jew's-harp. *i*, Drum with head of deerskin. *j*, *l*, *m*, *n*, Fish traps and fishing line. *k*, *o*, *p*, *q*, *r*, Rattan baskets. *s*, *t*, Women's incised bamboo combs. *u*, *z*, *cc*, Bead necklaces, worn by Manóbo men and women. *v*, *y*, Seed and shell necklaces, worn by Manóbo women. *w*, *aa*, *bb*, *dd*, *ee*, Women's incised bamboo combs. *x*, Woman's silver breastplate. Made by Mandáyas out of coins; worn by upper Agúsan Manóbos. *ff*, *ll*, *rr*, *Nito* bracelets, worn by Manóbo men and women. *gg*, *ii*, *kk*, Shell bracelets, worn by Manóbo women. *hh*, *jj*, Beaded girdles made of *nito* and human hair, worn by Manóbo women. *mm*, *nn*, *oo*, *pp*, Wooden ear disks and pendants. *qq*, Black coral bracelet, bent by heating. Worn by Manóbo men and women. *ss*, *Nito* armlet, worn by Manóbo men. *tt*, Bear's bracelet, worn by Manóbo men and women.

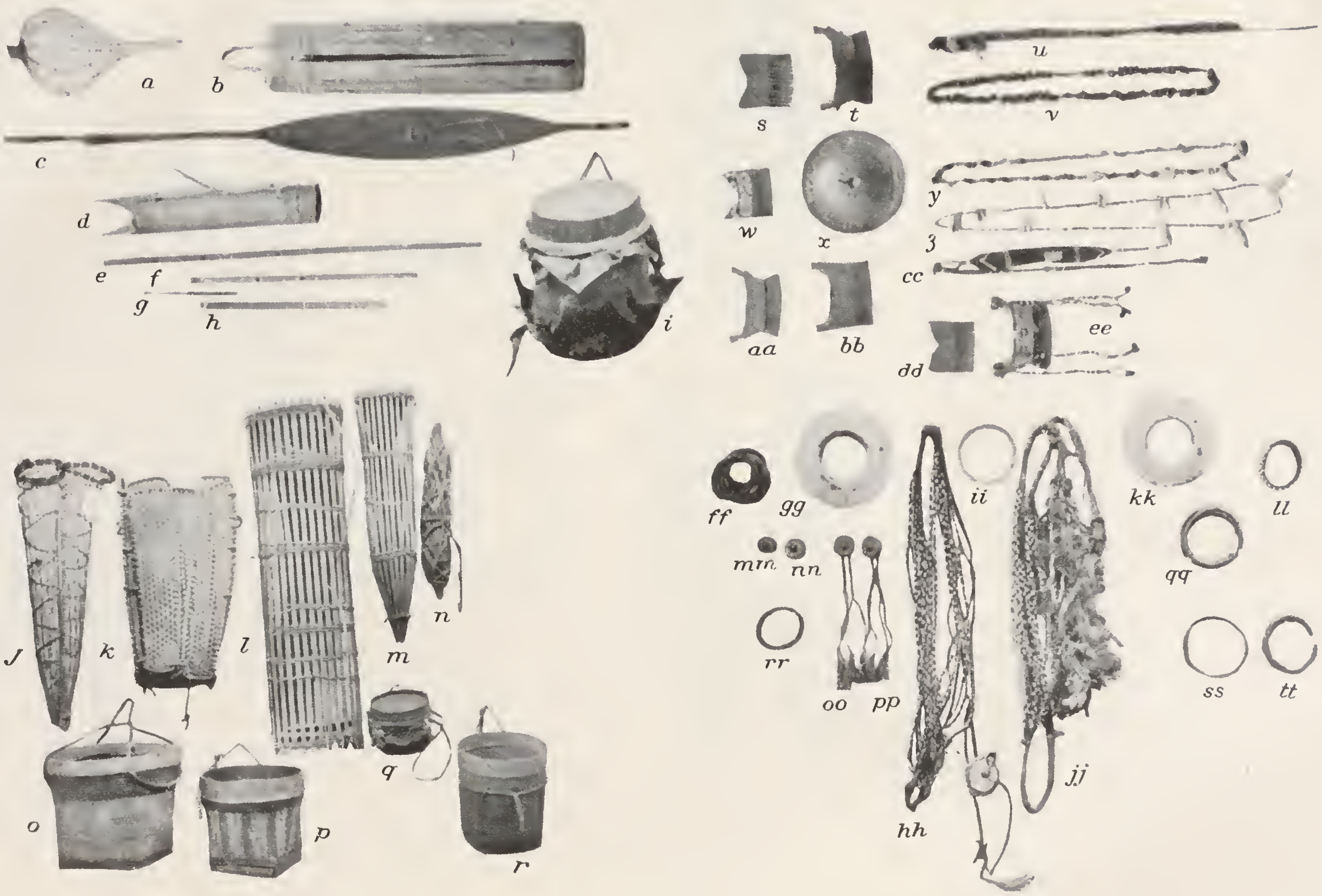
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PLATE 10

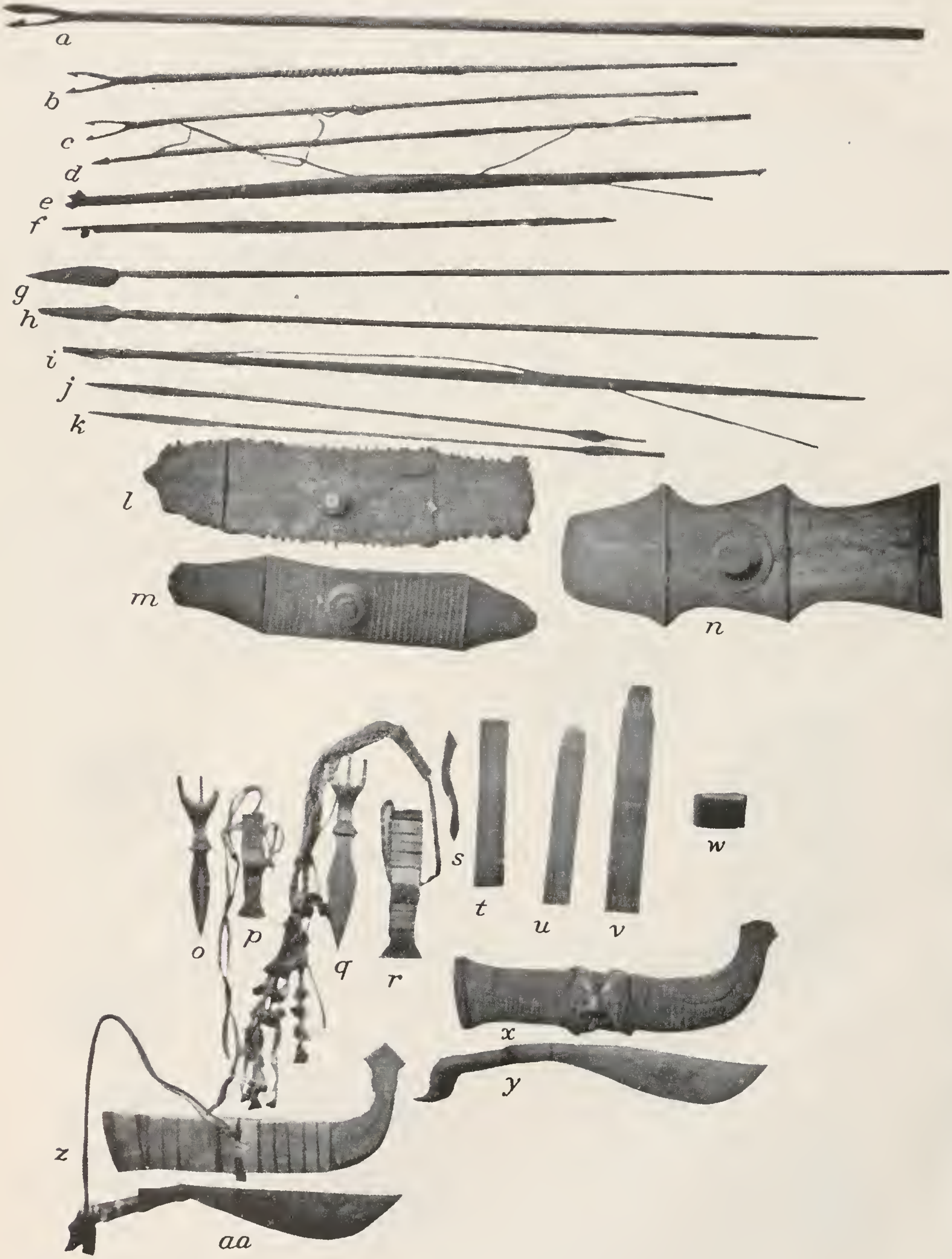

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PLATE 10. *a*, Fish spear. Central Agúsan. *b–f*, Fishing bows and arrows. The arrows have detachable points. *g*, Mandáya spear used by Manóbos of upper Agúsan. *h*, Central Agúsan spear. *i–k*, Manóbo bow and arrows. *l*, Manóbo shield. Upper Agúsan. *m*, Mandáya shield. *n*, Shield. Central Manóbo. *o–r*, Mandáya daggers and sheaths, used by Manóbos. Upper Agúsan. *s*, Mandáya betel-nut knife, used by Manóbos. *t–v*, Manóbo bamboo lime tubes. *w*, Moro brass box, used by Manóbos. *x*, *y*, Manóbo work bolo and sheath. *z*, *aa*, Mandáya war bolo and sheath. Highly prized by Manóbos.

Plate 11. *a*, Mandáya woman in a dancing attitude that is characterisitc of Manóbos. Compostela, upper Agúsan. *b*, Men of the mixed Compostela group in a dancing attitude that is characteristic of the Manóbo war dance.

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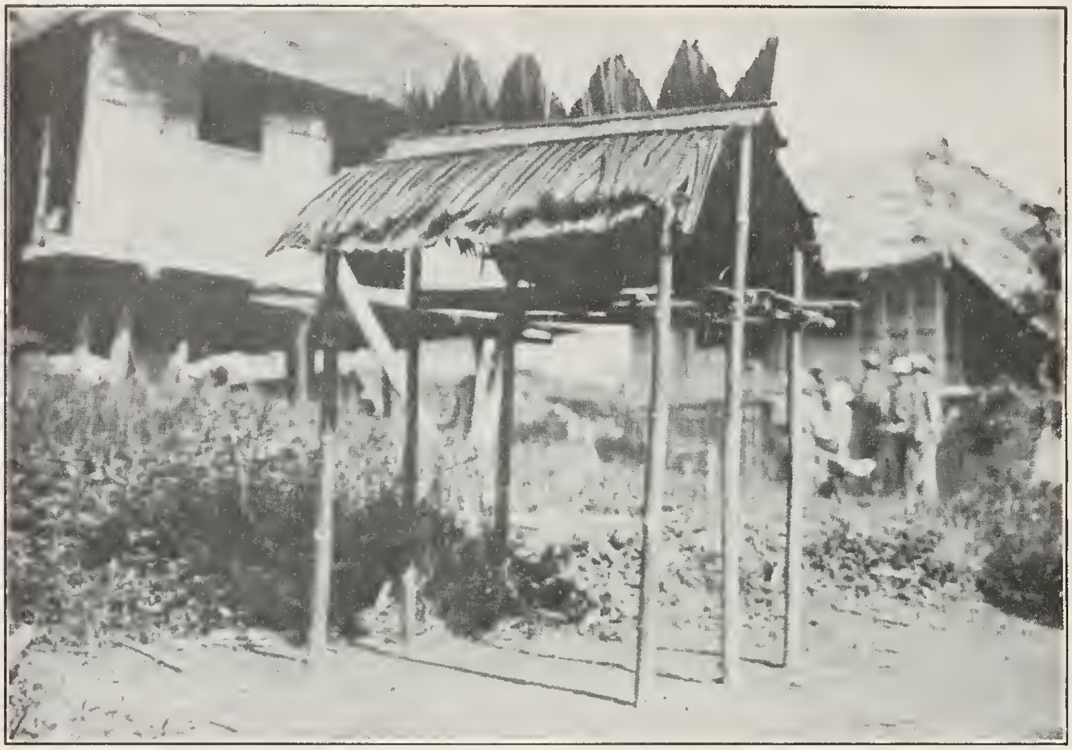

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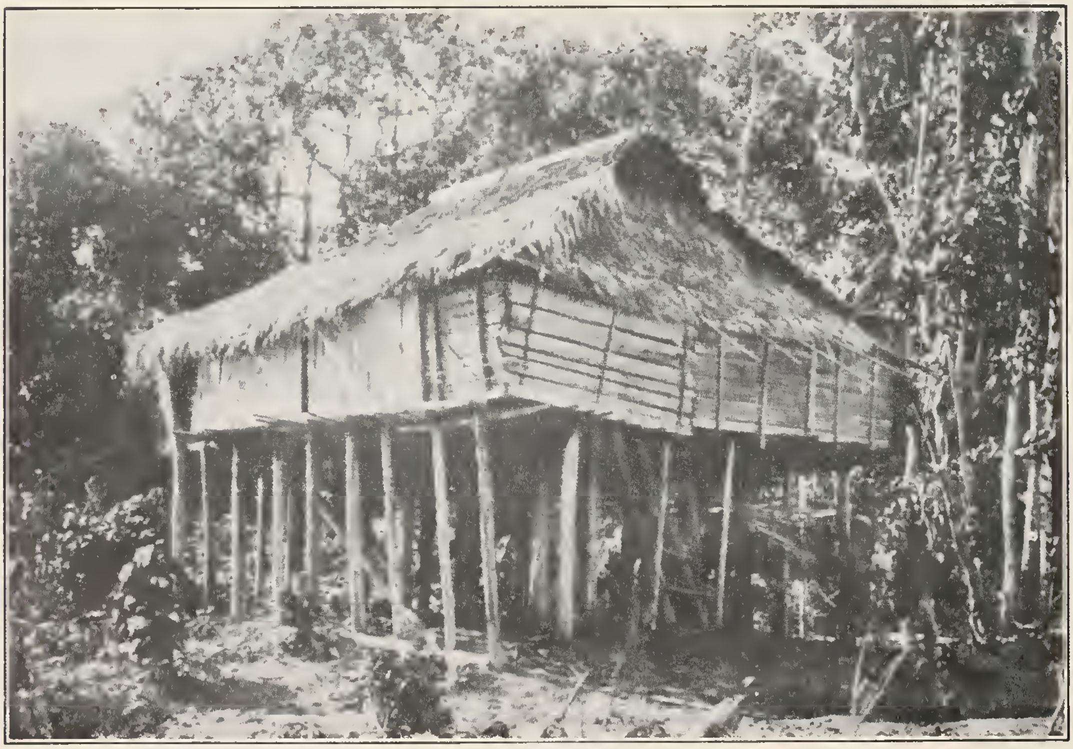

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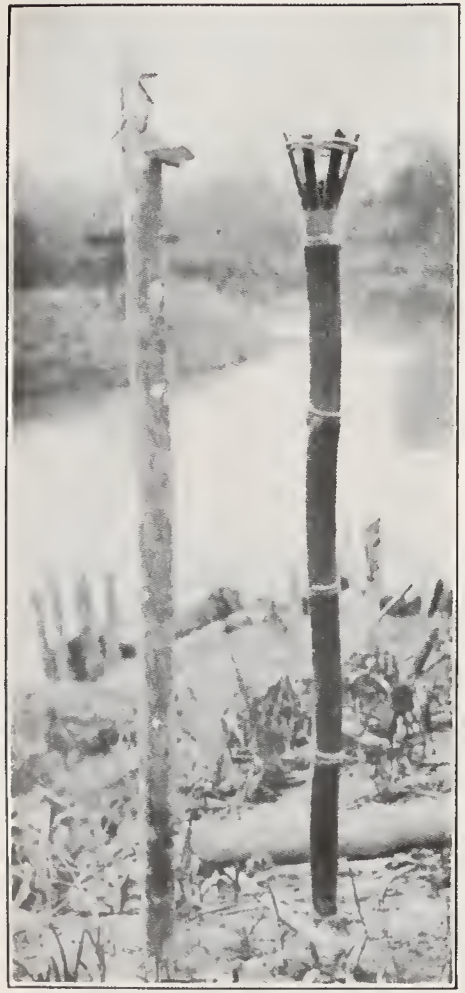
PLATE 12. *a*, Altar house, used during the greater sacrifices. Upper Agúsan. *b*, Religious house. Lankilaan upper Agúsan. Note superiority of this house over the ordinary dwelling house. This kind of house was built by the Manóbos during the great religious movement.

PLATE 13. *a*, Sacred image and offering stand. Note the egg on the stand. Gerona, upper Agúsan. *b*, *c*, Sacred posts with offering trays for the *Magbabáya*, used on the upper Agúsan during the great religious movement.



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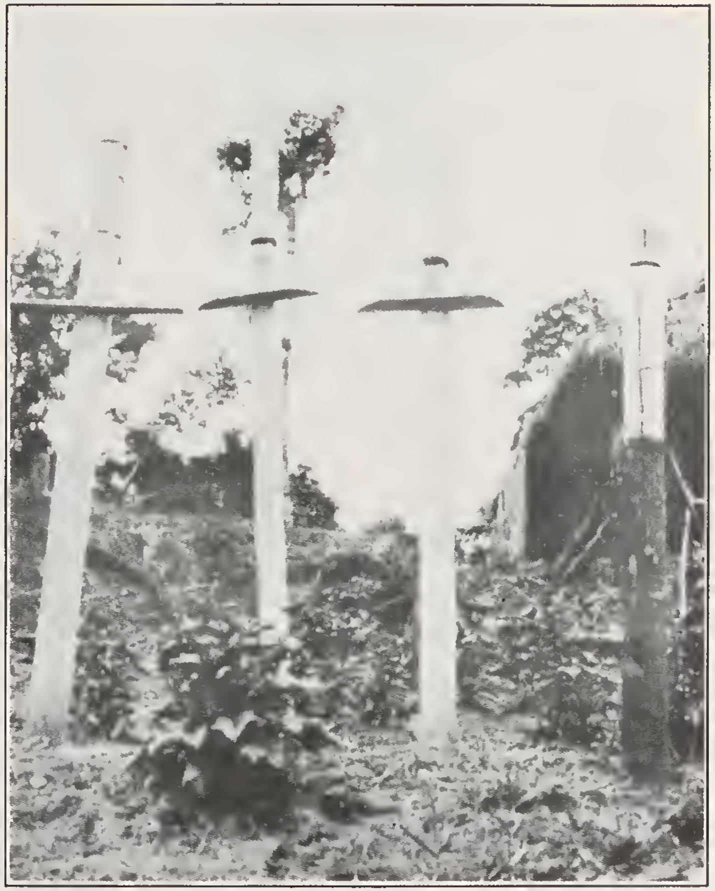

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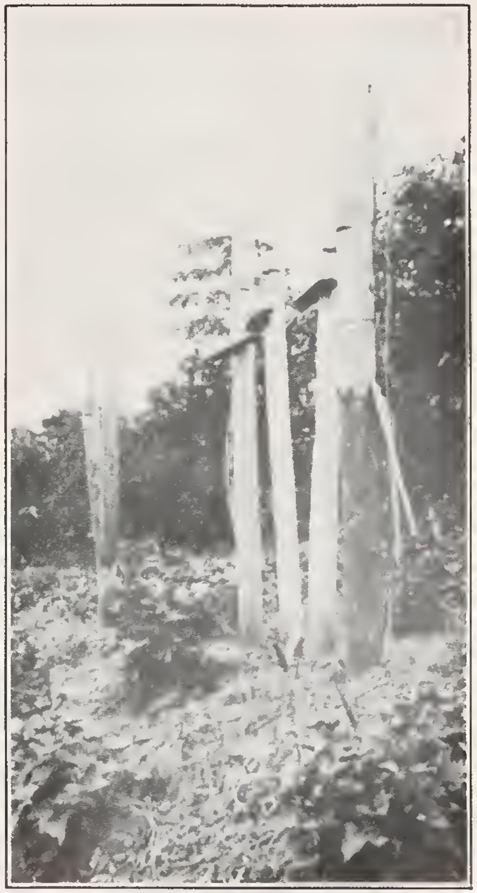

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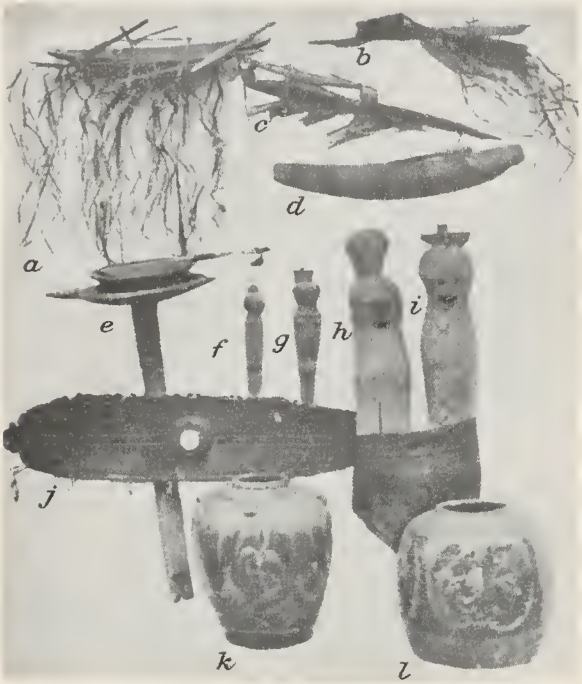
PLATE 14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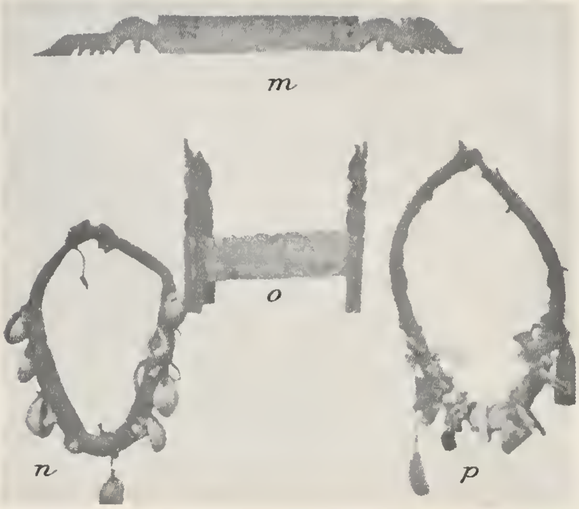

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PLATE 14. *a*, *d*, Ceremonial birth canoes. *b*, *c*, Blood oblation trays, used by warrior priests and for invoking the spirits of blood. *e*, Ceremonial stand, offering plate, and rice paddle. *f*–*i*, Sacred images, used to attract Manóbo divinities. *j*, Sacred shield. *k*, *l*, Sacred jars. *m*, *o*, Wooden stands used on the upper Agúsan during religious ceremonies. *n*, *p*, War chief's charms, worn during war raids. They contain magic herbs. *q*, Ceremonial birth offering stand. Middle Agúsan. *r*, Ceremonial ladder for a religious house, ceremonial chair, and sacred image. Bamboo guitars like that shown were used constantly during the great religious movement. Upper Agúsan. *s*, Bukídnon man. Silay, Bukídnon subprovince.

MEMOIRS OF THE
NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
Volume XXIII
Second Memoir

DAKOTA GRAMMAR

BY
FRANZ BOAS
AND
ELLA DELORIA

Presented to the Academy at the Annual Meeting, 1939

DAKOTA GRAMMAR

BY

FRANZ BOAS

AND

ELLA DELORIA

PREFACE

The following grammar is the result of the joint work of the authors. While the undersigned is alone responsible for the presentation and arrangement of the material, the detailed information was given by Miss Deloria, a graduate of Teachers College, New York City, whose family name is des Lauriers. Her parents were Yankton but she has grown up among the Teton of Standing Rock. It is due to her quick grasp of the importance of minute details and her perfect control of idiomatic usage and of an extensive vocabulary that the many apparent irregularities, the significance of the minute accentual peculiarities, and the emotional tone connected with particles could be at least partly presented, although many details may have escaped us. Where there was any doubt in regard to special points, Miss Deloria corroborated them by questioning other Tetons.

There are slight dialectic differences in Teton. Particularly the south-western Ogalala of Pine Ridge and Rosebud have some peculiarities of their own. Along the Missouri there is Yankton influence upon vocabulary and syntax while the phonetics are pure Teton.

In the text a number of abbreviations has been used. T stands for Teton, Y for Yankton, S for Santee. References to Stephen Return Riggs, A Dakota-English Dictionary, Washington, 1890 (Vol. VII Contributions to North American Ethnology) are given as "Riggs"; those to the same author's Dakota Grammar, Texts and Ethnography, edited by James Owen Dorsey, Washington, 1893 (Vol. IX Contributions to North American Ethnology) as "Riggs, Grammar." Most of the examples are taken from Ella Deloria, Dakota Texts, Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. XIV, New York, 1932. References like 105.10 refer to page 105, line 10, of that publication, etc. No references have been made to "A Grammar of Lakota" by Eugene Buechel, S. J., St. Francis Mission, South Dakota, which appeared while the present grammar was being set up. The analysis of Dakota in Buechel's Grammar is based on the theory that every syllable has a meaning. The arrangement is that of an English Grammar with Dakota equivalents. Since much of the material is based on Bible translations and prayers, many unidiomatic forms occur. Still, it contains much valuable material in an improved orthography. The distinctions between medials and aspirates have been made properly, except for *c* and *c*‘, which are not regularly distinguished. Accents are not always reliable.

FRANZ BOAS.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
April, 1939.

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§ 1. INTRODUCTORY

It seems well to give first of all a brief sketch of some essential features of the language.

There is a fundamental distinction between verbs expressing states and those expressing actions. The two groups may be designated as neutral and active. The language has a marked tendency to give a strong preponderance to the concept of state. All our adjectives are included in this group, which embraces also almost all verbs that result in a state. Thus a stem like "to sever" is not active but expresses the concept of "to be in a severed condition," the active verb being derived from this stem. The same is true of the concept "to scrape," the stem of which means "to be in a scraped condition." Other verbs which we class as active but which take no object, like "to tremble" are conceived in the same way, the stem meaning "to be a-tremble." Active verbs include terms that relate exclusively to animate beings, either as actors or as objects acted upon, such as words of going and coming, sounds uttered by animals and man, mental activities and those expressing actions that can affect only living beings (like to kill, wound, etc.). There seem to be not more than 12 active words that would not be covered by this definition.

The meanings of many verbal stems are very specific, nice distinctions being made according to the physical properties and forms of the objects the condition of which is described. Thus the generalized concept "to sever" is in many cases expressed more specifically by words that might correspond to English "to shatter, to split, to cross cut," etc., but also "to sever soft objects, to sever in the middle of a flat object, at the border," etc. Other terms are specialized according to the visual or acoustic effect of the condition. The latter might sound contradictory, because sounds are produced by action, but the Dakota concept is rather: "it is the sound of being squeezed through a narrow opening," "it is the sound of dripping," and the like. On the whole the acoustic value plays a much more important rôle than the visual character. There are exceedingly nice distinctions between states accompanied by various kinds of noises.

The importance of the acoustic sense expressed in Dakota appears particularly in the various forms of sound symbolism. Among consonants the series *s*, *ṡ*, *ḣ* and *z*, *ż*, *ġ* represent series indicating grades of intensity, *s* and *z* being the lowest grades, *ṡ* and *ż* middle grades, *ḣ* and *ġ* the highest grades. For instance *sle'ca*, *ṡle'ca*, *ḣle'ca* express "it is in a condition of splitting" for thin objects, heavy objects, membranes. Vocalic symbolism appears particularly in terms expressing noises. One series is *i*, *u*, *e*, *a*, as in *kpi'*, (*kpu'*),[1] *kpe'*, *kpa'* which mean in order a light crackling, the noise of stick striking stick, and a sharp noise like that of a firecracker; *ṡpi'* small things (berries), *ṡpu'* larger things, are removed; *ṡpe' s'e* as though a pattern had been cut out of it; *ṡpa'* large things are removed. There is also another series *e–o: k'e'ġa* a surface is scratched leaving no marks, *k'o'ġa* a surface is scraped.

Nouns that are not derived from verbs are similar in structure to neutral verbs.

The most frequent type of stem has the form consonant[2]-vowel-consonant. No more than two consonants can ever be in contact. Terminal consonants of these stems are limited to the medial surds *p*, *t*, *c*, *k*, and the sonants [1a] *z*, *ż*, *ġ*. Most of these stems carry the accent, provided not more than one syllable precedes them. A second, less frequent type of stem has the form consonant[2]-vowel. There is a strong probability that the fairly numerous bisyllabic stems of the type consonant[2]-vowel-consonant[3]-vowel are compounds of two stems of the type consonant[2]-vowel. Most of these have the accent on the second syllable, the general pattern of Dakota accentuation, except for monosyllabic stems without prefix.

---

[1] Only in the form *kpukpa'* large and small objects intermixed (like twigs, leaves and small fragments swimming in water, or colors).

[1a] See §11, p.11.

[2] Or two consonants.

[3] Generally two consonants.

The distinction between neutral and active verbs is expressed by the pronoun. As in many American languages the object of the transitive verb coincides with the subject of the neutral verb. In Dakota this may perhaps be so understood that the state is expressed in reference to the personal pronoun "being strong is in reference to me"; i. e., "I am strong."

Reduplicated neutral verbs may be made active by retaining the accent on the first syllable, while the neutral form throws it on the second syllable.

The personal pronoun is poorly developed. There are only three distinct forms, "I, thou, thou and I." There is no pronoun of the third person. The active subjects "I" and "thou" differ from the objective forms. The dual "thou and I" is the same in both forms. Transitive forms with pronominal subject and object combine the separate forms, most frequently in the order object-subject, except the combination "I-thee" which cannot be derived from the simple pronouns.

The possessive pronoun is closely related to the neutral pronoun. Inseparable and separable possession are strictly differentiated, but on the whole the possessive pronoun is avoided, possession by the subject being expressed by a verbal element. Instead of saying "my horse is sick," the Dakota says "the horse is sick for me."[3a]

Demonstratives express three positions: here, there, and there visible so that it can be pointed at. They play an important rôle in the language because they perform syntactic functions. The desire for exact localization which is characteristic of many American languages appears also in all verbs of motion and their ever-recurring combinations with other verbs. The motions hither and thither and the resulting arrival here and there; returning hither and thither, and the resulting arrival here and there after returning are strictly differentiated.

Verbal stems are built up into more complex themes by means of two classes of prefixes, locatives and instrumentals. The locatives are *a*-on, *o*-in, *i*- against. The instrumentals express modes of action: *yu*- by pulling, i. e., movements towards the body; *pa*- by a steady push; *ka*- by a sudden stroke; *wo*- by an impact from a distance; *pu*- by pressure; *ya*- by action with the mouth; *na*- by action with the foot, also by inner force: *'a-pa'-ħpa* on-by a steady push-lie; i. e., to throw down on—is a typical example of such combinations.

Nouns are conceived as classified according to form. This concept finds expression in accompanying verbs of position. Certain things lie, others stand or sit. An earlier greater importance of this feature is suggested by the use of verbs expressing standing (in Teton), of sitting (in Yankton), as continuative verbal forms.

Distributive ideas are expressed by reduplication. In bisyllabic stem complexes the second syllable is repeated.

The more or less intimate relation between two concepts is expressed by phonetic devices. Thus intimate, exclusive possession may be expressed by vocalic contraction of the prefixed possessive element *t'a* with the initial vowel of the stem, in contradistinction to less intimate possession in which no contraction occurs. My seat which it is my privilege to occupy, is contracted. My seat on which I sit although others may use it as well, is not contracted. Another device is used for expressing the more or less intimate relation between nouns, nouns and verbs, adverbs and verbs. The parts of the complex may remain independent, each retaining its accent, or they may be combined into one word with one common accent. For instance, nominal subject and neutral verb predicate are independent, noun and adjective have only one accent; in combinations of verbs two actions occurring at the same time, as "he comes dancing" are felt as separate units in which dancing is an adverb describing the act of coming; while in successive actions as "he comes to dance" the two verbs are united by a single accent.

Although the general structure of the language is transparent, the semantic values of compounds are often highly specialized and tend to be considered as new units which are further elaborated by the usual processes. There is also a tendency, rather unusual in American languages, to obscure the original composition by processes of phonetic assimilation and metathesis.

In contrast to the prefixes which refer to the content of the verb, enclitics without accent express situational relations, modalities, that do not affect the meaning of the stem complex. The declarative, future, negative, customary, imperative, interrogative, quotative, and some others are included in this group. Most characteristic is the differentiation of these terms in the speech of men and women.[4] An enclitic expressing plurality belongs to this group. It does not express plurality of a single word but pluralizes the whole sentence. Its use is confined to animate beings.

[3a] See pp. 86, 128, 132.

Some enclitics perform syntactic functions. The most important among these are the articles. Since every noun may also be predicative if provided with the proper ending, and since the articles nominalize phrases, they might perhaps better be called nominalizing elements comparable to our relative pronouns. Numerous coordinating and subordinating conjunctions belong to this class.

The noun has no cases. The locative ideas "at, from, towards" are expressed by means of nominal suffixes; more complex locative forms are adverbial forms derived from verbs; "with (several people)," for instance, is the adverbial form of the verb "to join."

The general syntactic structure is determined by the order of words. The subject followed by all its qualifiers opens the sentence which closes with the verb preceded by all its qualifiers, but followed by the modal enclitics. The nominal object is one of the qualifiers of the verbal theme and stands near it. Subordinate clauses should be considered as nominalized, the "conjunction" standing at the end of the complex. Thus: he came the one—, a young man he comes if—; you do it when—, are units which may function as subject or object of the complex sentence. These clauses unless very simple are often summarized by a demonstrative. In verbal complexes each element qualifies the following: "carrying them || nice place-a | searching for || he went"; i. e., he went searching for a nice place while carrying them 21.11.

A peculiar feature of the language is its tendency to express approval, disapproval, or indifference. Datives have two forms expressing whether an action is done with or without approval. "I give it to him with" or "without his approval," or also "at my own" or "at his initiative." "I gave it to him, but he did not accept it," has one form if my giving is appropriate, another if it is inappropriate, a third when no judgment as to propriety is made. "He gave me stone instead of bread," highly inappropriate; "he gave me bread instead of stone," highly appropriate, "he came instead of his brother," indifferent, have distinctive forms.

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[4] This differentiation is a general feature of Siouan languages. In Mandan the usage has been reversed insofar as one form is used in addressing men, the other in addressing women.

§§ 2–23 PHONETICS

§ 2. TABLE OF SOUNDS

Consonants

	Stops				Affricatives			Spirants					
	So-nant	Medial surd	Aspi-rate	Glot-talized	Medial surd	Aspi-rate	Glot-talized	So-nant[2]	Surd	Glot-talized	Nasal	Lateral	Semi-vowels
Labial	*b*	*p*	*p*ʻ	*p*ʼ	—	—	—	—	—	—	*m*	—	*w*
Dental	—	*t*	*t*ʻ	*t*ʼ	—	—	—	*z*	*s*	(*s*ʼ)	*n*	*l*	*y*
Alveolar	—	—	—	—	*c*	*c*ʻ	*c*ʼ	*ż*	*ṡ*	(*ṡ*ʼ)	—	—	—
Velar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*ġ*	*ḣ*	(*ḣ*ʼ)	—	—	—
Palatal	*g*[1]	*k*	*k*ʻ	*k*ʼ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Open breathing	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*h*	—	—	—	—
Glottal stop	—	ʼ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Vowels

Oral	*i*	*e*	*a*	*o*	*u*
Nasalized	*į*	—	*ą*	—	*ų*

---

[1] Only as first element of consonantic clusters.
[2] See § 11, p. 11.

§ 3. VOWELS

Among the vowels only *e* is open; when accented only slightly so; when unaccented quite open.

Nasalization is weak, *į* when closing a syllable is so slightly nasalized that the speaker himself is often in doubt whether there is any nasalization. After *m* and *n* the vowel *a* although etymologically purely oral, is liable to be nasalized.

The duration of vowels depends upon their position. Terminal vowels, both accented and unaccented are of slightly shorter duration than preceding vowels.

All initial vowels begin with a weak glottal closure which is very apparent in all cases when a consonant precedes a word beginning with a vowel. In these cases the glottal stop follows the consonant and must be clearly differentiated from the glottalized stop which is released with high pressure, the glottalization being synchronous with the stop and ceasing after the release.

	yuų′k-ʼe′ųpa in prone position he lays him down
	waṡʼa′k-ʼicʼi`la he considered himself strong
	*t*ʻ*ap-ʼi′capsice* bat for ball-playing
but	*kʼa′* to dig

The same break occurs before *w*.

ṡųk-ʼwo′kʼu to feed horses
*t*ʻ*ep-ʼwi′c*ʻ*aya* he consumed them 105.20

There is a complete absence of diphthongs. Vowels may follow each other being separated by a weak glottal stop, they may be connected by a glide, or they may be contracted. The choice between these three processes depends largely upon grammatical relations. It is not determined by purely phonetic processes.

§ 4. CONSONANTS

c, *c*‘, *c*’ correspond to the medial, aspirate, and glottalized sounds of English *ch*.

ġ, *ħ*, *ħ*’ are velar spirants; *z*, *s* correspond to the sonant and surd sounds of English, *ż* and *ṡ* to the French *j* and English *sh*, respectively.

The morphological treatment of verbs suggests that the aspirate and glottalized consonants must be considered as double consonants, because in bisyllabic stems the second syllable which begins with one of these sounds is treated like a syllable beginning with two consonants. Furthermore these consonants rarely appear in consonantic clusters. (See below.) Since no triconsonantic clusters are admitted, this may be conceived as a corroboration of our assumption.

The sounds *s*’, *ṡ*’, *ħ*’, are not themselves glottalized, but consist of *s*, *ṡ*, *ħ* followed by glottal stops.

The only consonants that occur in terminal position of words, but not of sentences, are *p*, *l*, *k*, and *ṡ*.

§ 5. CONSONANTIC CLUSTERS

Biconsonantic clusters in initial position of the word or syllable are common, while they are absent in terminal position. Triconsonantic clusters do not occur.

Three groups of biconsonantic, initial clusters may be distinguished—clusters with initial surd stops; those with initial *b* and *g;* and those with initial *s*, *ṡ*, *ħ*.

Second consonant of cluster

Initial consonant	*p*	*t*	*k*	*s*	*ṡ*	*c*	*l*	*n*	*m*
p	—	*pt*	—	*ps*	*pṡ*	*pc*	—	—	—
t	—	—	*tk*	—	—	—	—	—	—
k	*kp*	*kt*	—	*ks*	*kṡ*	*kc*	—	—	—
b	—	—	—	—	—	—	*b.l*	—	—
g	—	—	—	—	—	—	*g.l*	*g.n*	*g.m*
s	*sp*	*st*	*sk*	—	—	*sc*	*sl*	*sn*	*sm*
ṡ	*ṡp*	*ṡt*	*ṡk*	—	—	*ṡc*	*ṡl*	*ṡn*	*ṡm*
ħ	*ħp*	*ħt*	—	—	—	*ħc*	*ħl*	*ħn*	*ħm*

We find also *g.w*, *ħw* and *m.n*.

The period on the line used here in all clusters of sonants indicates a very weak articulation of the following vowel, as *g.la*=$g^{a}la$; *g.li*=$g^{i}li$. In Winnebago these vowels are fully sounded so that the corresponding forms are bisyllabic.

In a few cases other clusters of consonants occur due to the dropping of vowels, p. e. *tk*‘*a*’ for *tuk*‘*a*’. For *ṡk*‘*a*’ it is said, no dropping of vowel can be proved.

Other clusters appear, due to composition or reduplication.

It will be noticed that in these clusters aspirates and glottals do not appear, presumably because they must be considered as double consonants. No consonant appears with another of the same class. (In the combinations *sc* the point of articulation of *c* is with greater extent of the tongue touching the palate than in *s*; *ṡc* consists of two sounds which are physiologically more closely related.) *p*, *t*, and *k* are never followed by a sonant; *t* can be followed only by *k* (in Santee *tp* and *kp* are equivalent). No triconsonantic clusters are admissible. *l*, *n*, *m* and *w* are the only sonants that appear at the end of a consonantic cluster. When they follow the sonants *b* or *g*, the sonancy of the two sounds produces a very weak vocalic sound between the two consonants. A third class are the clusters beginning with *s*, *ṡ*, and *ħ* which may be followed by *p*, *t*, *k*, *c* and by *l*, *n*, *m*. The three sounds behave in an identical way. It is particularly striking that the combinations *ȟs* and *ȟś*, which might seem admissible, do not occur. This must be accounted for by the intimate relations between the three consonants which is repeated in the voiced group *z*, *ż*, *ġ*.

§§ 6–8. PHONETIC PROCESSES—VOWELS

§ 6. NASALIZED VOWELS

Nasalized vowels have a purely phonetic effect upon the vowel *a* of the following syllable *ya* or sometimes *wa*, the *a* being nasalized; *tųwą'* to look; *kįyą'* to fly; *'oų'yą* to have for a habitation, but *'oų'waya* I have for a habitation.

The same happens when the syllable preceding *ya* or *wa* contains a nasal consonant: *niyą'* to save; *pem.ni'yą* slantingly. There are, however, some exceptions to this rule. Thus we have *niya'* to breathe, *niyą'* to save; *k'ųyą'* [5] promptly (adv.), *k'ų-ya'* to have for a mother-in-law; *naȟ'ų'yą* hearing (adv.), *naȟ'ų'ya* to notify. It seems that this differentiation occurs only when there are two words that would be identical otherwise.

§ 7. CONTRACTION

A considerable number of contractions of adjoining vowels occur. These are not entirely free. Verbs and nouns are often treated differently and other syntactic or morphological features determine whether contraction occurs or not. In a number of cases two vowels separated by a consonant may be contracted.

The following contractions have been observed:

1. *a+a>a*
2. *a+i>i*
3. *a+i>e*
4. *aki>e*
5. *a+į>į*
6. *ą+i>į*
7. *ą+o>ų*
8. *a+o>o*
9. *e+o>o*
10. *o+o>o*
11. *ą+o>ų* (=7)
12. *o+i>ų*
13. *o+į>ų*
14. *i+i>i*

15. *wayu>wo*
16. *awo>o*
17. *ihą>į*
18. *ohą>ų*
19. *aye>e*
20. *iye>e*

In the last forms the consonants are treated as glides and the vowels are contracted. In a similar way *'asą'pi* milk, results from *'as*, stem of *'aze'* breast, and *hąpi'* liquid of—.

In other cases it would be more appropriate to consider the resulting single vowel as due to elimination of one of them. Examples are:

mat'i'g.la'm.na<mat'o' bear, *'ig.la'm.na* to turn suddenly (a name)

Elision of vowels is obvious in other names

t'i'psa'pa<t'i'pi-sa'pa black tipi;—*t'i'pt'o'wį<t'i'pi-t'o'wį* blue tipi woman;—*te't'ąni<'ite'-t'ąni`* old face;—*te'g.le'ġa<'ite'-g.le'ġa* spotted face

1. Nouns with initial *wa* [6] prefixed to a verb beginning with *a* contract to accented *a*.

wa'kaȟpe sheet covering, *'aka'ȟpa* to cover;—*wa'lową* the singer in the *hųka'* ceremony who swishes the horsetail over the candidates, *'alo'wą* to sing over somebody;—*wa'b.loska* a black bird with white wings, *'ab.lo'* shoulder blade;—*wa'paha* war-standard, *'apa'ha* to raise high over something;—*wa'wąyaka* guard, policeman, *'awą'yaka* to guard over;—*wa'g.luȟe* [7] one who lives with his relatives, particularly those who stayed near the fort, their daughters having married soldiers (*'iya'yuȟa* to be attracted, to be drawn after)

---

[5] Bushotter writes *k'oyą'*; cf. Yankton *k'oye'hą* meanwhile.

[6] *wa-* is an indefinite object. (See p. 52.)

[7] Name of a band that stayed near the military forts, because their daughters were married to soldiers.

Verbs with indefinite object *wa* (see p. 52) do not contract.

waa′li to walk over something;—*waa′yata* to predict something;—*waa′iya* to gossip about something;—*waa′pʻa* to strike people;—*waa′wąyaka* to keep watch over things (*wa′wąyak-naˋżį* to stand as a guard);—*waa′lową* to sing over people;—*waa′yuȟa* to stay near, attracted, as by one's relatives;—*waa′b.leza* to be observant (*wa′b.leza* inspector);—*waa′pawįta* to rub (ointment) on

A number of such verbs with special idiomatic meanings are contracted.

wa′nakiȟma to deny, *’ana′ȟma* to hide it on, *’ana′kiȟma* to hide one's own; the uncontracted form *waa′nakiȟma* means: he hides his things;—*wa′g.li* coming back successfully from a hunt (adv.); *waa′gli* he brings things home;—*wa′kʻita* to look about; *waa′kʻita* to look about for something

a and *a* contract to accented *a′*.

tʻa′b.lo deer's shoulder blade; but *tʻaa′b.lo* it is his shoulder blade (in most cases parts of body are not used with possessive pronouns; see pp. 86, 128, 132)

2. Nouns with *wa* [8] or *tʻa* [9] prefixed to an instrumental noun beginning with *i* contract to accented *i; wa* prefixed to verbs only when they have a special meaning.

wai′leya to burn up things;—*wai′yutʻa* to try something;—*wai′yutą* to be tempted by something
wi′kʻą rope, *’ikʻą′* tying strings;—*wi′yukpą* coffee mill, *’iyu′kpą* instrument for pulverizing, a grinder;—*wi′kʻicʻąye* tools (*i* by means of, *kʻicʻą′yą* to work with, to handle);—*wi′yųġa* to question, *’iyų′ġa* to ask;—*wi′tątą* to be vain, *’i′tą* to be proud of;—*wi′ȟpeya* to give away after a death, *’iȟpe′ya* to discard, to throw away, *wai′ȟpeya* to discard things
tʻi′sto foreleg of a ruminant (*tʻa* ruminant, *’isto′* arm);—*tʻi′ṡkakʻą* ankle ligament (*’iṡka′* ankle, *kʻą* sinew)

In some cases the possessive *tʻa* is also contracted with initial *i*.[10]

tʻi′ȟįyetku its (a pet's) master

Terminal *a* of *wicʻa* human, is also contracted in nominal compounds with initial *i*.

wicʻi′te human face, from *wicʻa′-ite′*
but *wicʻa′i* human mouth

Similar contractions occur in names. In these cases we are not always dealing with contraction but rather with loss of terminal *a*.

tʻatʻą′kiyo′take from *tʻatʻą′ka* buffalo bull, *’i′yotaka* he sits;—*matʻo′sap-’i′c’iya* from *matʻo′* bear; *sa′pa* black, with loss of terminal *a*, *’ic’iya* he causes himself to be

Terminal *a* and initial *i* are contracted: *cʻaki′yuȟuġe* fishhook (*cʻaka′* palate, *’iyu′ȟuġa* to break into by means of).

In verbs with locative prefix *’a* on (see p. 39 et seq.) or instrumental prefixes *wa*, *na*, *pa*, *ka* (see p. 45 et seq.) *a* and *i* are not contracted.

’ai′ya to gossip about, *’iya′* to talk;—*wai′c’ihų* to gash oneself, *wahų′* to gash with a knife;—*’ai′le* to burn on;—*’ai′ȟpeya* to throw on;—*kai′yotak* making sit down (adverb);—*pai′le* to strike a light (to make burn by pushing)

3. Accented initial *e* is the result of contraction of the prefix *a*– and *’i′* to arrive going.

’e′watʻi arriving there I camped (compare *’akʻi′watʻi*, *’ahi′watʻi*.[11] By analogy the form derived from *i* to arrive there, would be *’ai′watʻi*);—*’e′yaya* to start from here with something (compare *’ahi′yaya*);—*’e′hųni* to arrive there taking it (compare *’ahi′hųni*);—*’e′napʻa* to take something outside (*’ina′pʻa* to go out; *’a* in verbs of motion: taking something along);—*’e′ȟpeya* to take there and leave there (compare *’ahi′ȟpeya* to bring here and leave, *’akʻi′ȟpeya* to take back there and leave);—*’e′tųwą* to look about over there (compare *’ahi′tųwą* to look over here)

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[8] Indefinite object; see p. 52.
[9] *tʻa* ruminant; see p. 71.
[10] See p. 133.
[11] See p. 96.

4. Accented initial *e* is also result of a contraction of *aki*. In dative forms (see p. 87) we have the homologous forms *waki* and *we′*, *yaki* and *ye′* with distinction of meaning.

'e′ktųża or *'aki′ktųża* he forgets about his own (*'aktų′ża* it is forgotten by him; neutral verb *'ama′ktųża* I forgot it);—*'e′cʻipʻapi* (Santee) they meet together (for *'aki′cʻipʻapi* [12];—*'e′cʻiyuptapi* (Santee) they answer each other, *'aki′cʻiyuptapi* (Teton);—*'e′cʻinakṡįpi* (Santee) to stand up for each other; *'ana′kicʻikṡįpi* (Teton). If in Santee the order were *'aki′nacʻikṡįpi* this would explain the form in *e*

5. *a* and *į* are contracted in nouns to accented *į*; not in verbs.

Nouns:

pʻį′kpa tip (*pʻa′* head, *'į′kpa* end);—*kį′skokeca* that size (*ka′* that, *'į′skokeca* as large as)
The following may possibly be due to contractions: *tʻį′ta* open fields;—*hį′ta* basswood

Verbs:

paį′yąkapi they cause to run by pushing;—*paį′ca* to move a bit by pushing

6. *ą* and *i*>*į*.

cʻį′kpa<*cʻą-'į′kpa* tree top;—*cʻį′coġa*<*cʻą-'i′cog.a* drift log (*i′cog.a* to gather against);—*cʻį′cakįze*<*cʻą-'i-ka-kį′za* wood by striking against squeak (=Arapaho);—*ptesį′yotake*<*pte-są′-'i′yotaka* albino cow sitting (name)

7. and 11. *ą* and *o*>*ų*.

ḣ'ų′kpani (*ḣ'ą-'okpa′ni*) to be unable to act;—*cʻų′kaṡke* fence (*'oka′ṡka* to tie into);—*cʻų′ṡoke* dense woods (*o* in, *ṡo′ka* thick);—*cʻų′tʻeḣika* very dense forest (*'otʻe′ḣika* difficult in);—*cʻų′wąca* woods all over (*'o′wąca*);—*cʻų′k'į* a load of firewood (*cʻą-o-k'į* wood in to carry on back)

8. *a* and *o* contract to accented *o′*.

Nouns:

wo′waṡte benefit (*'owa′ṡte* it is beneficial);—*wo′slohela* from *wao′yusloħą* to drag in (the paths of mice) (*'oma′sloħą* I slide down; *la* diminutive);—*pʻo′wiwila* fontanelle, (*pʻa* head, *'owi′wila* soft inside);—*pʻo′ṡtą* beaded baby carrier (*pʻa* head, *'o′ṡtą* to fit over);—*cʻeṡko′ḣloka* pit in shoulder above clavicle (*cʻeṡka′* chest, *'oḣlo′ka* hole);—*'iṡko′naġi* black spot inside horse's hoof (*'iṡka′* ankle, *o* in, *naġi′* ghost); [13]—*wo′aiye* gossip;—*wakpo′pʻaya* along a river (*wakpa′ 'o-pʻa′ya*);—*maḣpi′yoḣ'ą′kʻo* (*maḣpi′ya* cloud, *'oḣ'ą′kʻo* fast) a name;—*tʻųki′skowį′* (*tʻųki′* shell, *ska* white, *'owį′* to wear as earrings) a name

Verbs:

wo′yaka to tell something (*'oya′ka* to relate);—*wo′cʻį* to beg (*o* in, *cʻį* to desire, want);—*wo′le* to look for something (*'ole′* to look for);—*wo′pʻetʻų* to shop (*'opʻe′tʻų* to buy);—*'o′g.lutʻa* to surround (<*'ao′g.lutʻa*)

See also page 132, contraction of possessive *tʻa*.

Examples of uncontracted locatives *a* and *o* (p. 44).

'ao′kaġa to exaggerate;—*'ao′hom.ni* to go around, to encircle

9. Terminal *e* and initial *o* contract to *o*, terminal *e* and initial *į* to *į*, terminal *e* and initial *ų* to *ų*. It may be that *e* is rather elided.

cʻąto′yuze disposition (*cʻąte′* heart, *'oyu′ze* condition of holding);—*cʻąto′g.naka* to cherish;—*cʻąto′ġe* pericardium (*'o′ġe* cover);—*nų′ġoḣ.loka* orifice of ear (*nų′ġe* ear, *'oḣlo′ka* hole);—*ḣo′ṡki* Bad Lands (*ḣe* mountain, *'o′ṡki* rough, ruffled);—*ḣo′puza* desert (*ḣe* mountain, *o* in, *pu′za* dry);—*'ito′ma′ġażu* Rain-in-Face (name) (*'ite′-o-maġa′żu*);—*tʻato′mani* Roaming-Wind (name) (*tʻate′-'oma′ni*);—*ḣų′naptąyą* hill side (*ḣe-'ųnaptąyą*):—*ḣį′kpa* brow of hill (*ḣe-'į′kpa*)

10. *o* and *o* contract to accented *o*. (See also p. 44.)

'o′hcnųpa Two Kettle Sioux (*'o-ohą′-nų′pa*);—*'o′hiye* length of a row in a series of parallel rows, strings of beads

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[12] In Teton this would mean "they strike each other."

[13] Perhaps misunderstood etymology, for *'is′ko′nuġe* ankle gnarl.

12. Initial *o-i* often contract to *ų*.

'oi′hąketa at the end of a long thing, *'ų′hąkcta* finally, at last (Yankton);—*'oi′g.lake* the moving of camp, *'ų′hdaka* (Santee);—*'oi′c'ikpani* to fail oneself (*'oki′kpani* to have no energy), *'ų′cikpani* to be indolent;—*'oi′c'ihi* to be prosperous, successful (*'oki′hi* to be able, for oneself), *'ų′cihi* to be active, industrious (generally used negatively, to be lazy);—*'oi′yanica* to be delayed, *'oe′cʻųnica* to be without power to act, *'ų′c'ųnica* to be dumfounded, without power to act

The last three show peculiar changes of *c*'. (See §131, p. 101.) In the last example the contraction is apparently from *oe* to *ų*.

13. *o* and *į* contract to *ų*.

hų′kpa<*ho-'į′kpa* camp circle ends

14. *i* and *i* contract to *i*.

'i′kpatą<*'ii′kpatą* to brace oneself against;—*'i′cakʻap*<*'ii′cakʻap* placing by striking against;—*'i′yahą*<*'ii′yahą* to erect on by means of against

15. In a number of cases *wa-yu* (see p. 53) is contracted to *wo′*, but almost always with a special meaning.

wo′ġa to husk corn, *wo′waġa*, *wo′yaġa*, first and second persons
but *wayu′ġa* to separate from its covering (except corn), *wab.lu′ġa*, *walu′ġa* first and second persons

wo′b.lcca to unpack things belonging to another person, either for stealing or for finding what valuables they possess with a view of asking for them at some opportune time, *wo′wab.leca* first person
but *wayu′b.leca* to scatter or break up anything else, *wab.lu′b.leca* first person

wo′ze always refers to the *heyo′kʻa* and means the *heyo′kʻa* takes food out of boiling water
but *wayu′ze* to take out of a liquid under ordinary circumstances

wo′ṡna to sacrifice, *wo′wašna* first person
but *wayu′ṡna* to drop out of hand under ordinary circumstances

wo′ȟpa to buy a wife, literally to pull things down; i. e., the goods offered from the back of the horse, to be accepted or rejected by the girl's father
but *wayu′ȟpa* to pull down under ordinary circumstances

wo′tʻątʻą to feel about (obscene meaning) *wo′wat′ątʻą* first person
wayu′tʻątʻą to feel about (as in the dark) for something

wo′ha to carry things
but *wayu′ha* to have things

A number of verbs have in the first and second persons the ordinary forms.

wo′kpą to grind (as coffee), *wab.lu′kpą*, *walu′kpą*;—*wo′ksa* to cut things, *wab.lu′ksa*, *walu′ksa*;—*wo′pta* to cut skin, goods into patterns, *wab.lu′pta*, *walu′pta*

Sometimes both forms are used.

wo′ṡpi to pick berries, (first person) *wo′waṡpi*, not so often *wab.lu′ṡpi*;—*wo′ża* and *wayu′ża* to cook mush, are both used

A number of these forms are used only adverbially (i. e., in combination with a following verb).

wo′cʻącʻą shaking things; *wayu′cʻącʻą* he shakes things;—*wo′ha* to have things, to carry things in the hand, also adverb;—*wo′ȟica*, *wo′ȟil* waking people (*wo′ȟica* also used as third person); *wayu′ȟica* he awakens people;—*wo′kcą* divining; also third person; also *wicʻa′ṡa-wo`kcą kį* the diviner;—*wayu′kcą* to investigate, appraise

Irregular is—

wo′ta to eat; *wawa′ta*, *waya′ta*, *waų′yuta* I, you, we two, eat;—*yu′ta* to eat it, forms *wa′ta*, *ya′ta*, *ųyu′ta* (*ųta* S) I, you, we two, eat it;—*wo′yute* food

16. *tʻa*+*wo*>*tʻo′*.

tʻo′waštc his goodness (*wo′wašte* goodness);—*tʻo′ksape* his wisdom (*wo′ksape* wisdom)

17. *i*+*hą*>*hį′*.

hįske′<*hi-hąska* long teeth (=canine teeth)

18. *o+hą>ų.*

tų'wel, tohą'el once upon a time

19. Terminal *a* when changeable is contracted with *ye* closing the sentence to *e*. (See p. 109.)

yau'kte<yau'kta ye you will come 131.5
'u'kta śk‘e' lo'<'u'kta śk‘a' ye lo' it is said he will come 12.3

In Santee of Prairie Island, Minn. *yau'kta ye'*, etc., remain uncontracted.

20. Terminal *i* of the plural *pi* is contracted with *ye* closing the sentence and in some imperative forms to *pe*. (See pp. 30, 109, 111.)

Terminal vowels of stems ending in *a* and *e*

Under certain conditions to be discussed later (pp. 29 et seq.) terminal *a* of cvc, cv, and cvccv verbs is changed to *e*. Verbs behave very irregularly in this respect; and while most stems change, a considerable number retain their *a;* terminal *e* of nouns may change to *a* (p. 34).

The ending *a* of cvc verbs and *a* and *e* of cvc nouns drop off under certain conditions. (See p. 34.)

§ 8. Glides

When *i* is followed by *a*, *o*, or *u* the glide *y* is introduced; when followed by *i* or the nasalized vowels *ą*, *į* or *ų* there is no glide.

niya'te thy father;—*m.ni'yaye* water carrier (*'a'ya* to go carrying);—*'iya'p‘a* to strike against;—*t‘iyo'kśą* around the house (*t‘iwo'kśą<t‘i-wa-'okśą* things lying about in the house);—*t‘iyo'ślola* cricket (*ślo* to chirp);—*'iyu't‘a* to try
'ių'śila to take pity on by means of;—*'ių'* to rub on;—*'i'ąpetu-hąkeˋyela* on the same day it happened;—*'ią'petu* the following day;—*k‘iį'yąka* to race against

Few exceptions to the general rule have been found.

'iya' to talk; reduplicated *'ia'a;*—*waa'iya* gossip;—*wio'wa* painted tipi; *t‘io'he* and *t‘iyo'he* tent site, are both used;—*napi'yų* with the hand only;—*ḣupi'yų* with wings only
'ot‘i'wota, Western Ogalala *'ot‘i'weta* old campsite, is of doubtful derivation; Santee forms are *'ot‘i'wota, 'ot‘ų'wita, 'ot‘i'wita;*—*t‘iwa'he* a household, compare *'ot‘ų'wahe* village (*t‘ųwą'pi* they form a village S)

i is followed by *i* without intervening glide.

'ii'cu instrument for taking;—*'im.ni'icu* instrument for taking water;—*wii'c‘uwa* love charm (*wi-i-k‘uwa* woman means of pursuing)
'ie'śni he does not talk, is used often instead of *'iye'śni* to avoid ambiguity, *'iye'śni* it is not he

Verbs with the prefix *i* preceded by another *i* form contractions. (See p. 9.)

o is rarely followed by a glide. No case has been found in which the prefix *o* is followed by a glide.

'oa'hec‘eca to be of improved health;—*wo'aiye* gossip;—*wo'ak‘inice* a thing in dispute;—*'oi'se* corner;—*'oo'* wound (place of hitting);—*'oo'yuspe-śiˋca* hard to catch;—*'oo'wa* design;—*'oo'henųpa* or *'o'henųpa* Two Kettle Sioux;—*'ou'ye* growth;—*'o'įkpa* tip, source of river;—*'oų'* amount of something used at one time;—*'oų'pa* to lay into (cradle);—*ho'uya;* to make voice come;—*hoi'c‘uwa* fishing tackle

Exceptions are:

'owi'hąke end;—*howo'kśą* around the camp circle (Yankton *hoo'kśą);*—*'owį'* earrings;—*g.lo'wį* to wear one's own, as a shawl;—*'owe't‘i* camping place;—*howa'sapa* catfish (=fish on surface black)

e seems to behave irregularly. There are not many examples.

hei'cak‘ą a louse comb;—*heyo'lela* monkey (little louse seeker);—*ḣewo'skątu* deserted place;—*ḣewa'kte* (a name, derivation?);—*ḣewa'ktokta* Arickaree Indians *u* followed by other vowels is treated by different individuals differently, but some words do not take a glide.

> *c'ąku'-'ag.la`g.la* along the road;—*t'ahu'-'okšą* around the neck;—*su-'o'tala* melon (little one many seeds);—*sua'ip'iyake* or *suwa'ip'iyake* cartridge belt;—*huwo'kaȟmi* inner side of knee joint;—*wahu'wapa* corn on ear;—*wahu'ataya* or *wahu'wataya* to cause oneself to be paralyzed (by fear)

ų followed by *e* takes the glide *w* in *tų'wel* (<*to'hą wą e'l*) once upon a time.

§§ 9–22. PHONETIC PROCESSES, CONSONANTS

§ 9. Effect of Nasalized Vowels

There is a strong tendency to anticipate nasalization.

b and *l* preceding a nasalized vowel become respectively *m* and *n*, the corresponding nasals.

Under certain conditions (see p. 29) *hįg.la* changes its terminal *a* to *į* and the word takes the form *hįg.nį*.

In the same way—

le-į'sko becomes *nį'sko* as large as this
wag.lį'kta becomes *wag.nį'kta*
b.lį'kta becomes *m.nį'kta* I shall go

Nasalized vowels have a peculiar influence upon preceding stops. In certain morphological forms a preceding *k* or *c* is glottalized, or a glottalized *c'* becomes medial. (See pp. 98, 100.)

§ 10. Effect of *o*, *u* and *ų* Upon Following *y*

Under a number of conditions *y* following the vowels *u*, *ų*, *o* changes to *w*.

1. In the imperative the endings *yo* and *ye* expressing order or permission on the part of a man, permission on the part of a woman, change to *wo* and *we*. (See p. 111.)

manų'wo' (man speaking) steal!
manų'we' (woman permitting)
hiyu'wo' (man speaking) start coming!
hiyu'we' (woman permitting)

The imperative, requesting form, which changes terminal *a* into *i* does not have the change from *y* to *w*, an indication that a suffix has been contracted with *a* to form *i*, while in the verbs ending in *u*, *ų*, *o* it has disappeared, although it has prevented the assimilation of the following *y*.

manų'ye' please, do steal it
hiyų'ye' please, do start coming

2. *ye'š* in spite of, becomes *we'š* after *u*, *ų*, *o*.

> *'ec'ų' weš yuštą' šni* in spite of the fact that he did it, he did not finish it;—*'icu' we'š 'ak'e' yušna'* in spite of the fact that he took it, he dropped it again

3. The syllable *ye* inserted before *lak'a* evidently (such and such happened), for (the reason that), and *šą* but, and yet, changes to *we* after *u*, *ų*, *o*.

> *p'o'welak'a* it must have been foggy, for—

4. The close of the sentence in *ye*, *ye lo*, *ye le* changes to *we*, *we lo*, *we le* after *u*, *ų*, *o*.

mağa'zuwe' it is raining
wakte'-ku we lo' he returns from killing

§ 11. Terminal Consonants of *cvc* Verbs

Verbs derived from stems of the type consonant vowel consonant end in a suffix *a*. Under certain conditions the *a* is lost. Then the terminal consonants undergo regular phonetic changes.

Only *p, t, c, k, z, ż,* and *ġ* are found in this position. *t* and *c* are changed to a weak, almost voiceless *l,* in Yankton to *d,* and in Santee to *n; p* and *k* lose in intensity and have very slight sonancy. There is merely a closure with a very slight escape of air. For instance:

sa'pa black, becomes *sap;* reduplicated *sapsa'pa*
ṡo'ka thick, becomes *ṡok;* reduplicated *ṡokṡo'ka*
ṡi'ca bad, becomes *ṡil*
ṡka'ta to play, becomes *ṡkal*

The terminal sonant spirants of the cvc stems are transformed into the corresponding voiceless spirants

yu'za to hold, becomes *yus*
ṡni'ża to be faded, becomes *ṡniṡ*
t'a'ġa to be rough, becomes *t'aḣ*

Stems ending in the stops *p, t, k* and the affricative *c,* when losing the terminal *a* increase their voicing, while those ending in the voiced spirants *z, ż, ġ* lose their voicing, an apparent contradiction. On account of the lack of differentiation in the shortened forms of stems ending in *t* and *c,* both of which take the form *l,* it seems that the forms with terminal *a* should be considered as more fundamental. If we should consider *z, ż,* and *ġ* as by origin medial surds, there would still remain the contradiction that in the shorter form they lose in voicing.

When these consonantic changes occur in compositions in which the second part of the compound begins with a vowel, the initial glottal closure brings about a noticeable break.

ṡkal-'o'mani he goes about to play, from *ṡka'ta* to play

In Yankton the weak initial glottalization is anticipated and very brief. Its release coincides so nearly with the terminal consonant that it becomes a sonant. There still remains a very weak break.

Teton	*Yankton*	
'ową'k-'ole	*'ową'g.ode*	to seek a campsite
wąya'k-'ipi	*wąyą'g.ipi*	they arrive there to see it
kaḣa'p 'iye'ya	*kaḣa'b.iye'ya*	he drove it off
yuḣla'l 'iye'ya	*yuḣda'd.iye'ya*	he scratched it

In Teton terminal *p* changes to *m* after nasalized vowels except when a nasalized vowel follows.

'iyo'yąpa it is light, *'iyo'yąm-ya* he makes it light
'i'sąp-'ųhi`yupi we came on past it

In Yankton the final *m* remains before nasalized vowels.

'oų'm 'ųyu'ṡtąpi we finished wrapping up (the baby)

In Yankton terminal *t* becomes *n* after nasalized vowels, and also before another nasalized vowel.

kahį'n 'iye'ya he swept it;—*kahį'n 'ųyu'ṡtąpi* we finished sweeping

Colloquially the terminal *i* of the plural *pi* is dropped. When it follows a nasalized vowel and preceding the future *kta, p* changes to a weak *ų* or a nasalized *w.*

he'c'i 'ųyą'w̨kte'<he'c'i 'ųyą'pikte' we will go there
he'c'i ya'wkte'<he'c'i ya'pikte' they will go there

In other cases, preceding a *k* the *p* is a mere closure of the lips without any release of breath. After a nasalized vowel it becomes either an unvoiced *m* or a nasalized *w.*

'eya'p k'c'yaṡ they said, but
'ec'ų'm k'e'yaṡ, or *'ec'ų'w̨ k'e'yaṡ* they did so, but

§ 12. Compounds

In stereotyped compounds of stems ending in a consonant followed by a word beginning with a vowel the initial weak glottal stop of the second word is liable to disappear and the two words form a firm unit. These forms occur when a stem of the type cvc is followed immediately by another with initial vowel. Generally these are compounds of noun and verb. Examples are:

napo'ktą bracelet (*nap-* hand, *o-* in, and *-ktą* to be bent);—*napo'ilekiyapi* fluffy seed hair used as tinder with fire drill or for cauterizing (*nap-* hand, *o-* in, *'ile'* to burn, *-kiya* to make one's own, *-pi* plural);—*nopo'cʻokoya* second finger;—*nopo'g.na* handful (*nap- 'og.na'* in);—*napi'yų* by the hand only, without tools (*nap-* hand, *-i* by means of, *y* glide, *ų* to use);—*napo'kaṡke* wrist (*nap-* , *o-* in , *ka* instrumental, *ṡka* to be tied);—*napo'yaṡpuyaya* the hand itches (*o-* in; *yaṡpu'yaya* to itch);—*hąpi'ṡka* ankle piece of moccasin (*hąp-* moccasin, *iṡka'hu* ankle bone);—*hą'papʻa'-'ecʻų`pi* moccasin game (here *hąp-* and *'apʻa'* to strike retain their accents, *'ecʻų'* to do, *-pi* plural);—*hąpo'kıhą* to put on moccasins (*hąp-*, *o-* in, *ki-* own, *hą* to stand);—*ḣupi'yų* only by the wings (*ḣup-* wing, *i-* by means of, *y* glide *'ų* to use);—*loli'ḣ'ą* to work food; i. e., to cook (*lot-* food *i-* in reference to, *ḣ'ą* to act);—*loli'pʻilo* to deny food to someone (*lot -'ipʻi'la* to deny);—*pʻeli'cag.la* by the fireside (*pʻet* fire, *'ica'g.la* by the side of);—*pʻeli'icu* fireshovel (*'ii'cu* means of taking);—*tʻotʻą'kiyo'take* Sitting Bull (name) (*tʻatʻą'k-* buffalo bull, *'i'yotaka* to sit), (in another name *tʻatʻą'k-'ehą`ni* Ancient Bull, there is no fusion);—*makʻo'b.laye* flat land;—*makʻi'naṡpe* spade (*-ṡpa* to be broken off);—*wali'topʻe* oars (*wat-* boat, *i-* instrument, *'opʻa'* to follow[14];—*tʻapi'yukʻape* implement for catching ball (*tʻap* ball, *i*-instrument *yukʻa'pa* to catch);—*ṡųgi'yopʻcyapi* they exchanged it for a horse (Yankton) (*ṡųk-* horse, *'iyo'pʻeya* to barter, exchange);—*ṡųgo'nażį* barn (Yankton), *ṡųk-'o'nażį* (Teton)

Very few cases have been found in which the first part is a verb.

ṡkoli'cakiṡya suffering for want of play, but more commonly *ṡkol-'i'cakiṡya*

§ 13. Doubled Consonants

When in consequence of the terminal change *p* comes into contact with a following *p* or *pʻ*; or *k* with a following *k*, *kʻ* or *k'*; *s*, *ṡ*, *ḣ* with following *s*, *ṡ*, *ḣ*, the consonant becomes long. There is no release of the first sound. The stop or spirant is held. When followed by a medial, the stop is long; when followed by an aspirate the stop is held and followed by the aspiration, when followed by a glottalized *k* the glottalization begins in the middle of the stop.

hąp·a'hi (<*hą'p-pahi'*) to collect moccasins;—*hąp·ʻa'ḣta* (<*hą'p-pʻaḣta'*) to tie moccasins in a bundle;—*cʻap·ʻa'ta* (<*cʻap-pʻata'*) to butcher beavers;—*ṡųk·a'ṡtaka* (<*ṡųk-koṡta'ka*) to whip a horse;—*'i'yotak·ʻi'ya* (<*'i'yotak-kʻiyo*) to make sit down;—*tʻok·'u'* to give over a (captive) enemy of somebody;—*'owį'ṡi* he orders him to spread the quilts

§§ 14–18. Relations Between the *k* and *c* Series.

§ 14. comparative notes

There is clear evidence in Teton and in all the other Dakota dialects of a tendency to a forward movement of *k* after the vowels *e*, *i*, *į*. This results in a change of *k*, *kʻ*, *k'*, to *c*, *cʻ*, *c'*. A comparison of verbs ending in *ka* and *ca* in Dakota and other dialects is proof of this tendency.

	Teton	Mandan	Winnebago	Osage
to be stiff and hard	*sa'ka*	*sak*	——	——
badger	*ḣoka'*	——	*ġokʻ*	*ḣo'ga*
ground	*makʻa'*	*ma'ka*	*mą*	*mųį'k'a*
to be thick	*ṡo'ka*	——	*ṡoga*	*ṡoga'*
to be new	*tʻe'ca*	——	*cʻckʻ*	*tse'ga*
to snort	*ġį'ca*	——	*ġocʻ*	——
to be bad	*ṡi'ca*	*ḣika*	*ṡi'ṡikʻ*	——
to be squeezed out	*-ṡkica*	*skįka*	——	——
elastic	*zikzi'ca*	*cį'kcįk*	——	——
to sniffle	*żį'kżįca*	*icį'kcika*	*horazį'zįk*	——
to be without	*wani'ca*	*ma·'mika*	——	——
beans	*'om.ni'ca*	*o'minik*	*hųnįk*	——

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[14] The derivation is not clear

In Teton *ce′ka* to stagger and *ci′k’a*(*la*) small are two of the few stems that retain *k* after *e* or *i*.

In nouns also the ending *ca* and *cʻa* are preceded by *e* or *i*, except in *naca′* chief of a war party, *tʻącʻą′* body, while *ka* and *kʻa* are preceded by *a*, *ą*, *o*, *u*, *ų*.

cvc verbs beginning with a dental or alveolar consonant and ending in *c* reduplicate in Dakota so that the reduplicated syllable ends in *k;* not in *l* as might be expected.[15]

> *ṡe′ca* to be dry (like wood, hay), reduplicated *ṡckṡe′ca*
> *ṡi′ca* to be bad, reduplicated *ṡikṡi′ca*

perhaps an indication that *c* is derived from an older *k*. (See p. 36.)

§ 15. INFLUENCE OF *a* CHANGED TO *e* UPON *k* SOUNDS

In all those cases in which a terminal *a* changes to *e* (see p. 29), excepting instrumental nouns (see p. 43), the following *kį*, *k’ų*, *kįhą*, *k’ųhą′*, (*k’ehą′* Yankton), *k’eṡ*, *k’e′yaṡ*, *ka* change their *k* to the corresponding *c*.

Nomina actoris are all relative clauses, and require after a verb changing *a* to *e* the change of the *k* sound of the following particle. Instrumental and locative nouns (see pp. 43, 125) change *a* of the verb to nominal *e* and do not affect the following *k* sound.

> *’ica′ġe kį* the instrument (*ka′ġa* to make), *waka′ġe cį he′* the maker;—*wi′yutʻe kį* the measure (*iyu′tʻa* to test), *wi′yutʻe cį he′* he who measures or tests;—*wi′cʻapʻe kį* the fork (*cʻapʻa′* to stab); *wacʻa′pʻe cį he′* the stabber;—*’oyų′ke* bed;—*’ową′yake* sight

§ 16. *k* IN NEUTRAL AND ACTIVE VERBS

The fundamental distinction between neutral and active verbs appears also in the treatment of *k*. Riggs has already pointed out (p. 8, No. 7c) that neutral verbs never change initial *k*, *kʻ*, *k’*, to *c*, *cʻ*, *c’*. This does not even happen when neutral verbs are transitivised by instrumental prefixes.

> *kʻa′ta* he is warm, *nikʻa′ta* you are warm, *nai′c’ikʻata* he makes himself warm by walking (*na-* with the feet);—*kį′za* he squeaks, *nikį′za* you squeak, *nani′kįza* he makes you squeak by kicking you;—*-kʻį′ta* to be scraped off, *nani′kʻįta* he scrapes (mud) off you with the foot;—*k’o* confusion, *ini′k’opi* there is confusion on thy account

Active intransitive verbs do not change initial *k*, *kʻ*, *k’*.

> *kįyą′* to fly;—*ku′* to come home;—*kʻi′* to return there;—*cʻapʻe′-ku* he comes home from stabbing

In active transitive verbs the initial *k*, *kʻ*, *k’*, changes to *c*, *cʻ*, *c’* after all pronouns ending in *i*, as *ni* thee, *ic’i* one’s self, *ki* to, *icʻi* mutually, *kici* for him, *cʻi* I-thee.

> *kʻa′* to mean, *nicʻa′* he means thee;—*k’u′* to give, *nic’u′* he gives it to thee[16];—*k’į′* to carry on back, *ni′c’į* he carries thee on his back[17];—*kilo′wą* he sings to another one, *nici′lową* he sings to thee

Exceptions are:

> *kų′* to covet; *wakų′* I covet; *nikų′* he covets thee; and the dependent verbs *kʻo′* to prophesy, *t’eni′kʻo* he prophesies your death; *-kapį* to be reluctant to, and *kų′za* to pretend.[18] They behave like all combinations of two verbs in which the subordinate verb expresses a purpose, and changes its *a* to *e*. In this case the following *k* does not change; *cʻapʻcʻkʻiya* he makes him stab it

In reduplicated forms the second, reduplicated syllable retains the *c* form regardless of the preceding sound.

> *wicʻa′kicaȟcaȟ ’iye′ya* quickly he made it for them (from *ka′ġa* to make);—*nape′ ki′coscoza* he waved his hand to him (from *ko′za*)

Verbs with initial *k*, *kʻ*, *k’* except those with fixed initial *ki* change in their possessive forms, but retain *k*, *kʻ*, *k’* in dative forms; *kicʻu′wa* he pursues his own; *kikʻu′wa* he pursues for him. (See p. 87.)

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[15] The forms without terminal vowel change their *c* to *l* in Teton, to *n* in the eastern Dakota dialects. *ṡilya′* badly, Santee *ṡinya′*;—*żica′* rich, *żilya′* to cause to be rich, Santee *żinya′*.

[16] Second person direct object is expressed by *wicʻa′nic’u* you are given away (lit. he gives thee to them; only in marriage). First person direct object is formed in the same way.

[17] *k’į* he carries an inanimate object; *ki′c’į* he carries an animate being.

[18] But *kų′za* to decree, changes *k* to *c*.

§ 17. INFLUENCE OF PREFIX *i*

Nouns with the prefix *i-* which express instruments change *k* to *c*. (See examples p. 43.)

An exception is *’ik‘ą’* handle, holding or tying strings, derived from *k‘ą* sinew.

The verbal prefix *i-* on account of, by means of, as a result of, to, for, against, does not affect the following *k*, *k‘*, or *k’*, excepting however the instrumental prefix *ka-*.

> *’iki'yut‘a* to measure, try for another without his sanction;—*’iki'pą* to call out an invitation on account of some delicacy to be offered;—*’iki'ų* to anoint with one’s own, as with an ointment;—(Santee *’ini'c‘ipażį* he opposes thee on account of; *’ik‘i'pażį* to oppose someone on account of) in Teton more often *’ų' k‘ipa'żį*;—*’ik‘i'nicapi* they tear it apart to nothing;—*’ik‘i'yuksa* to be cut by something (as thorn, etc.);—*’ik‘o'p‘a* to fear for somebody;—*’ik‘u'ṡe* the way is blocked (also *’ini'k‘uṡe* your way is obstructed, because neutral);—*’ik‘o'yaka* to be fastened to (*’ini'k‘oyaka* you are fastened, because neutral)

All nouns derived from verbs with initial dative *ki* retain their *k: wii'kiżo* flageolet (*wi* woman, *kiżo'* to whistle for someone;—*’iki'c‘ize* weapon (*k‘i'za* to fight, *kic‘i'zapi* they fight each other);—*pte-i'kic‘o* means of calling buffaloes.

The prefix *k‘i* when expressing “into two parts” (see p. 80) does not change after pronominal *i*.

> *’oni'k‘iżata* your (tongue, etc.) is split (neutral);—*’ini'k‘inicapi* they tear you apart (active)

When expressing the idea of mutual contact it changes after pronominal *i*, but not after *a* changed to *e* (see p. 80).

> *wak‘i'į* I pelt him, *nic‘i'į* he pelts thee;—*wak‘i'kṡą* I wrestle with someone, *nic‘i'kṡą* he wrestles with thee;—*’ok‘i'ya* he courts her, *’oni'c‘iya* he courts thee;—*nuwe'-k‘ipażį* he contends against him in (a) swimming (contest);—*’i'c‘ik‘iyela* near each other

To this group belongs the dependent verb *-k‘iya* (from *-ya* to cause) to cause someone to do something. It does not change after an *a* changed to *e*, but changes to *c‘iya* after pronouns ending in *i*.

> *tųwe'k‘iya* he made him see;—*tųwe'nic‘iya* he made thee see (*ni* thee)
> *’eye'k‘iya* he made him say it;—*’cye'nic‘iya* he made thee say it
> *yek‘i'ya* he sends him, *yec‘i'ya* I send you, *yec‘i'c‘iya* I send it to you (*c‘i* I-thee)

The prefix *ka-* changes after prefixed *i*.

> *’ica'ȟci* to break through by means of;—*’ica'ȟlaya* to peel off by means of;—*’ica'k‘oka* to make a noise by striking against;—*’ica'b.laska* to flatten by means of;—*’ica't’įza* to make firm by means of;—*’ica'm.na* to earn by means of; (also: it snows)

The prefix *i-* of local adverbs which expresses reference to a particular place does not change the following *k*.

> *k‘iye'la* near, *’ik‘i'yela* near to;—*k‘ąye'la* near, *’ik‘ą'yela* near to[19];—*k‘oka'p*[20] in front, *’ik‘o'kap* in front of;—*k‘ap‘e'ya* exceeding, *’ik‘a'p‘eya* exceeding by;—*ka'k‘iya* yonder,[21] *’i'kak‘iyatąhą* on that side of;—*kak‘i'yot‘ą*[21] in that direction, *’i'kak‘iyot‘ą* in that direction from;—*kaȟe'yata*[21] towards the rear, *’i'kaȟeyata* towards the rear of;—*kaa'k‘owap‘a*[22] a little farther away, *’i'kaak‘owap‘a* a little farther away from;—*kak‘i'yela* a little nearer, *’i'kak‘iyela* a little nearer than;—*kat‘o'katakiya* somewhat towards the front, *’i'kat‘okatakiya* somewhat towards the front of;—*kahu'k‘ul* somewhat downward through the air, *’i'kahuk‘ul* somewhat downward from;—*kaa'iyoȟpeya* somewhat downhill, *’i'kaaiyoȟpeya* slightly downhill from;—*’i'kawąkal* somewhat upward in the air from it;—*kahe'piya* somewhat uphill, *’i'kahepiya* somewhat uphill from;—*kag.la'kįyą* in a horizontal plane, *’i'kag.lakįyą* in a horizontal plane from;—*kao'ȟmiyą* somewhat out of line, *’i'kaoȟmiyą* somewhat out of line from

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[19] Synonym of *k‘iye'la*; but *ik‘ą'ye* in front of, in the open.

[20] Perhaps originally *t‘oka'p* in front of; *t‘oka'ta* towards the front; *t‘oka'heya* first (in time or space).

[21] *ka* demonstrative.

[22] In this and the following examples *ka-* means “forced”. (See p. 47.)

§ 18. INFLUENCE OF THE DEMONSTRATIVES *e*, *le*, *he*

The demonstrative pronouns *le* this near me, *he* that near you, and the generalized demonstrative *'e* require the change of the following *k* sounds.

> *ka'k‘a* that kind, *le'c‘a* this kind;—*to'k‘eca* what it is like; *he'c‘eca* like that; *'ec‘e'ca* to be like it;—*ka'k‘el* in that manner, *le'c‘el* in this manner; *'ec‘e'l* in the right way;—*to'k‘elya* in some way, *he'c‘elya* in that way; *'ec‘e'lya* in the right manner,—*ka'k‘etu* it is thus, *le'c‘etu* it is this way; *'ec‘e'tu* it is right so;—*ka'k‘i* over there (definite place), *le'c‘i* over here;—*ka'k‘iya* over there (indefinite place), *le'c‘iya* towards here;—*to'k‘etkiya* which way, *he'c‘etkiya* that way;—*ka'k‘iyatą* that side, *le'c‘iyatą* on this side; *'ec‘i'yatą* from the side mentioned before;—*ka'k‘iyatąhą* from that place or on that side, *le'c‘iyatąhą* from this place or on this side; *'ec‘i'yatąhą* from the place or on the side already mentioned;—*kak‘i'yot‘ą* towards that way, *lcc‘i'yot‘ą* in this direction; *'ec‘i'yot‘ą* in the aforesaid direction;—*ka'k‘ų* he does that, *le'c‘ų* he does this, *'ec‘ų'* he does it

§ 19. PECULARITIES OF WESTERN DIALECTS

In the most western Teton dialects the glottalized *k'* tends to disappear and only the glottal stop remains. In the same dialects *sl* becomes a sonant affricative *tl*.

§ 20. RELATIONS BETWEEN *z*, *s*; *ż*, *ṡ*, AND *ġ*, *ḣ*

The vocabulary of Dakota shows clear evidence of an ancient sound symbolism. It is not a live process but it may be illustrated by many examples. The three groups *z*, *s*; *ż*, *ṡ*; and *ġ*, *ḣ* indicate three stages of intensity. Following is a list of words illustrating the relations between these sounds.

CVC *verbs*[23a]

–*waza* surface is temporarily disturbed (like result of a horse pawing the ground);—*baza* (S)
–*waża* it is permanently disturbed, lawless; *waża'że* a band of the Ogalala; *wo'żapi* a stew made of many ingredients stirred up;— –*baża* it is disturbed (S)
–*baġa* it is twisted (S), crumbled (T)

–*wįża* it is bent without breaking, as an elastic twig; *ma'za-wįṡwį`żahela* pliable iron wire
–*wįġa* it is bent in a sharp angle

–*b.laza* it is torn in one straight line
–*b.laża* it is forced apart so as to produce a strain; p. e., to spread the legs of a person apart. Compare (–)*żaka* it is spread apart, *iṡta'ża'ka* he is pop-eyed, has a strain in the corners of the eyes
–*b.laġa* it spreads out in all directions
b.laḣ'a' it is shaped somewhat spherically (basket, kettle, stout person). Doubtful whether belonging to this series

–*paza* it has a thin-skinned blister (or –*pąza*)
–*paża* it has a thick-skinned blister (or –*pąża*)

(–)*pi'za* it squeaks (as a mouse; the noise of small bubbles in boiling grease)
(–)*pi'ża* it is soft and wrinkled
**pi'ġa* it is in the state of forceful bubbling
(*piḣ'a*); *mat‘a'piḣ'a* or *mak‘a'piḣ'a* toad; also used to describe the Badlands; perhaps meaning "rough wrinkled as by forceful boiling"

(–)*ptu'za* it is bent forward (T S Y)
–*ptuża* small pieces are cracked off an object without being broken off
–*ptuġa* small pieces are cracked off an object so that they fall off
wo'ptuḣ'a crumbs, scraps

(–)*p‘ą'ża* it is porous and soft (like cotton, hay)
**p‘ą'ġa* it is porous and hard, pithy (*p‘aġi'* wild artichoke)

–*m.niża* it is curled, contracted, wrinkled, but so that it can be smoothed again
–*m.niġa* it is shrunk permanently

–*m.nuza* it gives a crunching sound, as snow or something easily broken
–*m.nuża* the same with more resistance
–*m.nuġa* the same for hard objects, shells, bone, eggshells, corn as chewed by horses
wam.nu'ḣ'a thin shells for decorating clothing. (See **nuza*)

[23a] Words with required prefix, indicated by prefixed –, are given without accent because the accent depends upon the number of syllables of the required prefixes. Those with permissive prefix, indicated by prefixed (–), are given accent indicating the accent of the word without prefix. Those which cannot be used with prefixes, indicated by *, are given with accent.

(–)*t'a′ża* water has waves
–*t'ağa* water is churned up so as to form foam (*t'ağe′* saliva)

(–)*t'į′za* it is solid, hard, compact
**t'į′ğa* to strain body.

(–)*sa′pa* it is black
(–)*śa′pa* it is soiled

–*sota* it is used up (T Y); (–)*so′ta* it is clear, it is empty so that container is clean (S)
**śo′ta* it is hazy, smoky, muddy
**ȟo′ta* it is grey

–*suza* it has a slight bruise, a single crack in a bone
–*śuża* it is badly bruised, flesh and bone are crushed together
–*ȟuğa* a hard round shell (egg, skull) is fractured

–*sleca* small things easily split are split; meat, bread is sliced
–*śleca* a bone, board, log is split
–*ȟleca* it is split, rent, with emphasis on the sound produced (skin, fabrics)

–*śloka* it is taken out (a wad, cork)
(–)*ȟlo′ka* a hole is broken into something

–*sluta* a long thing is in the state of sliding through a narrow opening
–*śluta* the same for wet things, to be slippery, on a slippery surface

(–)*sta′ka* he is listless, generally owing to causes beyond one's control; *kasta′ka* to pour out mud
–*śtaka* it is jellylike; *waśta′kyapi* jelly, something caused to be jellylike

(–)*sni′za* it is in the state of collapsing owing to a small leak
**śni′ża* it is wilted, withered, like plants or a paralyzed limb
p'eśni′ża sparks (*p'e′ta* fire)
p'eȟni′ğa it is red hot, quivering with heat
kaȟni′ğa to choose

–*skapa* it is in the condition resulting from a forcible slap, surface against surface
–*śkapa* the same, one or both surfaces being wet

(–)*ske′pa* liquid is draining out
–*śkepa* the same with emphasis on wetness

–*skica* it is tightly compressed (hay, etc., by a heavy weight)
–*śkica* moisture is being pressed out

–*zapa* it is in the state of being ripped off easily (like skin of a chicken)
–*ğapa* the same, but ripped off with difficulty (these two are not clearly distinct as to degree; used idiomatically for various objects)

(–)*ża′ta* it is forked, pronged; spread apart; used for a division into two parts only
(–)*ğa′ta* it is branching with many angles

**zi′pa* very thin, almost transparent, only as **zizi′pela*
–*żipa* thin layers are shaved off

izu′za a smooth whetstone (see *zuze′ca* snake, somewhat rough?) Western T *įzu′za*
iğu′ğa rough sandstone

kazu′kzuka liquid hangs like mucus, saliva drivels, nose is running,
yuğu′ka to stretch, elongate

**nu′za* it is soft and movable, like an enlarged gland under the skin
**nu′ża* the same, but harder, like cartilage
**nu′ğa* hard, like callus on a bone, a gnarl on a tree (see —*m.nuza*)

(–)*g.le′za* striped with narrow, indistinct lines (like a gray cat); compare *gweza* rippled, ridged
(–)*g.le′ğa* striped with wide, strongly contrasting colors, as in *g.leg.le′ğa* eyes with strongly contrasting white cornea and dark iris; *śina′-g.leg.le`ğa* Navaho blanket, a Navaho
(–)*kį′za* a single high-pitched tone sounds
(–)*kį′ża* the same with several such tones blending; to moan; a child is wailing

(–)*ksi′za* it is bent near the end; an ankle is sprained; figuratively, he is a crank, he is mean
–*kśiża* it bends on a joint, as the elbow, a penknife, folding doors

–*k'eza* hard objects are in contact, it is in a scratched condition; it is polished
–*k'eğa* it is in a scraped condition

(–)*k'o′za* a surface is smooth, like ground trampled down, closely woven fabric
–*k'oğa* the outer layer of hard material is scraped off

CV *verbs*

–*spa* a thin sheet is dented
–*ṡpa* something soft, easy to break, like dough, clay, is broken

**spą′* (snow) is wet; *spą′ s’e* dark complexioned
**ṡpą′* it is "burnt" by heat or cold (cooked meat, frozen limbs)
(–)*ḣpą′* it is soaked

(–) *swu′* it is in fine parts (sand, pebbles)
–*ṡpu* flat parts are coming off from a surface
–*ḣpu* it is knocked off (pitch, scabs, etc.)
ḣpuḣpu′ dandruff, scabs

’o′smaka hollow (-*ka* rather)
(–)*ṡma′* deep (as snow, water, weeds)

–*smi* to be trimmed off (trees of branches, meat from bones)
ṡmiṡmi′ s’e it is as though it were bare

**sla′* it is greasy, oily
(–)*ṡla′* it is bare, sleek
–*ḣlaya* it has a layer removed; *naḣla′ya* to peel of its own accord

(–)*sli′* water or a thin liquid is in the state of being squeezed out; *sli′-hį̨g.la* sound of a distant high-pitched clap
(–)*ṡli′* thick, semiliquid matter is in the state of being squeezed out; *ṡliye′la* sound of trickling water
(–)*ḣli′* it is muddy material; *ḣliḣli′la* mud

’oslo′hą it is in a sliding condition; *’osdo′hą* to slide (S)
’oṡdo′kahą it comes off S; *’oṡlo′kahą* it slips out of position

waṡte′ good
waḣte′ṡni bad (lit. not good)

’į′sko as big as it
’į′ṡkola as small as it (-*la* diminutive)

(–)*sku′* a tightly adhering skin (apple) is peeling off; *skum.na′* it smells musty
(–)*ṡku′* kernels of ripe corn are in the state of coming off; *ṡkum.na′* it smells fermented, sour

yus’e′ it drips involuntarily, as urine
(–)*ṡ’e′* drops are dripping
ḣ’eḣ’e′ little pieces are dangling down, ragged

ze′zeya dangling (adv.); *yuze′* to fish out of a liquid
’apʻa′żeżeya right on the edge, almost toppling over (adv.)
ġe′ġeya dangling as a bundle (adv.); *kaġe′* to draw together in a heap

zi′ it is yellow
żi′ it is tawny
ġi′ it is brown

(–)*b.laska′* flat and hard (board, stone)
**b.laṡka′* flat and flabby

’ųzį′tka musk bag (referring to its round form)
’ųżį′żįtka rose (referring to its many round fruits in masses)

When petting children it is customary to pronounce instead of *s* and *z*, the corresponding *ṡ* and *ż*, but with half-closed teeth.

§ 21. RELATIONS BETWEEN VOWELS

The vowels *e* and *o* vary. At present several words are used by some people with *e*, by others with *o*.

tʻiyo′pa and *tʻiye′pa* doorway;—*’otʻi′wota* and *’otʻi′weta* abandoned campsite;—*b.lota′hųka* and *b.lote′hųka* war chief (*mdota′hųka* and *mdeta′hųka*, S);—*kʻekto′pawįġe* and *kʻokto′pawįġe* one thousand.

In other cases there is a variation in meaning.

ġo′pa to snore, *ġe′pa* to pant (generally adverbial *ġepye′la*, but also *ġe′pahą* continuative);— –*k’oġa* to scrape off a surface layer, –*k’eġa* to scratch without injuring surface;— (–)*k’o′za* to be hard and firm, like soil stamped down, closely woven, smooth fabrics, –*k’eza* to be even with, flush (*’i′yak’esyela kaṡla′* he has a close haircut);—(–)*ḣlo′ka* to have a hole, –*ḣleca* to be torn

In other words the relation of meanings is not so evident (–)*ṡko′pa* to be bent in a gentle curve, *kaṡke′pa* to sweep out wetness with a wide, sweeping movement.

There is another series of vocalic stages, *i*, *u*, *e*, *a*, which appears in a number of words.

–*kpi* it is the sound of small crackling objects
kpe′ it is a somewhat sharper, sound; *kpekpe′ya* with noise of a stick striking a long stick in the middle or at the free end; only as adverb
(*kpukpa′* large and small objects are mixed; little trash on water, small and large figures in a pattern)
(–)*kpa′* a sound like *kpe* stronger and heavier, it is punctured; *ho′kpakpa* with resounding voice; *nakpa′kpa* sound of explosion of firecracker
–*ṡpi* small berries are off from their bushes
–*ṡpu* larger object, like clasps, buttons, are off
–*ṡpa* a piece is removed from a whole; –*ṡpe s'e* [23] used for a woman sitting with shawl over head, seen in silhouette, like a piece out of which a pattern has been cut
*_ȟpi′_ it hangs suspended (like a dog's ears, a long lower lip; *wicʻa′ȟpi* stars, *maȟpi′ya* sky, clouds)
(–)*ȟpu′* things that have dried come off easily (dry mud, resin on trees)
–*ȟpa* to be down, to have fallen (*ȟpa′ȟpa s'e* flopping along, lying down intermittently; *ȟpeyų′ka* a dog lies with litter; *ȟpeca′ṡni* not to be down; i. e., energetic)
–*ȟ'i* it is rough, scabby (always *yuȟ'i′*)
–*ȟ'u* the same with larger scabs or greater roughness
*_ȟ'e′_ it is rough, like a pebbly space; *ȟ'eȟ'e′* ragged
*_ȟ'a′_ they are scattered, like stars, a pebbly surface, mould
–*ȟni* it is a-tremble
*_ȟna′_ it is a deep tremolo, deep rattle
*_kṡį′_ it is crescent shaped
*_kṡą′_ it is crooked
–*m.ni′ġa* it is shrunk
–*m.nuġa* it is the sound of breaking up a gnarled object (*nu′ġa*)
–*m.niża* it is curly
–*m.nuża* it is the sound of breaking brittle, easily crunched material (*nu′ża*)
(–)*swu′* it is in very small parts, often parallel strips (*cʻąswu′la* saplings; *iswu′la* tiny stones; *oka′swu* fringes)
*_swa′_ it is slashed as a trimming along edge; unraveled

There is also a relation between *i* and *u*, *į* and *ų*. In some cases both forms are used indifferently, in others there is a dialectic difference between Teton and Santee.

'ani′ni to form a film; *wa′nuni* to form hard spots (lichens on a stone, pigmented spots on skin);—*ṡipu′te* or *ṡupu′te* lower abdomen;—*'olu′luta* or *'oli′lita* temperature is warm; *'itu′ȟ'ą* to act in vain (T); *'utu′ȟ'ą* (S);—*hiyo′ya* to go to get (T Y); *huwe′ya* (S);—*nų* let it be so! (S), *nį* (T);—*nųyą′* to tame (S) *niyą′* to save (T);—*'ųg.na′hąla* suddenly (T), *'ihnu′hąna* (S);—*nųwą′* to swim (T Y), *nįwą′* (S);—*'ikto′mi* spider (T), *'ųkto′mi* (Y, S);—*tʻokį′ṡ* hardly (T Y), *tʻokų′ṡ* (S).

Changes from *a* to *i*, *ą* to *į* occur between Teton and Santee.

nacʻe′ca perhaps (T Y), *nicʻe′ca* (S);—*lakʻa′ṡ* of course (T), *nakʻa′ṡ*, *nikʻa′ṡ* (S);—*wąhį′kpe* arrow (T), *wįhį′tpe* (S);—*hą′ta′* look out! (T Y), *hįte`* (S);—*hį′hąni* morning (T), *hį′hąna* (T Y), *hąȟ'ą′na* (Y S);—*'osą* or *'osį′* entire (S)

§ 22. IRREGULAR PHONETIC CHANGES

There is a strong tendency to modify long words the etymological derivation of which is perfectly clear. Various processes occur. Words may be abbreviated or contracted, sounds may be assimilated by neighboring sounds, related sounds may be substituted, or there may be changes due to metathesis.

1. Abbreviations or contractions.

wicʻa′ for *wicʻi′te g.le′ġa* raccoon (man face striped)
ma′peȟ'a toad for *matʻa′peȟ'a*, *matʻa′piȟ'ą*, or *makʻa′piȟ'ą*; also *witʻa′peȟ'ą*, *mitʻa′peȟ'ą*
cʻąṡke′kʻama`g.le* or *cʻąpʻe′ṡkamakʻa`g.le to kneel, for *cʻąkpe′ṡkamakʻa`g.le* (*cʻąkpe′* knee, *ṡka* probably by metathesis from *kṡa* to be bent, *makʻa′* ground; *g.le* to set upright)
mi′cʻa wolf, probably for *ma′yacʻa* or *mi′yacʻa*
cʻąȟlo′ġu woody weeds, from *cʻą-ȟlo′ġa-hu* wood-pithy-stalk
pʻeżu′ta medicine, from *pʻeżi′-hu′te* herbs-butt end

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[23] *a* changed to *e* before *s'e*. (See p. 29.)

pʻetą́l on the fire, from *pʻéta-ʼaką́l* fire on top
hįḣtą́ to be rough and absorbent, from *hį* (or *ha* skin) fur, *-ḣųta* to be rough
cʻaí́ya to talk crying, for *cʻéya-ʼiya*
cʻį́kta to be on the verge of crying, for the regular future *cʻéyįkta*
wį́kte a travestite, from *wį́yąkta* he will be a woman
ṡupú́tc lower abdomen, from *ṡupéhúte* intestine base
maṡkó́pa bracelet, for *mas-ṡkó́pa* (iron curved) Santee
ṡų́kakʻą́ horse, from *ṡų́ka-wakʻą́* wonderful dog
má́zakʻą́ gun, from *má́za-wakʻą́* wonderful iron
napʻáhųka thumb, from *napé* hand, *tʻahų́ka* its elder brother (?)

In adverbial expressions and conjunctions contractions are very common. Generally both the contracted and the full forms are in use.

yų́ṡ<*yų́kʻą́ṡ* if
ʼowékį́ṡ<*ʼowékiná́ṡ*<*ʼowékinahą́ṡ* perhaps
tų́weni<*tóhųweni* never
tókṡá́<*tókʻeṡá́*<*tokʻétukeṡá́* no matter what happens (*tókʻetu-ka-eṡá́*) bye and bye
tá́keya<*tá́ku eyá́* he said something; i. e., he spoke
tá́któkʻų<*tá́ku tókʻų* he is doing something
tá́k tʻóka ʼawá́cʻįṡni (adv.) being preoccupied<*tá́kuni tʻókeca ʼawá́cʻįṡni* anything different he does not think of
tʻówá́ṡ<*itʻó kʻéyaṡ* first of all, before doing anything else
tʻokéya<*tʻoká́heya* (*tʻoká́-hą-ya*) first (adv.)
tókcʻį́yą<*tókel cʻį́yą* anyway he wishes; i. e., carelessly; reduplicated *tokcʻį́kcʻįyą* haphazard (adv.)
ʼiyéṡkʻaka (western Ogalala), more commonly *ʼiyéṡtukʻa* but he
hécʻena<*hécʻeg.na* immediately

2. Assimilation

nazų́spe ax, for *mas-ų́spe* iron ax
nascʻą́wapʻa bridle, for *mas-cʻą́-yapʻa*
cʻąmų́mųpa I smoke, often heard instead of *cʻąnų́mųpa*
tʻaí́tazipa his bow, for *tʻaí́nazipa* (Santee *tʻí́nazipe*)
itʻókap, *ikʻókap* in front of, before; both forms are used
hąpṡí́ṡica outworn moccasins, for *hąpsí́ṡica* (*si* foot)
tʻawį́hįkpe his arrow, for *tʻawą́hįkpe*
ptécela to be short, *pcécela*
pte-b.léṡka cattle Ogalala; *pte-g.léṡka* (lit. spotted buffalo) Northern Tetons

3. Metathesis

nakpʻą́ wrist, for *nap-kʻą́* hand ligaments
hąkpʻą́ moccasin strings, for *hąp-kʻą́* moccasin sinew
pʻąkéska and *kʻąpéska* shells, chinaware (Santee *pʻąpéska*)
ṡiptʻó and *pṡitʻó* edible bulbs (*pṡį* garlic, onion)
wąsmá́hi for *mas-wą́-hi* iron arrowhead
tʻucʻúhu rib; *tʻacʻútʻuhu* ruminant's rib
hehą́pi night, for *hąhépi*
ʼitʻúṡe (Teton), for *ʼiṡútʻe* (Santee) at all costs, in spite of everything; from *ṡutʻá́* (Santee) to fail, miss
aná́(wa)ġoptą for *anų́ġoptą* (I) obey, from *nų́ġe* ear, *ʼóptą*<*ʼayú́ptą* to turn towards
witkó to be irresponsible (drunk, mad, immature, etc.) from *ʼiktó* the mythological trickster

In Assiniboine there is a frequent metathesis of Teton *tk* to *kt* and the reverse.
tká́ (T), *kta* (A), heavy;—*yatką́* (T), *yaktą́* (A), to drink;—*yaí́tkų* (T) to ignite by means of mouth, *iktų́* (A) to blaze;—*kta* (T), *tka* (A), future

4. Substitution.

mí́oṡtake blunt arrow, *wí́woṡtake*

5. Minor dialectic differences:

Terminal *l* of Teton corresponds to *n* of the eastern dialects. In other positions eastern *d* corresponds to Teton *l*. The clusters *b.l* and *g.l* of Teton correspond to Santee *m.d* and *h.d*, and to Yankton *b.d* and *kd*. Teton *g.n* corresponds to Santee *h.n* and Yankton *kn;* Teton *gw* to Santee *h.b* and Yankton *kb; g.m* to *h.m* and *km* respectively. Santee uses *tp* and *kp* indiscriminately; Teton has always *kp; tp* does not occur.

Western Ogalala tends to omit initial *k’:*

’ų for *k’ų;—’e′yaṡ* for *k’e′yaṡ*

Yankton and eastern Teton substitute occasionally *h* for *y:*

wak‘ą′heża, wak‘ą′yeża children, *t‘aṡna′heca, t‘aṡna′yeca* gopher; *t‘ak‘ą′heca, t‘ak‘ą′yeca* raspberry

§ 23. ACCENT

Stress accent plays an important role in Dakota. We may distinguish between accented words and unaccented parts of speech, enclitics and proclitics and others so firmly united with the accented parts of speech that they may be written as suffixes or prefixes. Some of these enclitics may under special conditions become accented. Syllables bearing the main accent have a high pitch. In rapid speech discrimination between accented and unaccented syllables or those having a secondary accent may be recognized more readily by pitch than by stress. Miss Deloria decides in all doubtful cases the question whether the syllables are accented or not, by pitch.

The accent is not firmly attached to any particular syllable, but has a definite relation to the position of the syllable. In by far the greatest number of derivative forms the accent is on the second syllable; p. e.:

lową′ he sings; *walo′wą* I sing;—*yazą′* he is sick; *’iya′zą* he is sick on account of

A large number of stems are of the form vc, cvc or ccvc the number of terminal consonants being restricted. In finite form these stems end in *a* and by far the greatest number have the accent on the stem syllable. In contrast to the first group there are a large number of bisyllabic stems of the types cvccv or ccvccv vccv, (not as numerous as the cvc stems), most of which have the accent on the second syllable. (See pp. 26 et seq.)

When an unaccented initial vowel or syllable ending in a vowel is contracted with a following vowel, accented or unaccented, the initial syllable carries the accent. This is due to the fact that the second vowel, on account of its position would take the accent, if the syllables were not contracted.

’e′t‘i arriving there he camps, contracted from *’ai′t‘i:—wa′paha* war-standard, contracted from *wa-’apa′-ha;—ḣo′puza* desert, contracted from *ḣe′-opu′za*

In many cases the vowels *ų* and *į* have originated by contraction: e. g. *ḣ’ų′(ma)t’a*<*ḣ’ą-o-t’a* to be tired out by action; *ḣ’ų′(wa)kpani* (<*ḣ’ą-o′kpani*) to fail to finish. For this reason many retain the accent on the first syllable when it might be expected to shift to the second syllable. (See p. 77, § 74.)

’ų′(ma)ṡi (I am) pitiable;—*’ų′(ma)t‘ų* (I am) injured;—*’ų′(ma)cihiṡni* (I am) indolent;—*’ų′(ma)c’ųnica* (I am) frightened "stiff";—*nų′ḣ(ma)pą* (I have) ringing of ear;—*’ų′(wą)c‘a* (I) imitate, mock;—*’ų′(wa)kce* (I) break wind;—*’į′(ma)skokeca* (I am) as large as;—*c‘į′kta* (<*c‘e′yįkta* ?) to fret

There are however other words with *ų* in the first syllable which have the accent on the second syllable.

’ųci′ grandmother;—*’ųg.na′ġa* space on each side of door;—*’ųg.na′* suddenly;—*’ųḣce′ġila* a mythical monster;—*ųkte′ḣi* S water monster;—*’ųkce′* faeces (cf. *’ų′kce* to break wind);—*’ųma′* another one;—*’ųp‘ą′* female elk;—*’ųpi′* tail of bird;—*’ųpṡi′ża* mud

In compound words the accent is on the second syllable and, if the first part of the compound is bisyllabic, the second part has its normal accent as a very weak secondary accent. If the first part is monosyllabic the accent is on the first or second syllable of the compound according to syntactic rules. (See pp. 67 et seq.)

c‘e′ġa-t‘ąˋka large kettle, *c‘eḣ-t‘ą′ka* a big kettleful;—*maka′-’ok’aˋ* to dig for skunks;—*c‘ą-pa′ile* to make fire with a fire drill;—*he′-c‘įṡkaˋ* horn spoon;—*pte′-oyaˋte* buffalo people

Neutral and active reduplicated verbs of the type cvc differ also in accentuation, the neutral verbs having the accent on the second, the active verbs on the first syllable. (See p. 37.)

ksa′pa to be wise *ksaksa′pa*
ka′ġa to make *ka′ḣkaġa*

sloslo′ to be soft and slimy
so′so to cut in thin strips

Some bisyllabic words with accent on the first syllable shift their accents to the second syllable when a pronoun is infixed.

ma'ni he walks, *mawa'ni* I walk;—*na'żį* he stands, *nawa'żį* I stand;—*wį'yą* woman, *wįma'yą* I am a woman

Here belong also the derivatives of demonstratives which have the accent on the first syllable.

le'c'a it is of this kind, *lema'c'a* I am of this kind;—*le'c'eca* it is like this, *lema'c'eca* I am like this

An exception is *to'k'a* something happens, *to'mak'a* something happens to me; I die.

When the accent of a compound verb is on the first syllable it remains in most cases in this position.

k'o'ya to include, *k'o'waya* I include him;—*ha'sapa* Negro (black skinned), *ha'masapa* I am a Negro;—*ho't'ąį* voice is audible, *ho'mat'ąį* my voice is audible;—*ho'bu* he has a low voice, *ho'mabu* I have a low voice;—*nų'ȟpą* his ear rings (verb) (*pą* to shout), *nų'ȟmapą* my ear rings

It is difficult to give a generally valid rule. *ha'sapa* literally black skin is a noun and adjective. (See p. 72.) The closer the relation of the component elements the stronger is the tendency to throw the accent on the second syllable; *si(ma')c'ola* I am barefooted; *si'(ma)c'ola* I lack feet. When the first syllable contains a vowel originated by contraction the accent is always on that syllable.

Monosyllabic stem of the types cv and cvc with the subordinating suffix *-ya* throw the accent on the second syllable. Bisyllabic stems cvccv and those cvc stems that do not lose their terminal *a*, in other words all verbs ending in a vowel that have the accent on the first syllable, retain it there before this ending (p. 59).

In compounds of two accented verbs the second verb loses its independent accent and the new unit is accented on the second syllable, no matter whether that syllable belongs to the first or second verb.

ṡkal-'e't'i to play camping;—*skal-'o'mani* to travel in order to play

Note.—It was originally intended to indicate all monosyllabic verbal and nominal stems as accented, in distinction to unaccented particles, also to indicate the accents of verbs that may take locative or instrumental prefixes. Owing to an oversight, this has not been done consistently, and some corrections may have been overlooked.

§§ 24–171. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

§§ 24–29. STEMS

§ 24. Introductory

Stems may be divided in two large groups, accented stems and unaccented particles which in most cases may be considered as enclitics. In many cases they are so intimately connected with the preceding accented word that they may be called suffixes. There is no sharp line of division between the group which is treated here as enclitics and those treated as suffixes. The intimacy of relation between the two groups may be gauged by their mutual phonetic influence.

Prefixes are so closely connected with the stem that they cannot be considered as proclitics.

In accented words we may distinguish between nouns, neutral verbs, active verbs and unchangeable elements, such as adverbs, conjunctions, expletives.

The distinction between nouns and neutral verbs is not quite definite. Certain nouns like *Lakʻo′ta* Dakota, *wicʻa′ṡa* man, and others may be treated as verbs and take pronominal forms, such as *La(ma′)kʻota'* (I am) a Dakota. On the whole, however, such forms are avoided and we rather have forms like *'Og.la′la he(ma′)cʻa'* an Ogalala (I am) that kind. Nevertheless nouns are verbalized when they take the terminal self-experienced declarative glottal stop: *pte′* buffalo cow, *pte′'* it is a buffalo cow.

A distinction is also made between noun and nominalized verb. We can say *wicʻa′ṡa kį leye′'* the man said this, or *wicʻa′ṡa kį he′ leye′'* that particular man said this; while *waśte′ kį leye′'* the good one said this, is not admissible. It must be *waśte′ kį he′ leye′'* the one who is good, that one said this.

A further difference between nouns and verbs is found in the rules of contraction. Nouns tend to contract two adjoining vowels while verbs keep them separate. (See pp. 6 et seq.)

Reduplication is very prominent in verbs, exceedingly rare in nouns which occur in reduplicated form in a few phrases only. (See p. 38.)

The differentiation between neutral and active verbs is pronounced. They are differentiated by distinct pronouns. The rules of accentuation are different. Neutral verbs when reduplicated are accented on the second syllable, even when the singular stem has the accent on the first syllable, while active verbs reduplicated retain the accent on the first syllable. Furthermore the initial *k* of neutral and active intransitive verbs is stable, that of active, transitive verbs changes to *c* after *i* or *e*.

Demonstratives combine in numerous ways with verbs and must be treated as a class by themselves.

By far the majority of verbal stems are neutral. The concept of a condition extends over almost all inanimate objects that may be brought into a condition. "To scratch" is not primarily an activity; the active verb is derived from the condition of a scratched surface. These stems can be made active only by adding instrumental prefixes which express the means by which the condition is brought about, or by locative elements which apply the condition to a certain object.

Active verbs are almost exclusively those referring to bodily or mental activities, actions that can be performed by or on living beings only. The only verbs that do not conform to this rule are, so far as I have been able to find, (–)*koza* to swing, **kʻa-pʻa′* to surpass (*'i′yakʻapʻeya* surpassing it), (–)*pehą′* to fold, **tʻų′* to have, to put on (*cʻą′ kį 'iyu′ha 'ape′tʻų'* all the trees bear leaves), **'ų′* to be in existence somewhere (for inanimate objects only when they are sometimes present, sometimes absent: *mahe′l 'į′yą k'eya′ 'ų′'* inside are some stones, as in a rattle; *mahe′l m.ni′ 'ų′ṡni'* there is no water in it)

It is characteristic that only those among these verbs can take instrumental prefixes which refer to bodily activities that can be produced by pulling, pushing, striking, a sawing motion, with the mouth, the feet, like (–)_psi′ca_ to jump, (–)_slohą′_ to crawl, (–)_wa-c‘i′_ to dance.

Active verbs [23a]

*’_į′_ to wear about the shoulders
*_g.lo′wį_ to wear one’s own shawl
*’_o′_ to hit by shooting
*’_u-t‘a′_ to shoot
*’_ų′_ to be (when neutral, to use)
*’_ų′yą_ to lose
*’_ų′pa_ to lay down animate things
*’_ų′-c‘a_ to mock
*’_ų′-kce_ to break wind
*_yu′ta_ to eat
(–)_wa-c‘i′_ to dance
*_howa′ya_ to moan, groan
(–)_śica′-howa`ya_ to groan with misery
(*_ho′_ to howl, only 3d person)
*_hu′_ to commit sodomy
*_ba′_ to blame
*_hą-b.le′_ to quest for a vision
*_pą′_ to shout
(–)_pehą′_ to fold
*_po′ġą_ to blow
(–)_psi′ca_ to jump
(–)_pśa′_ to sneeze
*_p‘a-ȟta′_ to tie in a bundle
*_ma′-ni_ to walk
*_ma-nų′_ to steal
*_la′_ to ask for
_la_ to consider (always final after other verb)
*_le′_ to search (only in _c‘ą-le′_ to get fire wood; _o-le′_ to search;) (—) _ile′_ to burn, (neutral)
(–)_le′ża_ to urinate
*_lową′_ to sing
*_tųwą′_ to look, open eyes
*_tka′_ to flesh a hide
*_t‘i′_ to dwell
_c‘e-t‘i′_ to build a fire
*_t‘ų′_ to have, put on, give birth
(–)_ho-t‘ų′_ to utter cry, only 3d person for cries of animals
*_sų′_ to braid, plait
(–)_c‘e-sli′_ to defecate
*_sli′pa_ to lick
(–)_slohą′_ to creep, crawl
*_so′so_ to cut meat in strips
_śi_ to order (always final verb after other verb) _wa-śi′_ to employ
(–)_p‘o′-śį_ to wrinkle nose
*_śu-t‘a′_ to miss aim
(–)_śką′_ to be active
(–)_żo′_ to whistle; _każo′_ to have diarrhea
(–)_c‘e′ya_ to weep
*_c‘į′_ to desire
(–)_na′-żį_ to stand (from _żį_ erect)
(–)_ni′_ to be alive
(–)_niya′_ to breathe
*_nu′ni_ to lose one’s way
_g.nų′ni_ to lose one’s own
*_nųwą′_ to swim

[23a] For explanation of symbols see p. 16. The - within the word indicates the position of the pronoun. Where there is no such indication the pronoun is prefixed.

*_g.mų′ka_ to trap
*_g.la′_ to feel, loathe
(–)_ṡi-g.la′_ to resent
*_g.le′_ to have on hand, standing
(–)_g.lo_ to snort
*_g.na′yą_ to trick, deceive, persuade
–_g.nayą_ to miss aim, hold
*_g.na′ka_ to lay by, have on hand
*_hį-g.nų′_ to singe hair before cooking
*_ka′ġa_ to make
(–)_ka′ġa_ to choke on something
kapį to be disinclined (always final after other verb)
b.lo-ka′ska to hiccough
*_kaġi′_ to respect, avoid out of respect
*_kaȟni′ġa_ to choose
*_ką′_ to relate a myth
*_kįyą′_ to fly
(–)_ko′za_ to swing, _oka′koza_ it is swinging, swaying due to a force
*_kų′_ to covet; _c‘o-kų′_ to wish death of
*_kų′za_ to decree, ordain
*_kta′_ to defer, expect (S); _wa-kta′_ (T)
*_kte′_ to kill
(–)_ksa′pa_ to be wise (Y S, neutral in T)
*_kṡu′_ to pile on, do beadwork
*_k‘a′_ to mean
*_k‘i′_ to take away from
_k‘o_ to doom (always final after other verb)
*_k‘uwa′_ to treat, pursue
*_k‘ute′_ to shoot at
*_k’a′_ to dig
*_k’į′_ to carry on back
_c‘o-k’į′_ to roast
*_ġo′pa_ to snore
*_ȟa′_ to bury
(–)_ho-ȟpa′_ to cough
*_ȟpa′ya_ to lie (animate being, river)
*_ȟmų′ġa_ to bewitch, poison
(–)_ȟlo′_ to growl
*_ȟta-ni′_ to toil; _wa-ȟta′ni_ to transgress a law, taboo

Also all verbs of going and coming (pp. 92 et seq.), and all verbs ending in _-p‘a_, except locatives (p. 83).

§§ 25–28. Verbal Stems

§ 25. INTRODUCTORY

Verbal stems may be divided in two main groups; those in _-a_ with accent on the first syllable when appearing without prefix; and those with varying vocalic ending, monosyllabic or bisyllabic generally with accent on the second syllable.

The former have the type cvc (consonant, vowel, consonant) or ccvc, rarely vc, all followed by the suffix _a_. Only single, medial stops (_p_, _t_, _c_, _k_), or single voiced spirants (_z_, _ż_, _ġ_) appear at the close of stems of this class [23b]. When reduplicated the whole stem vc, cvc or ccvc is repeated with the phonetic changes required in forms losing their terminal vowel, or in consonantic clusters originating through contact of terminal and initial consonants. For short the whole class will be designated as cvc.

[23b] A few verbs ending in _ya_ or _wa_ do not belong to this class.

The second class has the forms v, cv, or ccv when monosyllabic. In bisyllabic stems the first syllable has the same form, the second syllable of almost all those ending in *a* has the type ccv, provided we interpret the aspirates *p‘ t‘, c‘ k‘* and the glottalized *p’, t’, c’, k’* as double consonants. (See p. 5.) The whole class will be designated as cv and cvccv. When reduplicated the monosyllabic stem is repeated. In bisyllabic stems the second syllable is repeated. The terminal *a* of the stems with terminal vowel is treated differently from the *a* of the cvc verbs. All this suggests that these bisyllabic stems must be considered as consisting of two parts, each ending in a vowel, while all the cvc stems end in a single consonant.

§ 26. STEMS WITH TERMINAL CONSONANT, *cvc*

The verbs of the type cvc may be divided into two groups. The former contains verbs expressing states or qualities. These take the neutral pronouns *ma-* I, *ni-* thou as subjects; the latter contains active verbs which have for their subjects *wa-* I, *ya-* you. Some of these never take instrumental prefixes. These are marked with an asterisk (*). Others may take an instrumental prefix; these are marked (–). Still others require an instrumental prefix when used as verbs, these are marked –. Some may be used with or without a locative prefix. In this case the locative prefix is placed in parentheses (*o*), (*a*), (*i*). When the locative prefix is required it has no parentheses. Most of these have the accent on the vowel of the cvc stem.

Examples of neutral verbs:

(–)*b.le′za* to be sane;—**c‘e′pa* to be fat;—(–)(*o*)*k‘a′ta* to be warm;—(–)*t’a′ġa* to be hard and rough;—(–)*t‘ą′ka* to be large

There are large numbers of these. A small number have the accent on the second syllable.

(–)*suta′* hard, firm;—**yąka′* to sit;—**yųka′* to recline (–) *wąka′* Yankton; –*ųka* to be in horizontal position;—**t’eca′* to be lukewarm;—(–)*smaka′* deep (as a valley);—**p‘ica′* to be fairly good;—**żica′* to be rich;—**ȟpeca′šni* to be full of life, action (*šni* not)

Examples of active verbs:

ġo′pa* to snore;—g.mų′ka* to set traps;—**kų′za* to pretend;—**ka′ġa* to make;—(–)*psi′ca* to jump

§ 27. VERBS OF THE TYPE *cv*

A considerable number of monosyllabic verbs both static and active end in a vowel. Examples are:

Neutral:

**ša′* red;— –*kša* to be coiled; to be collapsed;—(–)*šma′* deep (as snow, water);—(–)*sli′* to be oozing out of an opening;—(–)*ksa′* to be severed

Active:

*’*u′* to come;—*’*i′* to arrive there;—**k’u′* to give;—**la′* to demand

§ 28. VERBS OF THE TYPE *cvcv*

Most bisyllabic stems the second syllable of which begins with a consonantic cluster as well as those having a single consonant beginning the second syllable have their accent on the second syllable, unless the first syllable is formed by a contraction of two syllables.

Although words of more than two syllables cannot always be analyzed it seems all but certain that they are by origin compounds.

Analysis is often made difficult by the tendency of Dakota to modify stems by dropping consonants and by metathesis. Considering the ease with which words for objects of European manufacture have been coined, it seems remarkable that the consciousness of their derivation should disappear so quickly. Instances are the transformation of *mas-* iron, into *naz-* in the word *nazų′spe* ax, or in older words *nakp‘ą′* wrist for *napk‘ą′*, etc. (See p. 20.)

Bisyllabic verbs with accent on first syllable (see also p. 37).

Active verbs (prefixing pronoun):

ȟpa′ya* to lie;—nu′ni* to stray;—(–)*c‘e′ya* to cry;—(–)*ške′hą* (<*šką-hą* ?) to be obstreperous

Neutral verbs (prefixing pronoun):

wą′k‘a to be fragile, delicate;—*hą′ska* to be long, tall;—*ci′k’a* to be small (see p. 37);—*co′nala* to be few;—*slo′t’a* to be slippery with grease;—*sa′k‘a* to be raw (vegetables);—*ya′m.ni* three;—*za′ptą* five;—*ša′kpe* six

Active verbs (infixing pronoun):

ma′-ni to walk;—*na′-žį* to stand (animate);—*’ų′-kce* to break wind

Neutral verbs (infixing pronouns):

wį′-yą she is a woman;—*le′-c‘a; he′-c‘a, ka′-k‘eca; to′-k‘eca* it is this; that kind; some kind;—*le′-c‘eca*it is like this;—*ȟ’ų′-t’a* (<*ȟ’ą-o-t’a*) to be exhausted, tired out by action;—*wa′-p‘i* (<*wa-a-p‘i*) to be lucky

List of some bisyllabic verbs accented on the second syllable.

Active verbs:

c‘ap‘a′* to stab;—c‘op‘a′* to wade (transitive);—(–)*šig.la′* to resent, mourn (*g.la* to abhor);—**šut‘a′* to miss aim in shooting (no object);—**naȟma′* to hide;—**nap‘a′* to run off, flee;—**p‘aȟta′* to tie into a package;—**k‘ap‘a′* to beat in a race;—**ȟ’ąyą′* to suffer in the extreme; to be dying;—**’ap‘e′* to wait for [24];—(–)*c‘esli′* to defecate;—**c‘et‘i′* to build a fire;—(–)*wac‘i′* to dance;—**ȟtani′* to labor, work, toil;—**c‘ok’į′* to roast in ashes;—**hįg.nu′* to singe hair, feathers off hide;—**t‘okšu′* to take from one place to another in loads [25];—**c‘okų′* to plan to kill someone;—**manų′* to steal;—**k‘uwa′* to pursue;—**lową′* to sing;—**kįyą′* to fly;—**k‘ute′* to shoot at;—**kaġi′* to respect authority, to be in awe

Neutral verbs:

(–)*c‘ąze′* to be angry;—(–)*ilc′* to burn;—(–)*ųspe′* to learn to do;—(–)*g.leška′* to be spotted;—(–)*b.laska* to be flat, level;—(–)*k‘uk‘a′* to rot, disintegrate;—(–)*wak‘ą′* holy;—(–)*wašte′* good, beautiful;—(–)*šiȟtį′* imperfect;—(–)*pem.ni′* twisted out of its proper shape;—(–)*t‘ąį′* to show, to be manifest;—(–)*ȟ’ąhi′* to be slow, inactive, late;—**sut‘ų′* ripe, to bear fruit

A large number of stems of this class can be shown to be compounds and it does not seem improbable that all may have been compounds by origin.

Examples of compounds are:

c‘okų′ to plan to kill someone (*c‘o* core, flesh; *kų′* to covet);—*ȟ’ų′t’a* to be exhausted (*ȟ’ą-o-t’a* by action in to be dead);—*ȟ’ų′hiya* to be able to do something (*ȟ’ą-ohi-ya* to act- to be able to attain- to cause);—*sut‘ų′* to bear fruit (*su* seed; *t‘ų* to bring forth)

In many cases only one part of the bisyllabic is known.

t‘okšu′ to load and take loads to a distant place (*t‘o* perhaps from *t‘ok* different, *kšu* to pile up);—*c‘esli′* to defecate (*sli* squeezed out of a small opening);—*c‘eų′pa* to roast over or by a fire (*’ų′pa* to lay down);—*c‘ok’į′* to roast in ashes (*c‘o* flesh);—*wat‘a′kpa* [26] to go to attack (*’o′kpe*, adv., welcoming);—*p‘aka′hųka* to nod in assent (*p‘a* head, *ka-* prefix);—*c‘ąze′* to be angry (*c‘ąt-* heart);—*b.laska′* to be flat, level (*b.la* level);—*g.leška′* to be spotted (*g.le* contrasting colors?);—*wašte′* good, beautiful (*šte* peculiar, *mašte′* sunny, bright weather);—*p‘aȟta′* to tie a bundle (*p‘a* head[?]; *p‘a′-p‘aȟtapi* doll (head tied in bundle);—*winu′ȟca* [27] old woman (*wi-* woman, *ȟca* very, real);—*t‘ąg.lu′-sasa* [28] weak from fright (*t‘ą* body?)

Others cannot be analyzed at all, e. g.

t‘eȟi′ difficult;—*witko′* foolish (metathesis from *’ikto′* the trickster);—*ȟtani′* to toil (*ȟtaya′ni* you toil; *waya′ȟtani* you sin);—*haki′kta* to look back [29];—*yazą′* to feel pain

A number of these must be very old bisyllabics because they appear in many remote dialects; p. e., *ma′ni* to walk, *manų′* to steal, in Dakota, Mandan, Winnebago, Ponca.

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[24] Probably with locative prefix.

[25] *kšu* to pile on, apply, embroider with beads.

[26] For *wa* see p. 52.

[27] For *ȟca* see p. 57.

[28] *g.lu-* from *yu-* see p. 87; *sa* (unknown stem, duplicated).

[29] For *ki* see p. 88.

For a further discussion of this subject see p. 78 et seq.

Although the distinction between cvc and cv stems is fundamental, there are a number of cases in which verbs of the type cvcv are misinterpreted as cvc verbs. (See p. 37.) There are a number of cv stems which are clearly related to cvc stems ending in *a*, but there is no indication of a definite meaning of the second syllable.

- *–ka*, (*-ca*)
    - *–g.mi* ground is clear of vegetation, trees; *-g.mica* hair is being pulled
    - *–g.mu* to be twisted; *g.mu'ka* to trap in a sling
    - (–)*ṡtaṡta'* to be slimy wet; *ṡta'ka* to be jellylike
    - *–g.na* (adv.) in, on, among (with locative prefix); *g.na'ka* to have something placed, laid by
- *–ta*
    - *–ġa* to stick out (*a'ġa-iḣpa`ya* to fall sprawling (in diving); *yuġa'ġa* sticking out in many directions);—*ġata* to have branches, limbs extended
    - *–ṡki* to be gathered in ruffles, ground is rough with hills and gullies; (–)*ṡkita* to be ridged, *ṡkiṡki'ta* to be corrugated
    - *ġi'* brown, rust; *ho'ġita* to have a hoarse voice (?)
    - *po'* to swell, *-po'ta* to float, to wear out (?)
- *–pa*
    - *'oya'ḣe* water has evaporated, is absorbed in ground; *yaḣe'pa* to exhaust water by drinking
    - *ġa* to stick out; *–ġapa* to flay (?)
    - **lo'* to be fresh (meat, hide); (–)*lo'pa* to be soft (*lolo'pa* like meat overcooked)
    - *–ska* to adhere in a wad or clump; *iya'skapa* to cling to
    - *'ų'* (active) to be; (neutral) to use; *'ų'pa* (active) to lay down; (neutral) to smoke
- *–za*
    - (*c‘ą*)*ksi'* to feel ill-tempered; *-ksi'za* to be hot-headed
    - *–g.mu* to be twisted; *-g.mu'za* to be twisted together
    - *kalu'* to fan (*–lu* perhaps: air is moving); *kalu'za* to flow as a stream or current of air
    - (–)*sni'* to cool off, to die down (as a fire); *sni'za* to collapse
    - *–t'o* to press; *t'o'syela* (adv.) with the sound of a sudden impact of two hard, unelastic bodies
    - *kų'* to covet; *kų'za* to decree
    - *kpa'* to be gauged out; *kpa'za* it is dark (?)
- *–ġa*
    - *po'* to swell; *naka'po* to get full of air; *napo'ġa* to rise, expand (like dough)
    - *–ḣmu'* to buzz; *ḣmu'ġa* to bewitch (by sending missile through the air)
- *–ġą*
    - *po'ġą* to inflate by blowing

§ 29. Nominal Stems

A number of nominal stems are of the type cvc, analogous to verbal stems. Those with accent on the first syllable end in medial stops or voiced fricatives like the corresponding class of verbs, while among those with accent on the second syllable there are a few ending in *p‘a*. Some nouns of the type cvc with accent on the second syllable have the ending *e* instead of *a*. Examples of these groups are:

c‘a'pa beaver;—*ma'ġa* field;—*maka'* skunk;—*naca'* war chief;—*nape'* hand;—*c‘ażé'* name

For a further discussion of these nouns see pages 35 et seq.

There are many monosyllabic nouns of the type cv. Examples are:

p‘a' head;—*p'e'* elm;—*pte'* buffalo;—*hi'* tooth;—*wi'* sun, moon;—*c‘o'* kernel, core;—*ho'* voice;—*hu'* leg;—*ṡų'* feathers, wing;—*ṡį'* suet

Bisyllabic and polysyllabic nominal stems are numerous. Although many of these can be shown to be compounds many others defy analysis. Obvious compounds are:

c‘ąp‘a' choke cherry (*c‘ą* tree, *p‘a* bitter);—*wip‘a'* tipi flaps (*wi* tipi, *p‘a* head);—*t‘ak‘ą'* sinews (*t‘a* ruminant, *k‘ą* sinew, vein)

In other cases the uniformity of the second syllable in certain nouns suggests a composition. Examples are nouns in *ṡka.*

'iṡka′ ankle;—*cʻeṡka′* front of chest;—*cʻįṡka′*, *kʻįṡka′* spoon;—*kʻoṡka′* young man (see *kʻoya′nų* vigorous, *'oȟ'ą′-kʻo* quick of action);—*cʻąṡka′* woodpecker;—*g.nug.nu′ṡka* grasshopper;—*wab.lu′ṡka* beetle (see Santee *wamdu′da* maggots);—*pa′kʻoṡka* whippoorwill;—*tʻażu′ṡka* ant;—*matu′ṡka* crawfish (also *matu′*);—*gnaṡka′* frog;—*tʻoṡka′* brother's son, woman speaking;—*tʻųṡka′* sister's son, man speaking

Comparatively few bisyllabic verbs have this ending.

ṡkiṡka′ tortuous (stem, *ṡki-*, *ṡkit-* rough, in many small folds);—*g.leṡka′* spotted (*'ag.le′ṡka* lizard);—*b.laṡka′* flat, wide and flabby (said of face or hips; *b.la* level)

§§ 30–35. CHANGE OF TERMINAL *a* TO *e or į*

§ 30. Conditions Under Which *a* Changes to *e* or *į*

Terminal *a* and *ą* of verbs change to *e* when followed by—

ya adverbial ending (itself changes to *ye*)
ṡni not
s'a regularly (itself does not change)
s'e as though
ca (doubtful meaning, itself does not change) §56
kį,[30] *cį* the
k'ų,[30] *c'ų* the past, the aforesaid
kįhą,[30] *cįhą* the — then (when, future)
k'ųhą′,[30] *c'ųhą′* the past — then (when, past)
k'ehą′,[30] *c'ehą′* Yankton and Santee
k'eṡ,[31] *c'eṡ* I wish that!
k'e′yaṡ,[31] *c'e′yaṡ*, *'e′yaṡ* but
ȟca (itself changing to *ȟce*), *ȟcį* very
ka,[31] *ca* a kind of, rather (itself changes)
la diminutive (itself does not change)
lakʻa evidently —, for (itself does not change)
se′ca probably (itself changes to *se′ce*)
' closing the sentence; in Y terminal *a* does not change before terminal '
so conversational interrogative

Sentences may also close with *ye, ye lo, ye le.* (See pp. 109 et seq.) The *ye* contracts with changeable *a* to *e.* The same happens with *ye ṡą′* but, nevertheless, which after changeable *a* becomes *e ṡą′*. The terminal *ą* of *ṡą* does not change (see p. 145).

The particles enumerated above never take an accent except *k'e′yaṡ*, *k'ųhą′*, *k'ehą′*, *ṡą′*, *se′ca* and the particles closing declarative statement and imperatives.

The future *kta* and the conjunction *ną* and, change the preceding terminal *a* when changeable to *į*.

Verbs that end in unchangeable *a* or in other vowels retain *ye* before the declarative endings *lo*, *le*, also when *le* is omitted; before *ṡą* but, and *lakʻa* evidently . . . for. Following stems in *u*, *ų*, *o* the *y* changes to *w*.

hi′ye lo′ he has arrived here (man speaking)
'apʻe′ye le′ he is waiting (woman in soliloquy)
'apʻe′yeṡą′ he waited for him, but—(*'apʻe′ṡą* he struck him, but—, the former from *'apʻe′* to wait, the latter from *'apʻa′* to strike)
waṡte′ye lakʻa he must be good, for

[30, 31] Initial *k* sounds change to *c* sounds after change of *a* to *e*.

After *u:*

maġa'żuwe lo' it is raining (man speaking)
maġa'żuwe' (woman speaking)
p'o'welakʻa it must have been foggy, for
'u'we lo' he is coming (man speaking)
k'u'weṡą' akta'ṡni' he gave it to her but she refused it

The plural *pi* is contracted with *ye* to *pe'*.

wana' hi'pe' now they have arrived (woman speaking)

§ 31. VERBS THAT DO NOT CHANGE TERMINAL *a*

Not all stems change terminal *a*, but no generally valid rules can be given that would allow a classification of stems according to definite principles. The number of CVC verbs that do not change is small.

A generally valid rule is that reduplicated verbs of the CV or CVCV type do not change their terminal *a*. Reduplicated forms insert *ye* after *a* where required (see §149, 2, p. 109).

hą'skalo, hą'skaskayelo' it is long, they are long

A few verbs in *ą* also change *ą* to *e* under the same conditions that govern the change in verbs in *a*.

Where necessary for the sake of clarity verbs with variable *a* are designated by the letter V, those invariable by IV.

Following is a list of verbs that do not change terminal *a* or *ą*:

Verbs of the type CVC

(Arranged according to terminal consonant)

Accent on first syllable.

'ą'pa it is daytime;—*to'pa* four;—*nų'pa* two;—*'o'ta* many;—*pį'ta* to be deliberate;—*lu'ta* scarlet, red used ceremonially, *'olu'luta* or *'oli'lita* warm (weather);—*'oṡo'ta* to become full of smoke inside;—(–)*tʻe'ca* new;—**ṡe'ca* to be weathered, blanched, as old wood, bone, grass;— *–kṡeca* to double up, as in a spasm;—(–)*tʻą'ka* large;—*cʻa'ġa* to form ice, to congeal *'acʻa'ḣcʻaġa* there is ice on it here and there;—*ġų'ġa* (adv.) eyes half-closed, proudly (*'omą'ġų'ġa* I awaken [neutral] changes; *'iṡta'ġųġa* to be blind, does not change)

Accent doubtful on account of inseparable prefixes.

'ayu'ta to look at;—(*ma*)*cʻuwi'ta* (I) feel the cold;—*'oya'za* (*'ob.la'za* 1st person) to string beads, fish;—*tʻa*(*wa'*)*ġoṡa* (I) spit (*tʻaġe'* saliva), or *tʻa*(*wa'*)*ṡoṡa* which has variable *a*;—*'owa'ża* to be near to, *'iyo'waża* to have a right to (property, privileges), *'owa'żaṡni* it is not the proper time yet, to have no relation to;—*'ų'*(*ma*)*c'ųnica* (I am) hesitant (*ni'ca* to lack, neutral verb);—*'ųżį'ca* bob tailed;—(–)*waṡa'ka* cheap, *yuwa'ṡaka* to undervalue, minimize, *waṡa'kala* it is cheap

Accent on second syllable.

hepa'* to meet in a struggle, to lock horns? (*he'* horn);—(–)*suta'* to be hard, firm, solid;—ḣpeca'ṡni* to be full of life and action;—*t'eca'* lukewarm;—*pʻica'* to be fairly good;—(–)*żica'* rich;—*kicʻi'ca* he is with him (*we'cʻica* I am with him, *kicʻi'* with one, *'op* with many);—(–)*smaka'* deep (as a hollow, valley), *'o'smaka* it dips in, *ta'kuni ica'smakaṡni* nothing penetrates him, he is thick skinned;—**b.loka'* male

ḣaka' (reduplicated *ḣaka'ka*) to have branches, many angles, and (–)*swaka'* (reduplicated *swaka'ka*) to be fringed, frayed (see *swa* fringed, frayed) are not CVC verbs.

Verbs in YA *change terminal* A

An exception is *niya'* to breathe, which does not change (*wani'ya* I breathe); *niwa'ya* I cause him to live, changes.

§ 32. VERBS OF THE TYPES _cv_ AND _cvcv_

So far as our material shows, verbs in which the consonant preceding the terminal _a_ is voiced (except _m_), never change _a_ to _e_.

> *_ba′_ to blame, criticise;— –_b.la_ to be smooth, flat, level;—*_g.la′_ to dislike, abhor (-_g.la_ to stretch out long narrow looped object) (_g.la′_ to go homeward, changes);—(–)_ȟla′_ to rattle (as a gourd, tail of rattle snake);—*_la′_ to ask for, demand, to consider as, regard as; –_kala′_ to spill, pour granular material;—*_sla′_ to be greasy, oily;—(–)_šla′_ bare of growth;— –_za_ to stand erect (plants, trees); _paza′_ to push upward (used in sacred language of Sun Dance); _kaza′_ to separate sinew fibers for sewing; _yuza′za_ to slash into broad strips, as meat stripped from ribs;— –_ża_ to cook (porridge, etc.) –_żaża_ to wash;—–_ġa_ to husk (corn); –_wa’owa′_ to write, _yawa′_ to read;—(–)_ȟwa′_ to be sleepy;— –_swa_ fringed, frayed, as goods (_kaswa′_ to slash fringes, to be fringed);— –_kawa_ to open up (from at least two sides, as a folding door, the mouth, a bud);—*_k‘uwa′_ to pursue;— –_g.na_ to take off small things in rows, like peas;—_kig.na′_ (_we′g.na_ 1st person) to comfort, soothe, ’_aki′g.na_ a bird broods on its eggs, young ones;—*_ȟna′_ to groan, snort (as an expression of emotional excitement);—_m.na′_ to smell of (’_o′m.na_ to use the sense of smell);— –_m.na_ to rip (varied meanings);—*’_ona′_ fire spreads over an extensive area, prairie fire;—(–)_sna′_ to tinkle;— –_šna_ missed, dropped; _wošna′_ to miss shooting, _yušna′_ to drop, to make a mistake, _yašna′_ to miss with the mouth, etc.

For other sounds no fixed rules have been found. Not changeable:

> _yuha′_ to have, hold, carry, own (changes in Santee);—*’_o′_(_ma_)_ha_ it adheres, clings to (me) (as mud);—’_o_(_wa′_)-_ha_ [32] (I) put into; ’_oyu′ha_ to pull into; ’_opa′ha_ to push into, etc.;—_wi′_(_ma_)_haha_ [33] (I) am cheerful (contracted from _wa-i′haha_);—_naġi′haha_ to be scared, as by a ghost (_naġi′_ ghost);—*_ȟpa′_ he is untidy; with instrumental prefixes _a_ changes, *_ȟpa′_ it is down, changes;—*_p‘a′_ bitter (–_p‘a; yap‘a′_ to hold in mouth; _kap‘a′_, _wop‘a′_ to pound; _nap‘a′_ to run from danger, all change);—(_p‘a_) to bark; _šųgwa′p‘a_ the barking of dogs;—*’_o′p‘a_ to join, except ’_o′p‘eya_ including (adv.), he causes him to join, (*’_op‘a′_ to go by way of, changes except ’_op‘a′ya_ along the course of a river);—*(_wa_)_ki′g.ma_ (I) resemble (my parents);—_wa_(_wa′_)_kta_ (I) anticipate, expect, look for;— –_s’a_ to hiss (like a snake), _kas’a′_ to soar;—_ša′_ red;—(–)_pša′_ he sneezes;—_š’a′_ it is full of confused sound, din, *’_aš’a′_ to jeer, shout at someone;—(–)_kca′_ to hang loose (like hair); to comb;—(_na_)_ȟca′_ to blossom, to grow layer on layer (like proud flesh) (_ȟca_ indeed, adverb, changes like verbs);—_yuka′_ (_b.luka′_ 1st person) to trim a feather so as to leave only the quill;—(–)_ska′_ white;— –_ȟa_ to be curly; _naȟa′_ to be curly by nature; _yuȟa′ȟa_ [34] to curl—(_ȟa′_ to bury, changes in Teton, used in Yankton by E. D.’s father as unchangeable);—_yuȟa′_, _iya′yuȟa_ to stay constantly with a person to whom one is attached;—(–)_iȟa′_ to smile, laugh gently, (–)_iȟa′t’a_ to laugh aloud;—*’_i′ȟa_ to make fun of someone;—*(_ȟ’a_) to sound like small objects falling; to be scattered

CVCV _stems_

> *’_apa′_ (always with a verb of existence or motion) attached, _wąhį′kpe wą ’apa′-g.li’_ he returned with an arrow (in him);—_wiya′kpa_ to shine brightly, to sparkle (_wi_ sun, _a_ on, _kpa_);—_škokpa′_ concave, hollow (as a pit);—’_oȟ’o′kpa_ (eyes, cheeks) are hollow, sunken;—’_iya′p‘a_ to strike (a clock), to beat (heart), to hit against (’_ap‘a′_ to hit, changes);—’_ak‘i′p‘a_ to meet by chance, _waa′k‘ip‘a_ or _wa′k‘i-p‘a_ to suffer a bereavement;—’_iha′_(_wa_)_kta_ (I) feel loath to leave a person, place;—’_i_(_ma′_)_wįkta_ (I am) justly proud of it;—_kikta′_ (_we′kta_ 1st person) to sit up from reclining;—_haki′kta_ to look back when going along;—_hokši′lwįkta_ to act babyish (_wį′kte_ to act womanish);—_c‘į′kta_ to whine, be fretful, as a child;—_c‘atka′_ to be left handed;—_slitka′_ to taper to a point;—’_ų′_(_wa_)_c‘a_ (I) mock, imitate;—_k‘ec‘a′_ shaggy;—_sa′k‘a_ raw (as uncooked plants) (Santee);—_wą′k‘a_, _wą′k‘ala_ weak, fragile;— –_stąk‘a_ to moisten;—(-)_ci′k’a_, _ci′k’ala_ small;—_wa_(_ma′_)_tuk‘a_ (I) am tired

In a number of cases simple forms change terminal _a_ while forms with prefixes or in compounds are invariable.

Variable	_Invariable_
’_ap‘a′_ to strike	’_iya′p‘a_ to strike against
_ni′ca_ to lack	’_ani′ca_ to withhold; ’_ig.lo′nica_; ’_ak‘i′nica_ to dispute; ’_ų′c’ųnica_ (<’_o-ec‘ų-nica_) to be hesitant; _waȟpa′nica_ to be poverty-stricken

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[32] The dash indicates that one of the instrumentals _ya_, _pa_, etc., is required.

[33] Contracted from _wai′haha_.

[34] Does not change because reduplicated. (See p. 30.)

The following also behave irregularly

Variable	*Invariable*
yu′ta to eat	*’ayu′ta* to look at
’aya′ta to bring about by saying	
’opʻa′ to go by way of	*’o′pʻa* to take part in, to join a group

§ 33. Stems of the Types cą and cvcą

Verbs of the type cą are unchangeable, except *hą* to stand, its derivatives, and a few others.

**g.lihą′* to land on one's feet; to stand where one belongs (a cliff, rainbow);—*g.lihe′ya*, reduplicated *g.lihe′heya* (adv.) perpendicular;—*’og.li′heya ’ų′* he wears it (a garment) straight and loose (without a belt)

**hįhą′* rain falls;—*wa′ hįhą′* it snows;—*hįhą′hą* it is raining, also adverb;—*’ama′yuhįheca* he rather upsets (makes fall) things for me (the only case with *yu–*; an idiom)

**ḣnahą′* to hang down loose;—*’i′ ḣnahą′* a lip hangs down loosely;—*ḣnahe′ya* adverb

(–)*pehą′* to fold flexible objects; *yui′yapehą* he wraps it around; *yupe′heya yąka′* it is there folded;
(–)*pehą′hą* to writhe as a snake; a person in pain (iv because reduplicated)
yupe′hą, *kape′hą*, *nape′hą* used only as adverbs; *nape′heya yąka′* folded in a looped condition from having been kicked

(–)*ške′hą* to be obstreperous, reduplicated *ške′hąhą* (iv)
’a(wa′)škehą (I) neglect, *’aške′hešni* he does not neglect it

(*wa*)*ki′nihą* to be cordial to, *yuo′nihą* to honor, *’ini′hą* to be excited by something; do not belong to this series and are unchangeable. *’ini′hąšni* headlong (adv.)

hą following demonstratives does not change its *ą* to *e*, *he′hą′šni* it was not then (see pp. 60, 117)

Other verbs in *ą* changing to *e*:

hįḣtą′ to be porous (stem *ḣtą* rough and absorbent) changeable in *hįḣte′ya*, (adv.); *’oka′ḣtą* to soak through, does not change. This is contracted from *–hųta* to soften hide by rubbing, *ḣtąhą′* it is finely roughened; therefore by origin stem in *a*)

yatką′ to drink
yukʻą′ there is
lową′ to sing, changes in Sisseton, not in Teton

Many verbs ending in *yą* and *wą* preceded by *n* or a nazalized vowel are changeable. Evidently the terminal nasalization is due to contamination and the stems should be classed as *a* stems. Here belong:

tųwą′* to look, to open eyes;—nųwą′* to swim, *nųwą′wą* adverb;—**kįyą′* to fly, also adverb *–ptąyą* to overturn on its side, *’ikpa′ptą* to turn over in bed (iv); *’optą′yą*, *’optą′ptąyą*, adverb, like a rider hiding alternately on one side of horse than on the other, dodging arrows, *ptąptą′s’e*, *ptąptą′* (*ye*)*la* unsteady; wobbly, *’optą′ye-ic’i′ya* he caused himself to fall sideways, *’aptą′yą* to be prostrated, euphemistically, to die;—(–)*g.naškį′yą* to be frenzied, crazy, *g.naškį′yą*, *g.naškį′yąyą* (adv.);—**g.na′yą* to deceive, fool;—*’ina′piškąyą* to toy with, to act with the hands (stem *nap* hand; *i; šką* to move);—*’oḣį′yą* to sulk on account of a slight, see *cʻąḣį′yą* he worries him (<*cʻąt-ḣį-ya*)

All causatives in *-yą* belong to this group.

wi′yuškįyą to make happy (*’iyų′škį* to be pleased on account of);—*’oų′yą* to have for a habitation

tąyą′ to be better (after sickness), verb and adverb reduplicated *tątą′yą*, adverb does not belong to this group. It is derived from the unchangeable *tą* and is itself unchangeable except in *tąye′ḣcį* subordinate form, thoroughly, actually, in every detail; *tąye′la* to a nicety

§ 34. Nouns Changing *a* to *e* in Possessive Form

Most nouns ending in *a* do not change their terminal *a*.
Only two have been found that change and that are not verbal derivatives.

hą′pa moccasin *tʻahą′pe*;—*šų′ka* dog *tʻašų′ke* his horse;—(*tʻa′ḣca-šųka* sheep)

The others, not numerous, are verbal derivatives.

’ową′ka bed (Yankton), *tʻo′wąke* his bed (Yankton);—*’owį′ża* bedding, *tʻo′wįże* his bedding;—(*ȟaka′* long things standing apart), *tʻacʻą′ȟaȟake* spine cut of animal;—*cʻuwi′g.naka* woman’s dress, *tʻacʻu′wig.nake;*—*’ipʻi′yaka* belt, sash (*’ipʻi′b.laka* I wear as a belt), *tʻai′pʻiyake* his belt, sash, *’oi′pʻiyake* waist line;—*wo′ȟa* cache, *tʻawo′ȟe* his cache

Irregular is:

’ita′zipa bow, *tʻai′tazipa* (Teton), *tʻįtazipe* ([Riggs] Santee), *tʻi′nazipe* or *tʻai′nazipe* (Santee)

§ 35. Nominalized Verbs

Nominalized verbs ending in *a* change the *a* to *e* provided the verbal *a* is changeable. Changing:

napʻa′ to run away, *’ona′pʻe* refuge;—*cʻapʻa′* to stab, *’ocʻa′pʻe* wound;—*naȟma′* to hide, *’oi′naȟme* place to hide oneself;—*’ona′ȟme* place to hide something;—*’apʻa′* to strike, *’oa′pʻe* place or time of striking (hour);—*ya* to go, *’oye′* way, track;—*kahį′ta* to sweep, *’ica′hįte* brush, broom;—*nųwą′* to swim, *’onų′we* swimming hole;—*waṡte′laka* to like, *wo′waṡtelake* love, kindness;—*’aka′ȟpa* to cover with a sheet, *wa′kaȟpe* cover;—*tʻalo′-’aka`ȟpe* meat cover (used in jerking meat);—*teṡla′ka* to cover around head like a fillet, *wate′ṡlake* kerchief worn around head;—*k’a* to dig, *’ic’e′* an instrument for digging;—*hą* to stand, *’ohe′* niche, proper place for a person

Not changing:

yuġa′ to husk corn, *’oyu′ġa* husking place;—*yuża′* to cook porridge, *cʻąpʻa′-’oyu`ża* vessel for cooking chokecherries;—*lową′* to sing, *’olo′wą* song;—*ba* to blame, *wo′ba* blame;—*’iyu′kcą* to think about, *wo′wiyukcą* thought;—*’iȟa′* to smile, *wo′iȟa* a joke

Probable exceptions are:

–b.la to spread out, *b.le* lake;—*yuġa′* to husk corn, *’o′ġe* outer covering

A number of compound nouns derived from verbs that change *a* to *e* do not change in nominal form.

wab.le′nica orphan (*nica* to lack; but *wo′akʻınice* a dispute);—*kʻeg.le′za* striped turtle (*g.le′za* striped);—*kʻenų′nųża* soft-shelled turtle (*nų′ża* to be yielding to pressure);—*’ųpṡi′ża* sticky mud that lies layer on layer (*’aka′pṡiża* to flop down flat over something);—*m.nipi′ġa* soda water (*piġa* to be boiling);—*waȟpʻo′pa* a large kind of willow (?) (*wa′ġacʻą* cotton wood; *pʻo′pa* to be soft and fibrous like cotton);—*’aġu′yap-saka* crackers (*’aġu′yapi* bread; *sa′ka* dry, stiff);—*pʻeṡni′ża* live coals, sparks (*ṡni′ża* to wilt, fade);—*pʻeȟna′ġa* whitehot coals (*ȟuȟna′ġa* or *ȟug.na′ġa* to burn up, *’ųȟna′ġa* fireplace);—*waya′hota* oats (*yaho′ta* to choke on food swallowed hurriedly);—*m.niwa′tʻicoġa* green algae (*’i′coġa* to drift against);—*cʻąka′ġa* drift log, log (*’o′kaġa* to drift on water);—*waki′cʻųza* magistrate (*kų′za* to decree; but *wo′kicʻųze* kingdom, state);—*wo′pʻaȟta* package (*pʻaȟta′* to tie together; but *ṡina′ ’opʻa′ȟte* a bundle of blankets);—*weyo′tʻa* a clot of blood (*–tʻa* to bunch together);—*pʻeżi′ȟota* (*ȟota* grey) sage;—*ha′sapa* Negro (*ha* skin, *sa′pa* black);—*howa′sapa* catfish (*ho* fish, *’asa′pa* black on surface);—*haȟų′ta* hemp rope, thread (*ha* outer surface, *ȟų′ta* rough);—*hitʻų′kala* mouse (*hi* tooth, *tʻų* to have, *ka* kind of, *la* diminutive);—*pʻeżu′ta* medicine (*pʻeżi′* grass, *hu′te* base)

When used as verbs the terminal *a* of some of these remains changeable.

waki′cʻuzala a little magistrate, and *waki′cʻuzela* he domineers in a small way

We have also:

m.nipi′ġa sodawater, and *m.ni′ kį pi′ġela* water boils a little;—*ha′sapala* little Negro *ha′-sape`la* the little one’s skin is black

According to this the two forms—

kʻenų′nųżela little soft-shelled turtle and *kʻeg.le′zela* little striped turtle

appear formally like verbs.

None of these nouns are ordinarily contracted, although the forms—

pʻeṡni′ṡ-kasni`* to put out embers;—*pʻeȟna′ȟ(wa)ya* (I) make it white hot, broil it;—*pʻeżu′l-wicʻaṡa* physician (i. e., White physician), more commonly *pʻeżu′ta-wicʻa`ṡa

are occasionally used in modern speech.

One word has been found that does not change normally, but transforms *a* into *e* in nominalized form.

> *ȟaȟe′* waterfalls (*'iyo′ȟaȟa* to trickle down into), (note *-ȟa* variable, to tie a knot)

§ 36. NOUNS IN *e* CHANGING TO *a*

A number of nouns change terminal *e* to *a* in composition with *t‘a* ruminant, *c‘ą* wood, and in a few other compounds.

> *'aze′* breast, *t‘a′za* ruminant's udder;—*hu′te* base, bottom, *wihu′ta* bottom of tent, *'o′huta* bank of river, shore of lake, *c‘ąhu′ta* tree stump; but *nażu′te* nape of neck (*nasu′la* brain), *ṡupu′te* lower intestines (*ṡupe′* intestines);—*leże′* urine, *le′ża* to urinate, *t‘ale′ża* [35] bladder of ruminant, *wic‘a′leża* human urine;—*sįte′* tail, *t‘asį′ta* tail of ruminant; but *t‘asį′te* his tail, *ṡųk-sį′te* horse tail, *ho-sį′te* fish tail, *c‘ap-sį′te* beaver tail, even *ptewa′niyąpi-sįte′* cow's tail; without nasalization *situ′psąpsą* (<*ṡįte′-yupsą′psą*) to wag tail;—*ṡake′* finger or toe nail, *t‘aṡa′k‘a* rattle of deer hoof and foot bones, with animal names *ṡake;* i. e., *ṡųkṡa′ke* hoof of horse;—*ṡupe′* intestines, *t‘aṡu′pa* intestines of ruminant;—*c‘ąte′* heart, *t‘ac‘ą′ta* heart of ruminant, but *t‘ac‘ą′te* his heart;—*c‘upe′* marrow, *t‘ac‘u′pa* marrow of ruminant;—*nite′* rump, *t‘ani′ta hu* rump bone of ruminant, but *sųkni′te* a horse's rump;—*niġe′* paunch, stomach, *t‘anı′ġa* paunch of ruminant;—*t‘eżi′kżice* or *c‘eżi′kżice* fat surrounding stomach, *t‘ac‘e′żikżica* same of ruminant;—*wį′kte* hermaphrodite, *wį′kta* (S)

An analogous change occurs in the verbal derivative.

> *'op‘a′ȟte* a number of strands tied together, *wo′p‘aȟta* a bundle

Nouns in *e*, not changing to *a:*

> *'ate′* father;—*'ite′* face;—*'oya′te* tribe, people;—*'oyu′t‘e* flanks (only of man);—*'olu′te* (modern term for *c‘ute′*) side of body;—*'ot‘ų′we* (Yankton *ot‘ų′wahe*) town;—*'ųkce′* dung (*'ų′kce* verb);—*'ųze′* anus;—*wase′* face paint;—*waṡe′* my (a woman's) woman chum;—*waȟpe′* leaves, tea;—*wi′p‘e* weapons (*wa′ip‘e*);—*wį′kte* hermaphrodite;—*hake′* youngest born boy;—*hąke′* a piece of anything;—*he* horn;—*hįye′te* shoulder;—*hįske′* canine teeth;—*hų′p‘e* digging stick (*p‘e* sharp);—*b.le* lake;—*pte* buffalo;—*p‘aġe′* waist;—*p‘aȟte′* glabella;—*p‘aȟla′te* sinus, ethmoid (?);—*p‘e* head;—*p‘esle′te* crown of head;—*p‘o′ġe* nostril;—*p‘ute′* snout;—*p'e′* elm;—*mat‘e′te* rim (as of a cup);—*lote′* throat, (*walo′te-teka* gourmand);—*loȟe′* jowl;—*t‘ate′* wind, also verb;—*t‘aġe′* saliva;—*t‘ic‘e′* top of tent, roof, ceiling;—*siye′te* heel;—*sįkp‘e′* muskrat;—*ṡaṡte′* little finger;—*ṡiyu′te* lap;—*c‘aże′* name;—*c‘ąkpe′* knee;—*c‘e′* penis;—*c‘uwe′* woman's elder sister;—*c‘ute′* side of body;—*c‘ut‘u′ṡte* floating ribs;—*nawa′te* scalp area;—*nape′* hand;—*nų′ġe* ear;—*k‘eze′* barb of fishhook (S);—*ȟąte′* cedar;—*ȟe′* butte, mountain ridge [36]

§ 37. LOSS OF TERMINAL *a* OR *e*

Most cvc verbs when compounded or when used in subordinate form lose their terminal *a* and the terminal consonant undergoes the changes described on page 12. It is not necessary to give additional examples of verbs following this rule.

There are, however, a number of verbs of this type that never contract. Examples are:

> *t‘ą′ka* large;—*'o′ta* many, plentiful;—*kų′za* to decree [36a]
>
> *'oka′ġa* to have many (arrows, thorns) sticking in it, is derived from a stem *ġa* and does not belong here. (See *yuġa′ġa s'e* as though sticking out in all directions)

A number of verbs in *ta* have this probably as a stem, although those that can form reduplications behave as though the stem were cvc:

> *'ayu′ta* to look at, reduplicated *'ayu′lyuta;*—*'aya′ta* to prophecy (*ya* with the mouth);—*c‘uwi′ta* to feel cold (*c‘uwi′* body). None of these lose terminal *a; c‘aże′yata*, to name, mention, evidently cognate of *'aya′ta*, loses terminal *a* and forms *c‘aże′yal-*

A few verbs ending in *e* lose their terminal *e* and undergo changes of the terminal consonant.

> *'ayu′hete* [37] to hang around waiting, *'ayu′hel* reduplicated *'ayu′helhel;*—*'ową′ke* [38] to resemble, *'ową′k;*—*k‘ute′* to shoot, *wak‘u′l*

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[35] *wale′ġa* dried bladder, intestines, probably from *le′ġa* to shine.

[36] *t‘a′t‘e* hunting ruminants (followed by verb "to go", is an adverb <*t‘a* ruminant, *t‘e*<*kte* to kill?).

[36a] *-kųza* to pretend loses terminal *a*.

[37] First person *'ab.lu′hete.*

[38] *wo′wąke* a monstrosity.

Nouns derived from verbs:

’ową′ka room, altar space, *’ową′k;—’oyų′ke* bed, *’oyų′k*

Other verbs in *e* of which there are not many, do not lose terminal *e*.

k‘iyu′še to be mean to someone;—*’ik‘u′še* to block, obstruct;—*šte* peculiar and its compounds *wašte′* good, *mašte′* good weather; *hušte′* lame; *ošte′ka* peculiar;—*’ap‘e′* to await;—*t‘ate′* wind, it blows a wind;—*’ųspe′* to learn, be versed in;—*’ų′kce* to break wind;—*’ole′* to seek;—*’ile′* to burn;—*k‘use′* to be leaky (Santee)

All nouns of the type cvc with terminal *a* and accent on first syllable lose their terminal *a* in composition and undergo the usual change of terminal consonant.

Compounds belonging to this group are:

’ųȟna′ġa, ’ųȟna′ȟ fireplace;—*’ųpši′ża, ’ųpši′ṡ* mud;—*c‘eya′ka, c‘eya′k* beaver dam;—*c‘ap‘ų′ka, c‘ap‘ų′k* mosquito;—*t‘iȟmu′ġa, t‘iȟmu′ȟ* fly;—*wakši′ca, wakši′l* dish;—*hit‘ų′ka, hit‘ų′k* rodent;—*’oȟlo′ka, ’oȟlo′k* hole;—*p‘eṡni′ża, p‘eṡni′ṡ* embers, sparks;—*’ip‘i′yaka, ’ip‘i′yak* belt

t‘ą′ka which as a neutral verb retains its *a* loses it in the noun *t‘at‘ą′ka—t‘at‘ą′k* buffalo bull (lit. large ruminant).

’u′ta acorn, is rarely heard as *’ul*

sa′ta pole; the form *sal* is doubtful

m.na′ża wolverine;—*t‘į′ta* open land;—*wi′ta* island;—*p‘a′ta* wooded district; do not seem to lose their terminal *a*

wa′ġa occurs in both forms, *wa′ġa-c‘ą* cottonwood, *waȟ-c‘į′ca* poplar

wag.me′za (*wakma′heza*, Yankton; *wam.na′heza* Santee) does not lose its terminal *a*

Among cvc nouns ending in *a* with accent on second syllable, only *maġa′* duck, loses its terminal *a*, *maȟ*.

From *b.lokétu* we have *b.lok-yą′ka* to remain settled in summer.

A number of nouns ending in *e* contract in the same way.

’aze′ breast (in *’asą′pi* milk<*’aze′-hąpi′* fluid);—*’ųze′* anus;—*p‘o′ġe* nostril;—*p‘ute′* snout[39];—*leże′* urine;—*lote′* throat, food;—*t‘aġe′* saliva;—*ṡake′* finger or toe nail (only in *ṡak-t‘ų′ s’e* like one with claws);—*ṡupe′* intestines, *t‘aṡu′p;—c‘ąte′* heart;—*c‘aże′* name;—*c‘upe′* marrow bone, *t‘ac‘u′p;—nape′* hand;—*niġe′* stomach;—*nu′ġe* ear;—*keze′* barb of fish hook (Santee, doubtful whether *k, k‘*, or *k’*)

hąke′ part, piece, does not contract. As verb *’ihą′ke* end, contracts, *’ihą′kt‘ųwą* living at ends; *’ihą′kya* to cause to end; *hąkya′* to ruin

Outside of the cvc group contraction of verbs ending in *a* occurs in the groups *-p‘a* and *k‘a*. All the contracted forms are adverbial.

c‘ap‘a′ to stab, *’ic‘a′p, ’ac‘a′p* sticking in, on it;—*c‘op‘a′* to wade, *m.nic‘o′p* wading in water;—*’o′p‘a* to join, *’op* in company with several;—*nap‘a′* to flee; *’ina′p* hiding behind, *’ai′nap* on the farther side of (hidden by); with the verbs of arrival *’i, hi, gli, k‘i, -nap‘a* does not contract: *hina′p‘a* to come out from; *’ot‘a′p‘a* to follow in the tracks of someone, *’oye′ot‘ap* following tracks, *’at‘a′p* following on (the heels of someone), *’i′t‘ap* soon after, already;—*’i′tkok‘ip‘a* to go to meet face to face, *’itko′p* going out to meet someone who is coming;—*k‘ap‘a′* to beat in a contest, to have a superabundance (*’ak‘a′p* exceedingly)

Others do not contract, p. e.:

’ak‘i′p‘a to happen to meet face to face;—*’op‘a′* to go by a certain way, but *wato′p‘a* to row a boat (*wa′ta-’op‘a′*), forms *wato′p;—’ap‘a′* to strike;—*’it‘ų′p‘a* to admire, be careful with;—*’ık‘o′p‘a* to fear lest;—*k‘oki′p‘a* to be afraid;—*’aho′p‘a* to honor, to observe a law

In the group *k‘a* we find:

’anų′k‘a(tąhą) ’anų′k[40] on both sides;—*io′k‘a, to′k* it is some way, how is it

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[39] Often not contracted.

[40] *’anų′k‘a są* bald-headed eagle (on both sides white).

§ 38. REDUPLICATION

Reduplication expresses distributive ideas in time and space. It is almost entirely confined to verbs and adverbs derived from verbs. cvc verbs are duplicated, the last syllable retaining the ending *a*. The terminal consonant of the stem undergoes in most cases those changes that are required when the terminal *a* drops off. (See p. 12.) Whenever phonetically inadmissible combinations occur the terminal consonant is omitted in the first syllable. For this reason the terminal consonant is always omitted in the first syllable when the stem has the form ccvc, because otherwise three-consonantic clusters would result. Aspirate and glottal stops do not count as two consonants.

Examples are:

> (–)*ȟa'pa* to have a rustling quality, (–)*ȟapha'pa;*—(–)(*o*)*k‘a'ta* to be warm, (–)(*o*)*k‘a'lk‘ata;*—**sa'ka* to be hard, stiff and dry, **saksa'ka;*—(–)*pu'za* to be dry, (–)*puspu'za;*—(–)*pi'ża* wrinkled, (–)*piṡpi'ża;*—(–)*t'a'ġa* to be rough, (–)*t'aȟt'a'ġa*

Examples of ccvc verbs:

> (–)*ksa'pa* to be wise, (–)*ksaksa'pa;*— *–slu'ta* to slide through a narrow opening, *–slu'sluta;*—(–)*ȟlo'ka* to have holes, (–)*ȟloȟlo'ka;*—(–)*ptu'za* to be bent over, (–)*ptuptu'za;*—**ṡni'ża* to be wilted, *ṡniṡni'ża;*— *–m.nu'ġa* to be in a condition of producing crackling sounds, *m.num.nu'ġa*

cvc verbs ending in *c* in stems beginning with a dental or alveolar consonant (see p. 5) end the first syllable in *k*, perhaps an indication that the *c* which is always preceded by *e* or *i*, originated from a *k*. (See p. 13.)

> **ṡe'ca* to be dry and dead (hay, wood), *ṡekṡe'ca;*—(–)*ṡi'ca* to be bad, (–)*ṡikṡi'ca;*—(–)*t‘e'ca* to be new, (–)*t‘ekt‘e'ca;*—(–)*żį'ca* to sniffle, (–)*żį'kżįca;*— *-ceka* to stagger, *–cekceka;*—*ni'ca* to lack, *wani'knica;*—*he'c‘eca* it is like that, *he'c‘ekc‘eca* [41]

In stems beginning with other consonants the reduplicated syllable ends in *l*.

> **ġį'ca* to snort, *ġį'lġįca;*— *–k‘įca* to scrape off top layer, *–k‘ilk‘įca;*— *–ȟica* to awaken someone, *–ȟilȟica;*—**ȟica'hą* to trip and fall, *ȟilȟi'cahą;*—**p‘ica'* to be rather good, *p‘ılp‘i'ca;*—*wą'ca* once (adv.), *wą'lwąca;*—**ka'k‘eca* it is like that yonder, *ka'k‘elk‘eca* [42]

While the reduplicated forms given up to this point may form their subordinate forms by dropping terminal *a* in the same way as the unreduplicated forms, there are a few that reduplicate like all others but do not lose terminal *a*.

> *'a'taya* (adv.) entirely, wholly, *'a'l'ataya;*—*'o'ta* many, *'o'l'ota;*—*t‘o'keca* [43] different, *t‘okt‘o'keca;*—*li'la* (adv.) very, *li'g.lila* or *li'lala*

Several others, although not of cvc type are treated in the same way.

> *he'c‘eca* [43] it is like that, *he'c‘ekc‘eca;*—*he'c‘el* thus, *he'c‘ekc‘e;*—*ka'k‘el* thus, *ka'k‘eṡke* (Teton);—*ka'k‘en* (Yankton), *ka'k‘etke* [44] (Yankton);—*ec‘a'la* (adverb and verb) soon, *ec‘a'kc‘ala* adverb only;—*c‘uwi'ta* [45] to feel cold, *c‘uwi'lwita;*—*'użį'ca* bobtailed, with short skirt, *kaų'żįkżįca* (neutral verb)

(–)*t‘ą'ka* large is quite irregular. It has the reduplicated forms *t‘ąkt‘ą'ka* and *t‘ąkį'kįyą* in Teton and Yankton; *t‘ąkį'yąyą* in Yankton.

On page 26 a number of apparent cvc verbs have been enumerated which have the accent on the second syllable. Most of these reduplicate in the same way as cvc verbs with accent on the first syllable.

> (–)*suta'* hard, firm, (–)*suksu'ta* [46]—**yąka'* to sit, **yą'kyąka* (only 1st dual-plural *'ųyą'kyąka*);—**yųka'* to recline, (**yųkyųka*); —*co'nala* few, *cokco'nala;*—**p‘ica'* to be fairly good, **p‘ilp‘i'ca;*—*żica'* to be rich, **żikżi'ca;* —**ȟpeca'ṡni* to be full of life, action (*ṡni* not), **ȟpeȟpe'caṡni.* [47]

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[41] See below *ka'k‘elk‘eca.*

[42] See above *he'c‘ekc‘eca.*

[43] *ca* is a suffix.

[44] *t* in Yankton corresponds to terminal *n*; Teton *ṡ* is irregular; it occurs also in *to'k‘eṡke* from *to'k‘el, to'k‘eca.*

[45] See *c‘uwi'* part of body enclosed by ribs and sternum.

[46] The combination *ls* which would result from normal reduplication does not occur.

[47] The reduplicated form *ȟpeca'ṡniṡni* is used more frequently.

The last three of these are compounds, *p‘i* good, *ȟpa* to be down, clumsy. *żi* alone does not occur. These are treated by analogy as though they were cvc stems, although they are actually cv stems with the suffix *ka*.

A number of verbs ending in *ą* are reduplicated like cvc verbs.

> *–titą* to have force exerted, *–tiktitą;—*kitą′* to be stubborn, *waki′lkitąka*[48]*;—*po′ġą* to blow on, *po′ȟpoġą*

cv verbs are doubled without any change.

cvcv verbs duplicate the second syllable.

> **c‘ap‘a′* to stab, *c‘ap‘a′p‘a;—*manų′* to steal, *manų′nų;—(–)ile′* to burn, *(–)ile′le;—(–)ųspe′* to learn to do, *(–)ųspe′spe;—(–)waśte′* to be good, *(–)waśte′śte*

Here belong also distributive demonstrative pronouns: *hena′na* those, *tona′na* which ones, *to′nana* how many.

The verb *smaka′* deep (as a valley) (cf. *śma* deep [as snow, water]) reduplicates *smaka′ka*, but with prefix *’o*, *’o′smasmaka*, like a cvc verb.

A number of other verbs are treated as cvc verbs, although they are evidently compounds of cv verbs.

> **yu′za* to take hold of, is reduplicated in Teton *yu′syuza*, in Yankton *yu′zaza;—*yazą′* to hurt, *yazą′zą* and *yasya′zą*[49]*;—*’e′pazo* to point at, *’e′pazozo* and *’e′paspazo;—(–)p‘e′sto* sharp pointed, *p‘csp‘e′stola*, *p‘esto′sto;—c‘ąze′* angry, *’ac‘ą′sc‘ąze*, *c‘ąze′ze;—*putą′* to be short, flat and ugly, *pulpu′tą* and *putą′tą;—’oȟla′ġąla* loose fitting, *’oȟla′ȟlaġąla* and *’oȟla′ġąġąla;—na′żį* to stand, *na′żįżį* and *na′śnażį*, the latter only adverb; *na′śnażį ’iya′ya yąka′* he sits getting up all the time (repeatedly)
>
> This verb reduplicates the first person entirely irregularly by including the first person in the reduplication *na(wa′)ś(wa)żįkį ną (wa)hi′yu* (I) just stood about and came on
>
> Here belongs also *(–)ci′k’a* small, *cikci′k’a*

Some verbs in *ya* are treated as cv (or cvc) verbs, others like cvcv verbs.

> *(–)spa′ya* to be wet, *(–)spaspa′ya;—(–)sku′ya* to be sweet, *(–)skusku′ya;—*hįȟpa′ya* to fall down, *hįȟpa′ȟpaya;—(–)optą′yą* to fall over prostrate, *’optą′ptąyą;— –b.laya* to open out level, *–b.lab.laya;—kiksu′ya* to remember, *kiksu′ksuya;—tąyą′* well, *tątą′yą;—g.na′yą* to deceive, *g.na′g.nayą;— –ȟlaya* to peel, *–ȟlaȟlaya;—’ina′piśkąyą* to toy with, *ina′piśkąśkąyą;—ze′zeya* (adv.) suspended (colloquial *ze′zezeya*)*;—ġe′ġeya* gathered in a baglike retainer;—*śųką′yą* (adv.), *śųką′kąyą* in a surprisingly easy manner[50]

The following are treated like cvcv verbs:

> *(–)c‘e′ya* to cry, *c‘e′yaya;—*c‘e′kiya* to pray to, *c‘e′kiyaya;—*’aśpu′ya* to itch on (Santee), *yaśpu′yaya* (Teton and Yankton) or *’aya′śpuyaya;—(–)g.naśkį′yą* to be crazy, *g.naśkį′yąyą;—(–)g.mig.ma′*, *g.mig.ma′g.ma* spherical, Y *g.miyą′yą;—’aśni′yąyą* to tickle (like fine grass, fuzzy material); **yaya′la* yielding, fuzzy [?]);—**kįyą′* to fly, *kįyą′yą;—(’ina′ȟni* to hurry), **ȟniyą′yą* to be trembling (as in palsy);—*’aka′śpeyaya* to lose control (*śpa* to be broken off)
>
> *-ȟlaya* to be peeled;—**ȟ’ąyą′* to be dying, suffering extremely; —**niya′* to breathe; —*(–)howa′ya* to howl *(ka)p‘owa′ya*[51] to have a nap, rough surface, do not occur reduplicated.

Reduplication of neutral and active verbs

Unless preceded by prefixes neutral verbs when reduplicated throw the accent upon the second syllable; active verbs retain it on the first syllable.

Neutral:

> **sa′pa* to be black, **sapsa′pa;—(–)pu′za* to be dry, *(–)puspu′za*

Active:

> **ġo′pa* to snore, **ġo′pġopa;—*p‘a′ta* to butcher, **p‘a′lp‘ata;—(–)psi′ca* to jump, *(–)psi′psica*

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[48] Compare *patą′* to brace, to hold in place by pushing.

[49] *kazą′* (neutral) to be hurt by striking.

[50] *śųką′k‘uwa* he is handling him with perfect ease, ridiculously easily (in a wrestling match or the like).

[51] Remains neutral with instrumental *ka*.

(–)*hą'ska* reduplicates like other cvcv verbs: (–)*hą'skaska* although neutral has the accent on the first syllable.

A number of reduplicated neutral verbs are used as active verbs without taking instrumental particles. In these the neutral forms have the accent on the second syllable, the active forms on the first syllable. Most of them are used as independent verbs for the third person only. Examples are:

ḣopḣo'pa to be good-looking, *ḣo'pḣopa* to pose, to consciously try to appear at one's best, *ḣo'pḣopya*—adv. used with first and second persons;—*b.leb.le'cahą* to be shattered to pieces, scattered about; *b.le'b.leca* to shake the body, as a horse after rolling or dog after swimming;—*snisni'za* to be in a collapsed state, to be flat, as a tire; *sni'snis* (adv.) gradually collapsing (as air goes out);—*ṡniṡni'ża* to be in a faded, wilted condition, *ṡni'ṡniṡ 'a'yapi* they are getting faded;—*b.leb.le'za* to be in a sane state of mind, *b.le'b.leze ṡni* to be crazily or frantically active (i. e., the not being in a sane state of mind affects him);—*ḣuḣu'ġahą* to be in the condition of being crushed or battered up, *ḣu'ḣuḣ hį̨g.la'* to sound forth (thunder), as if banging things up;—*ḣapḣa'pa* to be in a condition that produces a rustling sound, *ḣa'pḣap hįg.la'* to suddenly give out a rustling sound;—*m.num.nu'ġahą* to be in a condition that produces a crackling sound, *m.nu'm.nuḣ hįg.la'* such a sound coming forth;—*pispi'za* possessing the ability to whistle or squeal (a prairiedog), *pi'spiza* he makes that kind of noise;—*ptuptu'za* to be in the posture of sticking out the lower back of the body, *ptu'ptusya ma'ni* he walks sticking it out in the back, *ptu'ptus mawa'ni* (I walk in such) position;—*k'ok'o'ka* to possess the quality of producing sound on wood, *k'o'k'ok hįg.la'* to give out such a sound suddenly;—*k'ak'a'ka* to have the quality of rattling, as heavy metal, dishes, etc., *k'a'k'ak hįg.la'* to give out the sound suddenly;—*psipsi'cala* to have the quality of jumping (= grasshopper), *psi'psica* he jumps;—*bubu'* to be in a solid state, *bu'bu hįg.la'* to suddenly sound as though a solid mass were banged on;—*kṡąkṡą'* to be crooked, *kṡą'kṡą* he nervously wriggles the whole body about (as an awkward boy or girl);—*ḣmuḣmu'* to have a humming sound, *ḣmu'ḣmu hįg.la'* giving off that sound (as in cutting the air with a ball; the whizzing sound);—*ṡloṡlo'la* to be miry; to have a sound as stepping into mire, *ṡlo'ṡlola* the name of a ground bird that whistles like that;—*snasna'* to possess a metallic tinkling quality, *sna'sna* it gives off that sound;—*snisni'* cold things, to be cold to touch, *sni'sni iya'ya* he turns cold, as when scared

Some verbs appear only in reduplicated form:

'oa'a to be mouldy;—*kata'ta*, *nata'ta* to shake off by striking, with foot; **so'so* to cut into thin strips (as skin for thongs);—*-sloslo'* to be soft and slimy;—(–)*ṡtaṡta'* to be soaked and slimy (like chamois);—(-)*coco'* to be sticky, like gumbo mud;—*'ocą'cą* to be full of mucus (as nose in a cold) to feel thick in (the head);—**yaya'la* to be yielding like jelly, a springy layer of twigs;— *–hųhų'za* to rock, shake, tremble;—*'oli'lita*, *'olu'luta*[52] to be warm (temperature);—*'ima'ġaġa*[53] to be amused by;—*tikti'ca*[53] to be viscous;— *t'ot'o'pa* to be soaked and slimy (like wet chamois skin[54]); — (–) *tųptų'pa* viscous and slimy;—*kat'a't'apa*[55] (neutral verb) to be partially dried out

Reduplication of nouns

Very few true nouns can be reduplicated and then they are used mainly, perhaps only, in set phrases. In many cases it is doubtful whether the reduplicated part is really a noun.

ṡų'kṡųka-waa`yuta* to look abjectly (like a dog) for a favor;—*wasį'kp'ekp'eka* he is tricky (*sįkp'e'* muskrat);—*wawi'k'ąḣk'ąġika* he is over-enthusiastic (*k'ąġi'* crow);—*wai'ktomimika* he is an insincere, plausible talker (*ikto'mi* the mythological trickster), *oḣ'ą'-'ikto`mimika he acts like the trickster;—*wawi'c'aṡaṡaka* a woman who runs after men;—*wawį'yąyąka* a man who runs after women;—*k'et'a'ġeġeka* a rowdy (*k'e* turtle, *t'aġe'* saliva; this probably refers to the supposed qualities of the turtle. The turtle's heart eaten in small bits makes a child hardy);—*wai't'ąc'ąc'ąka* one who is domineering (*it'ą'c'ą* chief, leader; *t'ąc'ą'* body);—*walo'teteka* a gourmand, fond of eating (*lote'* throat);—*ųkce'kcela* cactus (*ųkce'* manure);—*ųżį'żįtka* wild rose fruits (*ųzį'tka* musk bag, from *ųze'-itka* anus, egglike thing; with change from *z* to *ż;* probably bunches of *ųzį'tka*);—*wa(ma')lak'olk'otaka* (I) incline toward Dakota ways;—*wawa'maṡikṡicuka*—toward White ways;—*taku'ya* he has kin, *ta'kuya* he makes some use of—*wata'kukuka* he cares much about kinship;—*wawa'niheyayaṡni* you are aggressive;—*wawo'kip'ap'aka* a co-operative person[55a] (*'o'kip'a* to join one's own);—*c'asmu'smu* sands;—*t'ate'teka* a nickname (*t'ate'* wind);—*pażo'żola* a place with many conical hills (*pażo'ya* a rounded, tapering protuberance);—*paha'hayela* in great piles, amounts (*paha'* hill, *paha'yela* in a fairly large amount);—*nac'į'śkaśkaya* (adv.) hollowed and curved at edges (*nac'į'śka*) is derived from the noun *c'įśka'* (*k'įśka'* Yankton);—*wama'za ska'skaka* one greedy for money. Here the verb *ska* white is duplicated;—similar in form is *wi'ś'oś'oka* to be over-enthusiastic over new things

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[52] Contracts.

[53] Does not contract.

[54] For other materials *ṡtaṡta'*.

[55] Does not contract.

[55a] Used generally contemptuously for a person who joins impulsively in whatever is suggested.

§§ 39–70. STRUCTURE OF THE THEME

The stem may be expanded by two types of prefixes, locatives and instrumentals. The general principle is that the first prefix modifies the whole content of the following complex. In the same way an enclitic or suffix holds together the whole preceding complex. (See pp. 52, 153.)

The usual order is locative prefix or prefixes, instrumental prefix, stem.

Compounding plays an important role and certain compounds are combined into firm units. into words that have a single accent.

§§ 39–44. LOCATIVE PREFIXES

§ 39. INTRODUCTORY

There are three locative prefixes, *'a*, *'o* and *'i*. The most general meaning of *'a* is "on"; of *'o* "in." That of *'i* is more difficult to define. It is used to express the local relation "against, in contact with," and derived from this "by means of" and "in relation to." There is furthermore a prefix *k'i*, meaning apart and together. It will be discussed later (pp. 79 et seq.).

While according to Riggs' Santee data the use of the locatives seems to be quite free, the Teton evidence shows that many of them are idiomatically restricted in usage. In fact the feeling for their original meaning and for the compound character of the verbal stem to which they are attached has often so completely disappeared that the compounds are treated like verbal stems.

§ 40. *'a* ON, ADDED, MORE

When followed by certain stems or by the instrumentals *wo*, *pa*, *pu*, *na* and sometimes by *ka* this meaning stands out clearly.

'ali' to step on;—*'ahą'* to land on;—*'awo'weġa* he broke it by shooting (and it fell) on something;—*'ań'* to put wood on fire;—*'ag.le'* set up on (adv.);—*'akśu'* to pile on;—*mak'a' 'ama'ni* to walk on ground (i. e., to walk on foot);—*'apa'ȟpa* he pushes it over on something;—*'apu't'aka* he presses the hands on it;—*'ana't'a* he piled it (dust) on him with the feet;—*'aka'weġa* to break on something

With verbs expressing removal of parts, or separation and with the prefixes *yu-*, *ya*, *wa-* and sometimes *pa-* and *ka-* the prefix *a* rather expresses the idea of "off," or "more and more taken off," perhaps from the viewpoint that by removing the removed parts are added on to others removed. The forms give the idea that more and more is removed from a whole. The same forms with *pa-* and *ka-* may express that the action is done on something. The forms *yu-*, *ya-*, *wa-*, almost always express removal.

'aka'żipa to shave off; to shave something on something else;—*'apa'ksa* to break off by pushing piece by piece; to break something on something;—*'aya'ksa* to bite off more and more[56];—*'ayu'weġa* to break off more and more;—*'ayu'ksa* to cut off with shears piece by piece;—*'awa'k'oġa* to scrape off more and more

In some cases *'a* before verbs with *ya-* and *yu-* means "on."

'ayu'g.na to pull off (berries, peas, etc.) (so as to fall) on;—*'ayu'kśiża* to clamp on

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[56] See also p. 40.

In many cases the use of *'a* is purely idiomatic and it is not always certain whether it is the locative prefix or part of the stem.

> *'ai'cʻaġa* to grow up on a certain diet (*'i'cʻaġa* to grow up);—*'aya'ta* to predict, foredoom by speaking;—*'ayu'ha* to keep for future use (as fine moccasins kept by women for burial), also *'ai'g.luha* to keep for oneself;—*'ayu'ta* to look at;—*'ayu'štą* to desist (*yuštą'* to finish);—*'awa'ȟtani* to sin against a precept;—*'ab.le'za* to notice;—*'apʻe'* to wait;—*'apʻi'ya* to mend (*pʻi* good; *ya* to cause);—*'atų'wą* to look for something (*tųwą'* to look);—*'ana'ȟma* to keep secret, not to speak about a secret;—*'aslo'hą* to crawl towards a goal;—*'aka'ȟpa* to cover;—*'akta'šni* to reject;—*'akši'ža* to refuse to surrender something;—*'akʻi'pʻa* to meet;—*'akʻi'ta* to search for, to scan about

In a number of verbs the prefix *'a-* is inseparable or, if the stem exists alone, it has with *'a* a very specific meaning. Examples are:

> *'a'šlaya* bare over the surface; stem *šla* bare; it occurs without *'a* with one instrumental *pašla'ya* to hull by cooking in ashes; there are also *yašla'* to graze, *yušla'* to make bare by pulling;—*'ab.la'ya* to be level on the surface; stem *b.la;* without *'a*, *pab.la'ya* to flatten by pushing; *kab.lo'* to jerk meat;—*'atʻą'į* to show itself, become plain; stem *tʻąį'* to be perceptible to the eye or ear; also *yatʻą'į* to mention, *yutʻą'į* to show;—*'aš'a'ka* to adhere to in layers (like crusts of soot); stem *š'o'ka* strong;—*'ata'kunišni* to vanish into thin air, to become nothing (*ta'kuni* nothing, *šni* not);—*'alo'sloza* to have a sensation of hot flushes (*lo'za*)

Riggs gives the prefix *'a* (in Santee) for "on" in verbs with *yu*, *ya*, *wa*. In Teton separate words must be used.

> *le'l 'aką'l yuksa' yo'* cut it out on this (male speaking);—*wa'g.nawotapi kį 'aką'l waksa' yo'* cut it on the table

For some verbs for which Riggs gives the prefix *'a*, Teton does not use it.

> Instead of *'ag.lo'nica* to hold on to one's own, *g.lo'nica*
> Instead of *'aši'ca* to become bad on, or for, *'iši'ca* to become bad for, (*'aši'ca* means, it [meat, etc.] becomes spoiled being kept too long "on one's hands")
> Instead of *'asli'po* to lick on, *sli'pa*
> Instead of *'acʻu'wita* to be cold on, *le' 'ų' cʻuwi'ta* on account of this he is cold
> Instead of *'acʻe'pa* to grow fat for a purpose, *le' 'ų' cʻe'pa*

With adverbs *a* has a comparative, meaning "more."

> *'awa'kʻąyą* in a more holy manner [57];—*'ahe'cʻelya* a little more in that manner;—*'apa'haya* a little more hill-like, slightly hill-like;—*'atʻe'hąṭuka* rather farther;—*'akʻi'yelaka* rather nearer

In a few cases *'a* forms verbs from nouns.

> *'am.ni'm.ni* to sprinkle (water on);—*'acʻu'* to be covered with dew (dew on);—*'acʻa'ġa* to form ice on

§ 41. *'O-* WITHIN A RESTRICTED AREA, IN

Examples:

> *'oa'a* it is mouldy (in its container);—*'o'm.na* to smell into (active); *'om.na'* it smells in a place;—*'oi'le*, to burn inside of something;—*'ona'pʻa* to flee into;—*'owo'tʻa* by blowing (wind) it packs it into;—*'ohą'* it stands in, to cook by boiling (= to stand in kettle);—*'oȟ'a'* it is mottled in something;—*'oci'sciyela* it is small in extent, also adverb;—*'otʻą'kaya* it is extensive, also adverb;—*'otʻe'hąyą* it is far between two points (*tʻe'hąyą* it is far), also adverb;—*'okʻą'* there is room;—*'ocʻa'štʻųka* to be famous (*cʻaštʻų'* to name)

It is also used with adverbs.

> *'okʻi'ycla* near in a given area, between two points;—*'ohą'skeya* lengthwise, in length

In many cases the locative meaning of *o* is not obvious.

> *'oġų'ġa* to waken from sleep (*ġų'ġa* with eyes half closed, adverb; *išta'ġųġa* to be blind);—*'olo'ta* to borrow;—*'ocʻį'* to beg for a small gift (*cʻį* to want);—*'oki'ni* to acquire as a small gift (not an exchange);—*'ową'žila* quiet, yielding (*'o'wąžila* behaving as a unit, to be unanimous);—*'owa'šte* it is good for (a sickness, as a remedy);—*'oši'ca* it is bad for (health);—*'otʻe'ȟika* it is a difficult situation, expensive (*tʻeȟi'ka* hard, difficult, generally adjective);—*'ole'* to hunt;—*'oȟ'ą'* to act

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[57] See also p. 6.

The locative *’o* is used in the formation of nouns. Verbs ending in variable *a* change it in nominal form to *e*. (See p. 33.)

’ona′pʻe place to hide;—*’ocʻa′pʻe* stabbing place;—*’owa′pʻate* slaughtering place;—*’opʻi′ye* container;—*’og.na′ke* holder;—*’oka′kse* a cut;—*’ope′he* folded material

Exceptions: *’oȟlo′ka* hole;—*’owį′ża* bedding;—*’ok’o′za* a smooth, open spot of ground;—*’o′kpaza* darkness;—*’o′smaka* ravine

1. Place of an action.

’otʻi′ dwelling (*tʻi* to dwell);—*’owe′tʻi* camping place (<*’o-e′tʻi*);—*’oška′te* playground (*ška′ta* to play);—*’ona′żį* shelter (standing place *na′żį* to stand);—*’oe′cʻųla* gambling place (*’ecʻų′* to do);—*’owa′cʻi* dancing place (*wacʻi′* to dance);—*pte-’o′nase* a buffalo surround (*nasa′* [to go on] a communal hunt);—*’oye′* way, track (*ya* to go);—*’ohe′* proper place for a person (*hą* to stand);—*’ona′pʻe* refuge (*napʻa′* to flee);—*’oyų′ke* bed (*yųka′* to lie);—*’okʻą′* space;—*wase′-’oyuˋze* place for getting red paint, (*yuze′* to dip out of water, mud);—*’okʻį′yąke* or *okʻi′įyąke* race track (*kʻi′į′yąka* to race, run against each other);—*’ošpu′la* a fragment, piece (*-špu* to be chipped off);—*’oȟci′* the loose end of a piece cut out of an edge, fringe

2. Result of an action.

’ohe′yų bundle for travel;—*’opʻa′ȟte* a skein, bundle of threads, bundle;—*’oka′ġe* the make, style of a manufactured thing;—*’owa′slece* a slice (*wa-* by cutting)

3. In a few cases *’o* is prefixed to nouns.

’ocʻa′że character, species of natural objects (from *cʻaże′* name; compare *’oka′ġe* character, style of manufactured objects); *zitka′la ’ocʻa′że ’iyu′ha* all kinds of birds;—*’ocʻą′ku* or *cʻąku′* road; *he′l ’og.na′ cʻąku′* or *he′l ’ocʻą′ku* the road passes through there;—*’ob.lo′* corner (meeting of two planes) (*b.lo′* protuberance);—*’o′įkpa* head of stream (*’į′kpa* tip);—*’oi′hąke* end, conclusion (*hąke′* part, *ihą′ke* end);—*’o′huta* bank of river, shore (*hu′te* base);—*’o′makʻa* season (*makʻa′* ground);—*’owe′tu* in the springtime, *we′tu* spring;—*’ob.lo′ketu* in the summer, *b.loke′tu* summer;—*’optą′yetu* in the autumn, *ptąye′tu* autumn;—*’owa′niyetu* in the winter time, *wani′yetu* winter;—*’oą′petu* in the daytime, *’ąpe′tu* day;—*’ohą′hepi, ohą′yetu,* in the night time, *hąhe′pi, haye′tu* night;—*’oȟta′yctu* in the evening, *ȟtaye′tu* evening.

In the last six terms the *’o-* expresses extent of time as shown in the following examples:

ȟtaye′tu kį le′ ’ab.la′kela this is a calm evening;—*to′hųwel-’oȟtaˋyetuka wą*—once during an evening;—*he′-’oȟtaˋyetu kį wai′’* I went there during that evening

A number of verbs form compounds in which the first verb is transformed into a noun by the prefix *’o-*.

’oe′cʻų-wašteˋ it is easy to do (the doing is good);—*’oi′štime-waštcˋ* it is easy to go to sleep (p. e., when all is quiet) (the sleeping is good);—*’oi′hąb.le-šiˋca* it is hard to dream, it is a bad dream;—*’oe′ye-šiˋca* it is difficult to say it (the saying is bad);—*’okʻą′šni cʻąke′ ’owa′cʻi-šiˋca* there is no room, and so the dancing is bad;—*’oa′ye-tʻeȟiˋka* it is hard to take it there;—*’ocʻe′ye-wąkʻaˋla* he cries easily (the crying is weak);—*’oi′cu-wašaˋkala* it is simple to take it, accessible;—*’oi′cu-’oškiˋškeya*[58] it is difficult, complicated to take it;—*’oe′cʻų-tʻeˋhą* it takes long to do it;—*’oi′ȟa-sutaˋ* to laughing he is hard (he controls desire to laugh)

For words with accented *’o* see page 44.

§42. *’i* AGAINST, IN REFERENCE TO, BY MEANS OF

1. Locative: against an object.

’ipo′ġą to blow against, *po′ġą* to blow;—*’ipsi′ca* to jump to a place, *psi′ca* to jump;—*’icʻo′pʻa* to wade across, *cʻopʻa′* to wade;—*’iyų′ka* to go to bed, *yųka′* to lie;—*’ica′kʻoka* to clang by beating against, *kakʻo′ka* to clang by beating;—*’ipa′weġa* to break by pushing against something, *pawe′ġa* to break by pushing;—*’ikʻo′yaka* to be fastened to, *kʻoya′ka* to wear as ornaments attached to dress;—*’ina′pʻa* to hide behind, to guard, *napʻa′* to hide;—*’ig.le′g.leġa* to be striped against (a background), *g.leg.le′ġa* to be striped;—*’icʻa′pʻa* to stab by chance against, *cʻapʻa′* to stab;—*’ių′* to apply (to use against); *’ų* to use;—*’ica′sapa* to be blackened by striking against, *kasa′pa* to blacken by striking;—*’ipa′tą yu′za* he holds it braced against;—*’iyu′ta* to eat as a side dish with something else, as a flavoring, *yu′ta* he eats it

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[58] *škiška′* twisted in many ways, *škiški′ta* corrugated.

Often *'i* indicates that an action is done indirectly by an object serving as instrument.

> *'ipa'slohą* he pushes by means of an instrument against it and pushes it along;—*'iyu'tʻą* to bring something in touch with something else with the hand;—*tʻahį́'špa wą 'icʻa'pʻe'* he was stuck by an awl (*tʻa-hu-išpa* deer elbow bone, *tʻahį́'špa wą cʻapʻe'*' would mean "the awl actively stuck him")

2. In reference to.

> *'iwą'yaka* to consider, to see one thing in reference to another;—*'ilo'wą* to sing about (love song about a woman)

3. On account of.

> *'icʻą'ze* to be angry on account of, *cʻązé* to be angry;—*'icʻe'pa* to be fat on account of, *cʻe'pa* to be fat;—*'iši'ca* to suffer bad effects from, *ši'ca* bad;—*'ig.le'pa* to vomit on account of, *g.le'pa* to vomit;—*'icʻe'sli* to defecate on account of, *cʻeslí* to defecate;—*'iwa'šte* to benefit by (be good on account of), *wašté* to be good;—*'iši'ca* to be harmed by (be bad on account of), *ši'ca* to be bad

4. Expressing a condition resulting from an action or condition.

> *'islo'lya* to know by means of;—*'iwi'tkotkoka* to be made foolish by something;—*'ių'šika* [59] to be made poor by something, to be poor on account of;—*'iwa'tukʻa* to be made tired by, to be tired on account of;—*'i'tokʻašni* he is not affected by it

In Teton the prefix *'i* is used almost exclusively with the meaning on account of; by means of, only when an abstract idea is involved. In other cases *'ų* to use, expresses instrumentality.

> *ta'kehe c'ų hé li'la 'i'matą* what you said (past) that on account of I am proud; *wo'yuha 'o'ta 'ų́ wi'tąpi* property much using, they are proud of something
> *yahí kį 'iyu'škį* your coming on account of he is made happy; *taku'ku 'ų́ wi'yuškįyąpi* things using they make him happy
> *'o'mayakiyįkta 'icʻe'cʻiciya* that you will aid me I pray of you; *lé 'ų́ cʻe'cʻiciya* with this (offering) I pray to you
> *waná ta'ku tʻeȟi'ka 'o'ta 'awa'kʻipʻa kį 'icʻą'temat'įze'* now things hard many I met, they harden my heart (I am now hardened by many hardships); *lé 'ų́ cʻąté mat'įze'* with that (a gun, etc.) my heart is brave
> *cʻąpʻá yuža'pi 'itʻi'yole-wahi'*' choke-cherry porridge for seeking a house (visiting) I come; *šų'kakʻą́ kį lé 'ų́ tʻiyo'le 'oma'wani* the horse, this with seeking a home (visiting) I travel about

Riggs gives for Santee a somewhat wider use for *'i*, p. e. *'ipa'są* he whitens it with it. Teton would say *lé 'ų́ pasą́*.

5. With adverbs:

> *'itʻo'kap, 'i'tʻokap* in front of it;—*'ihu'kʻuya* below it;—*'ikʻi'yela* near it;—*'iwą'kap, i'wąkap* above it;—*'itʻe'hąyą, i'tʻehąyą* far from it;—*'i'lehąyą* this far from it;—*'iyo'ȟlatʻe, i'yoȟlatʻe* underneath it;—*'iya'kąl, i'yakąl* on top of it;—*'iwą'kal* above it

6. In a number of verbs *'i* is inseparable and its meaning is obscure.

> *'icʻa'ġa* to grow;—*'itʻų'pʻa* to beware of (active);—*'ilé* it burns;—*'izi'ta* smoke rises;—*'ica'ȟtaka* to touch;—*'i'tą* to be proud of;—*'i'manini hiya'ya* he goes by, sometimes walking sometimes running;—*'i'wacʻicʻi na'žį* he stands dancing from time to time

7. Many adverbs and a few verbs appear with accent either on the second or on the first syllable. The difference in meaning is that the former follows a preceding noun, while the latter are independent (see 5, above), probably contracted from *'ii*. The first *'i* may be an old pronominal element *'i* which is contained in the independent pronoun *'iyé*. In some cases the contracted *i* seems to have originated from two instrumentals *i* against, *i* by means of. It signifies that something is done by means of something against something.

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[59] *šika'* poor thing;—*'ų'šiic'i'ya* he makes himself pitiable, humbles himself.

’į′yą wą ’ica′ṡuṡ ’iȟpc′ya a stone smashed against he left it (he left it smashed against a stone); *’i′caṡuṡ ’iye′ya* he sent it smashing against something

mak‘a′ kį ’ica′ȟtak yuslo′hą ’au′ the ground touching dragging it he brought it; *’i′caȟtak ko′s ’iye′ya* so that it touched against it swinging he sent it

naȟta′ka to kick (touch with foot), *’ina′ȟtaka* to kick with an instrument, indirectly, as a horse, with spurs; *’i′naȟtak ’ece′-’ihą` ’u′* with a kick each time stepping he comes (i. e., accompanying each step forward with a light dancing step backward)

t‘alo′ kį waṡį′ ’iya′ksaksa yu′ta biting fat with meat he eats it; *’i′yaksaksa wo′ta* biting to pieces he eats

gna′ye-k‘uwapi ’ima′ksape I become wise by being teased, *’iksa′pa* to be wise on account of, by experience; *’i′ksapa* to take pains (no object)

t‘i′pi kį ’iyo′kakįyą mąke′ the tipi in sight of I sat; *’i′yokakįyą ’ųt‘i′pi* we live in sight of it

hįye′te kį ’ica′k‘ap ’iya′ya (against) his shoulder flying by having been struck it goes; *’i′cak‘ap ’iye′ya* against it by striking flying he sent it

wat‘i′ kį ’iwa′ziyata to the north of my living; *’i′waziyata* to the north of it

p‘eżu′ta kį ’ito′k‘aṡni the medicine does not affect him; *’i′tok‘aṡni* it does not affect him

t‘i′pi kį ’ica′k‘ok ’iwo′to against the house with a bang he bumped; *’i′cak‘ok-’iya′ya* it went with a hollow clanging sound against it

8. Instrumental nouns are formed with the prefix *’i*. Terminal *a* when changeable, changes to *e* but does not influence a following changeable *k* (see pp. 14, 15).

’ica′ġe instrument (from *ka′ġa* to make);—*’ica′bu* drumstick; (from *kabu′* to make low sound by striking);—*’ica′psįte* whip (from *kapsį′ta* to whip);—*’iyu′ȟųte* rope over which skin is pulled to and fro in preparing it (from *yuȟų′ta* to pull skins to soften them);—*wahį′tkupa* grainer, for working flesh side of skins);—*t‘ii′yutą* guy ropes for steadying tipi in gale;—*wahį′paȟpe* (*wa-hį′-ipa′ȟpe*) instrument for pushing off hair from skin (from *paȟpa′*);—*’ipa′ṡte* instrument for squeezing moisture out of wet skin (from *ṡtaṡta′* soaked (skin));—*hųka′-’iko`ze*[60] implement for waving over the *hųka′* initiate (from *ko′za* to wave, *’ako′za* to wave over someone)

9. In some cases *’i* is prefixed to a noun.

’ihą′ke end (*hąke′* piece);—*’ihu′pa* handle (*hupa′* pole, travois pole);—*’ik‘ą′* strings for tying, reins (*k‘ą′* ligament);—*’ip‘a′* "head" of a ridge (*p‘a′* head);—*’it‘ą′c‘ą* leader, chief (*t‘ąc‘ą′* body);—*’i′ȟoka* Badger Society (*ȟoka′* badger)

§ 43. COMBINATIONS OF LOCATIVES

Combinations of two or even three locatives are common but the cases are not numerous in which the locative meaning appears clearly.

’ina′żį to stop, to stand against, *’oi′nażį* stopping place;—*’ok‘a′ta* to be warm (within a space), *’iyo′k‘ata* to be warm on account of;—*’oki′p‘i* to fit into (*kip‘i′* to fit), *le′ ’iyo′makip‘i* I am pleased with this (it fits into me on account of it)

In the following many examples will be found in which the relation is not clear.

i-a, i-o

When *’i* is followed by *’a* or *’o* a glide is introduced.

’ag.le′ set on (adv.), *’iya′g.le* it reaches to, *’iya′mag.le* (misfortune) reaches me, *’ai′yag.leya* reaching on to;—*’iya′li, ’i′yali*[61] to climb, lit. to step on against;—*’iya′nųġa* to be gnarled on the surface against a body (*nų′ġa* to be gnarled);—*’iya′ųpa* to blame, lit. to lay on against;—*’iya′pehą* to wrap around, lit. to wind on against;—*’iya′yuskita* to bind on to it;—*’iya′ȟpaya* to fall upon, i. e., on against; *’iya′ȟpeya* to throw the tent cover on against the frame;—*c‘ąnų′pa ’iya′ȟpeya* he offers the pipe ceremonially;—*’ite′ ’iyo′sni(wa)kiya* (I) cool (my) face by its means (*’osni′* it is cold, within a space, but generally "it is cold");—*c‘uwi′ ’iyo′skuye(wa)kiya* (I) make (my) body sweet inside by its means, to eat sweets (*’isku′yeya* he sweetens it with something)

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[60] But *c‘i′coza* I wave to you. (See p. 92.)

[61] See above.

In most cases it is difficult to determine the fundamental meaning.

'iya'kaška to tie a rope to something, to imprison (*kaška'* to tie fast so as to hold);—*'iya'pehą* to wrap around;—*'iya'yuȟa* to trail after someone (like a young after its mother);—*'iyo'wį(wa)ya* (I) am willing;—*'iyo'(wa)k'išni* (I) forbid him;—*'iyo'ya* to yawn (no 1st and 2d persons);—*'iyo'(ma)yaka* (I) am disturbed about it;—*'iyo'tą* superlative, *'iyo'tąla* he puts it in first place, *'iyo'tąwašte`* best, *'iyo'tą-t'e(wa)ȟi`la* (I) like it best, *'iyo'tįye'(wa)kiya* (I) suffer great afflictions (contracted from *'iyo'tą*, *'iye'kiya* to find one's own extreme; modern form *'iyo'tiye'kiya*)

Only one case has come to our notice in which there is no glide between *'i* and *'o*, *'i'olele 'u'* he comes seeking it here and there.

a-i

It would seem that *'a* and *'o* can precede only forms with *'i* that are firm units. Apparently forms that contain locative *'a* in *'iya* may take a second *'a* with the distinctive meaning "on." The *'a* of *'iya* can hardly be explained in any other way than as a locative.

'ica'pa[62] to open mouth, *'ai'capa* to open mouth towards someone;—*'ik'o'yaka* to be attached to the person or dress, *'ai'k'oyaka* to be attached in addition to (as an extra horse to a wagon);—*'ihą'b.la* to dream, *'ai'hąb.la* to dream about;—*hokši'cekpa 'ai'cam.na* twin flower, lit. twins (or child's navel) it snows on;—*'ai'cazo 'icu'* he bought paying but owing a small amount (*kazo'* to draw a line, *pazo'* to show);—*'iȟpe'ya* to throw away, *'ai'ȟpeya* to throw away on, to shift responsibility on someone;—*'iya'ȟpeya* to throw tent over on to frame, *'ai'yaȟpeya* to infect, give a contagion (sickness, vermin);—*'iya'kaška* to tie a knot, *'ai'yakaška* to tie on to something;—*'iya'pehą* to wrap around, *'ai'yapehą* to wrap around, to splice on something that is wrapped;—*'iya'skapa* to stick to,[63] *'ai'yaskapa* to stick on to

In all the preceding forms *'i* is probably the locative, also in the reflexives beginning with *'ig.la-*, *'ig.lu-*. (See p. 103.) In other cases *'a* is prefixed to stems beginning with *i*.

'ile' to burn, *'ai'leya* to put on the fire;—*'išti'ma* to sleep, *'ai'štįma* to go to sleep on something

a-o

The combinations of the two locatives *a* and *o* result in contraction.

'o'k'o to adhere to many, small things loosely adhere; *'o'ha* to be besmeared with;—*'o'kaġa* to float with the current (in and on the water);—*'o'p'eya* or *'ao'p'eya* including;—*'o'tkapa* (mud, etc.) sticks on to (*tka'pa* mudlike);—*'o'skapa* to climb a pole (*ska'pa* plane clings to plane); *'o'skap 'ų'* to cling to a person (like a child);—*'o'wąca* continuous (*'o* in, on) adverb, *kao'wąca* it is unanimous (neutral);—*'o'wążila* all together, *šina' kį he' 'o'wążila-į`pi* they are wearing the blanket jointly, they use the blanket together or by turns;—*'o'psipsica* to jump about trying to attract attention;—*'o'ġeżuya* a sheet and what it contains, adverb; cover and contents;—*'o'hįni* always;—*'o'kpe* going to meet (a returning hunter or warrior; compare *t'akpa'* to go to meet in fight);—*'o'kaške* to be large and rounded at one end (*'oka'ške* place to tie);—*'o'pta* through, across;—*'o'wec'įhą* in single file (*'oye'* track, -*'ic'i-* mutually, *'ohą'* to stand in);—*'o'sota*, *'o'kisota* they are all gone one after another (–*sota* to use up);—*'o'nat'aka* and *'ao'nat'aka* to lock in, are both used

In nouns:

'o'zą curtain in tipi, *'o'špe* part of a whole

In adverbs:

'o'tohąyą[64] for a while, within some time, *tohą'yą* some length of time; how long?

o-o

In a number of cases there appear two prefixes o, the first being nominal. (See p. 41.)

'owa' to paint, write, *'oo'wa* a painting, figure;—*'oya'ka* to tell, relate, *'oo'yak-ši`ca* it is hard to tell

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[62] Compare *i'kapa* to scold, to move the mouth vigorously, from *i* mouth.

[63] *'aya'skapt'ų* to place a patch on; perhaps by analogy with *'iya'skapa* to stick to.

[64] Compare nouns expressing time (p. 118).

o-i

Locative verbal forms:

'oi'yokpaza it is dark (all around), *kpa'za* it is dark; *'okpa'za* it is dark in an opening, *'ai'yokpas-ya* he causes it to be dark for him, i. e., he stands in the way of the light;—*'oi'yokipʻi* it is pleasant (time, place)

Nouns.

'oi'cazo a mark (*'i-kazo'* to show by striking);—*'oi'yahe* a step;—*'oi'yakaške* a knot;—*'oi'yob.lula* a calm;—*'oi'napʻe* place of coming out

o-a

Verbs.

'oa'š'aka it is crusted inside;—*'oa'ye-wašte* it is easy to take there

Nouns.

'oa'g.le foundation, place to set on (*'owa'g.le* place to set something on, *o-wa-a-g.le*);—*'oa'li* step;—*'oa'pʻe* stroke;—*'oa'yaštą* end of a song

§ 44. LOCATIVES TRANSFORMING NEUTRAL INTO ACTIVE VERBS

A number of neutral stems when used with locatives assume an active meaning, the locative expressing reference to an object. The locatives *'a*, less frequently *'o*, are used in this manner.

With *'a*.

(*ma*)*b.le'za* (I am) clear minded, *'a*(*wa'*)*b.leza* (I) notice, observe;—(*ma*)*scu'* (I behave) self-conscious in regard to sex, *'a*(*wa'*)*scu* (I am) in love with someone;—(–)*s'į* (neck) is craned forward (*kas'į'* to crane neck, *pʻa-ka's'į* to raise head when lying down, *s'į' s'e* as though craning the neck), *'a*(*wa'*)*s'į* (I) covet it (crane my neck for it);—(*ma*)*ške'hą* (I am) nervously active, obstreperous, *'a*(*wa'*)*škehą* (I) act upon it negligently;—(*ma*)*t'a'* (I am) dead; *'a*(*wa'*)*t'at'a* (I) relax so as to fall on someone, like a child wanting to be petted;—*cʻą*(*ma'*)*ze* or (*ma*)*cʻą'ze* (I am) angry, *'a*(*wa'*)*cʻąze* (I am) angry at him;—(*ma*)*cʻą'cʻą* (I am) atremble (*kacʻą'* to sift, all other forms duplicated), *a*(*wa'*)*cʻącʻą* (I) busy myself with it;—*'a*(*wa'*)*kšiża* (I) withhold, by locking up, holding, refuse to surrender something;—(*ma*)*ḣi'cahą* (I) trip and fall, *'a*(*wa'*)*ḣicahą* (I) trip and fall on something;—(*ma*)*ḣni'yąyą* (I am atremble, *'a*(*wa'*)*ḣniyąyą* (I am) furious against him;— –(*ma*)*ni'ca* (I) lack (German: es fehlt mir), *'a*(*wa'*)*nica* (I) withhold, refuse to give up, *'a*(*wa'*)*kʻinica* (I) refuse him possession of it;—*wa*(*ma'*) *tątąka* (I am) particular in regard to food, etc., *'a*(*wa'*)*tąšni* (I am) disrespectful against it;—(*ma*) *tʻo'* (I am) blue, *'a*(*wa'*)*kitʻo* I am tattooed;— –*kšį* arched, *'acʻa'*(*wa*)*kšį* (I) step over him; also *'a*(*wa'*)-*m.nim.ni* (I) sprinkle on (*m.ni* water)

With *'o:*

(*ma*)*b.li'heca* (I am) industrious, *'o*(*wa'*)*kib.liheca* (I am) energetic in regard to it;— –*wį'ża* to be flexible *'o*(*wa'*)*wįża* I spread out (matting, etc.);—(*ma*)*m.na'* it smells on (me), i. e. (my) body has an odor, *'o'*(*wa*)*m.na* (I) smell it;—(*ma*)*pe'm.ni* (I am) twisted, *'o*(*wa'*)*pem.ni* (I) wrap it up in it;—*żi* very fine, almost unnoticeable,*'o*(*wa'*) *żi* to suggest secret schemes (*wawo'żi s'a* a schemer, one who makes secret arrangements with people to attain his purposes)

§§ 45–53. Instrumental Prefixes

§ 45. LIST OF PREFIXES

Dakota has nine instrumental prefixes:

ya—with the mouth
wa—by a sawing motion, with a knife
wo—action from a distance
yu—by pulling
pa—by pushing along
ka—by a sudden impact
na—with the foot or leg
na—by an inner force
pu—(obsolete, not free) by pressure

While the meanings of *ya-*, *wa-*, *na-* (with the foot), *pu-* are clear, the remaining prefixes vary so much in their specific meaning, that the fundamental significance is often obscure.

The differences between *pa-*, *ka-*, *wo-*, *yu-* appear clearly in the following examples:

> *wog.mi′g.ma ’iye′ya* he sends it rolling by an indirect impact
> *paȟlo′ka* to make a hole in a skin with an awl by sustained pressure
> *kaȟlo′ka*—by a sudden punch
> *woȟlo′ka*—by throwing the awl from a distance
>
> *kahį′ta* to sweep away with sudden strokes
> *yuhį′ta* to rake, i. e., to sweep off by pulling
> *pahį′ta* to sweep away as by pushing along a mop
> *wohį′ta* to sweep away by blowing

Since almost all pulling has to be done by hand, *yu-* is often best translated "by hand" or even as a general instrumental when no specific manner of action is prominently implied.

> *yuża′ża* to wash by rubbing, handling;—*yuho′m.ni* to turn like a screw;—*yuc‘e′ya* to make cry;—*yuwa′šte* to make good;—*yuši′ca* to spoil

ka- which implies rapidity of action may be translated very often as "by striking," sometimes also as action "by the wind, current or other natural forces."

wo- which indicates primarily impact from a distance, refers often to actions done with a point, such as arrow, lance, or also with the end of an implement with a long handle. It also expresses action of the wind or a current of water.

> *woȟta′ka* to bump against from a distance;—*woȟpa′* to bring down by shooting;—*wohį′ta* to sweep away by blowing;—*wozá′ża* to wash by a current of water, by rain

The prefix *pu-* by pressure, corresponds to Ponca *pi-*. It is not free in Dakota. The following have been found:

> *’opu′tką* to dip into liquid (see *yatką′* to drink);—*put‘a′ka* to press down with hand, *t‘a′ka* to parch (corn, etc.), *nat‘a′ka* to lock, *pat‘a′ka* to stop short;—*’apu′t′įza* to press down on;—*puspa′* to glue, seal down, *kao′spa* to make a dent in something;—*’ipu′sli* to crush against;—*pusta′ka* to bend down, to sit with head bent down, *sta′ka* to be listless, *kasta′ka* to throw out jellylike substances;—*’ipu′stą* to touch fire to something, to force a hot object against something;—*puske′pa* to strain, filter, *yuske′pa* to make (liquid) run out entirely, *kaske′pa* to ladle out entirely;—*’i′puskica* to push against a wall, etc., by means of an implement, *paski′ca* to squeeze by pushing; *puski′ca* to press together loose material (hay, etc.);—*yuški′ca* to wring out clothes; *puški′ s’e* as though pressed into a heap, gathered together and pressed together;—*’ipu′żita* to force upon one (Santee, Riggs);—*kpukpa′* boiled up, mixed;—*’opu′za* to be infested with vermin, insects;—*’opu′ġi* to stuff soft material into an opening;—*’opu′ȟli* to stuff hard material into an opening (as a cork into a bottle); —*putą′* flattened out, misshapen;—*’ipúš’ į* convex side of a curve

The feeling for *pu* as a prefix has disappeared, as illustrated by the Santee form *bopu′skica* to ram in, literally: by indirect impact by pressure to squeeze.

na- by inner force, cannot appear with active subjective pronouns, because the inner force never acts upon one. Its forms are analogous to those of the other instrumentals which appear in certain verbs in forms corresponding to our impersonal verbs. As in this case inner force is implied as subject, so are other general ideas implied as subjects in the forms to be discussed later (pp. 47 et seq.). Example of forms with *na-* are:

> *nama′hom.ni* I turn of my own accord (my inner force turns me); but *nawa′hom.ni* I turn it with the foot;—*’osų′ nama′g.la* my braid becomes unbraided (its inner force unbraids me the braid);—*našlo′ka* to pop off, come off suddenly; *–šlo′ka* something that fits snugly (a ring, shoe, garment is off); *’išta′ nama′šlokįkte s’e le′c‘eca* as though my eye would come out (as in a severe head ache);—*nab.le′b.leca* blossoms burst forth all over, suddenly; *–b.le′ca* to be shattered, broken into particles;—*našle′ca* to crack (a plate) with the foot; it breaks, cracks; *c‘ehu′pa* (*1*) *nama′šlecį* (*2*) *kte* (*3*) *s’e* (*4*) *maya′zą’* (*5*) the jaw (1) it cracks on me (2) will (3) as though (4) it aches me (5) (it aches me as though my jaw would crack, i. e., a toothache);—*naȟle′ca* to tear with the foot; it tears, *maȟpi′ya naȟlce′ceȟce’* the sky tears veritably (i. e., a cloudburst);—*našli′* a rash breaks out; *–šli* to squeeze out viscous matter;—*nap‘o′pa* to burst with explosive force from within, *wana′p‘opyapi* fireworks, things they cause to explode from within;—*’ona′piġa* to ferment (to boil inside from within), *’ona′mapiġa* it ferments in me, i. e., food does not agree with me;—*nam.ni′ġa* to

shrink, *–m.niġa* to be curled up permanently;—*nat‘i′pa* to be or become cramped, *huna′mat‘ipa* I have a cramp in my leg;—*mašte′naptapta* heat waves on the horizon (*mašte′* hot, sunny weather, *–pta* to break);—*’ona′šoka* to become watertight by being soaked (as a barrel, skiff), *šo′ka* thick;—*nazi′ca* to be stretched, to expand in length, to grow quickly; to stretch of itself, *nama′zica* I am expanding in length;—*naško′pa* to warp, become bent, *p‘asu′ nama′škopa* my nose has grown hooked

§ 46. IMPERSONAL VERBS WITH INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES

Verbs with instrumental prefixes are often used in such a way that an indefinite actor is understood, for instance *–swa* to be unraveled; *kaswa′* to unravel by striking, but also: (long use) made it unravelled, i. e., it is ragged. (–)*suta′* to be hard; (*ma*)*ka′suta* he made (me) hard (callous) by striking, but also: (circumstances) have hardened me. Some of these verbs never appear with active pronouns, for instance *–kšeca* to be cramped by spasms; (*ma*)*yu′kšeca* (I) am bent by cramps (cramps bend me). The implied subject is always of a most general character and the forms correspond to our impersonal verbs.

1. Forms that never appear in active form (so far as known):

’ayu′ġį to be drowsy, *’a*(*ma′*)*yuġį* (I) fall asleep for a moment;— *–b.lu* powdery (*mak‘a′-b.lu* dust, lit. powdery ground); *’a*(*ma′*)*pab.lu* (I) belch (cf. *pab.lu′* to burrow; *yub.lu′* to plough; *wob.lu′* wind blows sand or dust; *wob.lu′b.lu hiyu′* smoke, steam blows out in puffs);—*paki′* to be inclined forward at an angle, like a person leaning forward, a branch of a tree bending out, (*ma*)*pa′kį* (I) stand bent forward;—(–)*t‘ak‘į′* to be lopsided, to lean over on top (adv.), (*ma*)*ka′t‘ak‘įk‘į* (I) stagger (as I walk);—(–)*t‘apa* half-dry (like mud, jerked beef when gradually getting dry) *kat‘a′t‘apa* it is somewhat dry;—*żążą′* glass; *’ożą′żą* daylight, transparency, *wana′ każą′żą* it is now daybreak;—*c‘eḣu′* it is too short (said of a garment), (*ma*)*ka′c‘eḣu* (I) have on a too short garment;—*kao′m.ni* to swirl around a fixed point, to eddy, (*ma*)*ka′om.ni* (I) am caught in a whirlwind, in an eddy;—*kap’o′żela* to be of light weight, (*ma*)*ka′p’ożela* (I) am of light weight, I am a quick traveler without encumberances;—*kalu′za* to flow along (a stream), *p‘a′we* (*ma*)*ka′luza* (nose blood flows [me] along) (I) have a nosebleed;—*katka′* to choke on a piece of solid food, (*ma*)*ka′tka* (I) choke on it;—*kazu′kzuka* slimy material hangs down, *’i′m.ništą* (*ma*)*ka′zukzuka* (my) mucus hangs down from mouth;—*kaḣwo′ka* to be blown away, carried by the wind, (*ma*)*ka′ḣwoka* (I) was blown by the wind; I am fleet footed;— *–kšeca* to be cramped, *yukše′ca*, *nakše′ca*, (*na*)*kše′ca ’a*(*ma′*)*ya* (I) get cramped;—(–)*kšikša′* to be limp; *kakši′kša* he is fatigued, *kšikša′ ’a′ya* it is getting limp;—*wog.li′cu* it rebounds, *wog.li′cu kį ’ap‘e′* a rebound struck him;—(–)*ġi* brown, *lote′ ’o*(*ma′*)*yaġi* (I) am hoarse, *lote′ ’oya′ġi a*(*ma′*)*ya* I am getting hoarse;— *–t‘i′pa* to be contracted, shrunk, (*ma*)*yu′t‘ipa* or (*ma*)*yu′t‘ipt‘ipa* (I) have cramps;—*iyu′kpą* it is all broken up

2. Most of the verbs that appear both in active and impersonal forms have the prefix *ka-* which expresses in these cases an indeterminate outer force.

(–)*’išti′ma* to be asleep, (*ma*)*ka′ištįme* he puts me to sleep; (I) have fallen asleep;—(–)*ḣą* it is a sore; (*ma*)*ka′ḣą* (I) have a sore (from working with a tool), *’i*(*ma′*)*yuḣą* (I) have a sore (as from the rubbing of a strap); also (*wa*)*ka′ḣą* (I) cause it to be sore by striking;— *–hįta* to be swept clear, *wana′ kahį′ta* he has now swept it, (the clouds) have been swept away;—(–)*hom.ni* to turn on an arc, (*ma*)*ka′hom.ni* he turned (me) around; (I) have changed;—(–)*c‘ąte′t’įza* to be stout hearted (*c‘ąte′* heart, *t’į′za* stiff), *c‘ąte′*(*ma*)*ka′t’įza* he makes (me) fearless; (I am) fearless;—(–)*t’a* to be dead, (*ma*)*ka′t’a* he killed (me) by striking; (I) was stunned;— *–špu* to unfasten, *kašpu′* he knocked it loose, it became loose;— (–)*c‘e′ya* to cry, (*ma*)*ka′c‘eya* he made me cry by striking, I am crying (on account of cold, etc.)

Also with *ka-:*

kaų′spe[65] to be world-wise (time has taught);—*kahų′* to have a gash;—*kahų′hųza* to be shaken up, he swings it to and fro;—*kab.la′za* to be ripped;—*’ica′t‘ą* to be in touch;—*kat‘e′pa* to be worn down;—*kasu′ta* to be hardened;—*kaswa′* to be ragged at the edge[66];—*kaslu′ta* (the tongue) lolls;—*kasna′* (leaves) drop off;—*’oma′kasni* I feel a cold draft;—*kasku′sku* it is peeling off;—*kaša′pa* to be dirtied;—*’o′kašipa* to be weighted down;—*kaši′ca* it is spoiled;—*kaši′cahowaya* to cry out in distress;—*p‘a′we kašu′ża* his nose bleeds;—*kašle′ca* it is split;—*’išta′-kašlo`ka* his eye is out;—*’oka′šką* to be forced to move;—*’i′-każa`ta* the mouth hangs open; *’i′ każa′l ap‘e′* he struck causing the mouth to open;—*pʻehį′ każų′* hair falls out;—*kace′kceka* to stagger;—*pʻehį′ kala′la* hair dangles all over (*kala′* to spill dry materials);—*kaksa′* to be cut off;—*kakši′kšiża* to be collapsed, bent in all directions (*–kšiża* to be bent at a joint);—*kakʻu′kʻa* to be worn out;—*kaġą′* to be unkempt;—*kaġą′* it opens;—*kaȟwa′* to be sleepy after a long ride;—*kaȟi′ca* to be aroused out of sleep;—*kaȟle′ca* to have a cut in the scalp;—*kaȟli′* to be mired (*–ȟli* to touch slimy material);—*kaȟci′* it is torn off

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[65] See also *waų′spe* to be learned; *waų′spespešni* clumsy.

[66] *swaka′*, redupl. *swaka′ka* it unravels

wo is used often in resultative forms when moving water is understood as actor:

woża′ża to get clean (in a river, by rain);—*'iwo′pʻąyą* (adv.) grass is beaten down by rain, hail (*'ika′pʻąyą* by wind).

In other cases it is rather action from a distance:

woi′tom.ni he gets dizzy by being bumped about; (*kai′tom.ni* he gets dizzy by being turned);—*'iwo′to* to bump oneself; *–woȟta′ka* to be bumped into (*ica′ȟtak-pʻicašni* to be touchy)

pa- is used rarely expressing a resultative:

pawį′ża to be bent by pushing;—*'ipa′sli* to be squeezed against by pushing;—*pag.lo′ka* it is dislocated (a joint)

yu:

'iyu′titą it fits tightly (*-titą* to exert force on);—*yuši′šį* to be wrinkled;—*yuški′* to be wrinkled, gathered in folds;—*yug.mu′za* to be shrivelled up (skin in old age), active only as adverb;—*'iyu′ġipa* to be caught in a viselike grip;—*yuȟ'i′* it is warty, irregularly rough;—*yuȟa′ȟa* to be curly (*kaȟa′ 'iya′ya* it gets knotted); —*cʻąte′-kazą`* to have heart-burn; *yazą′* it hurts

From these verbs adverbs are formed (see pp. 107, 137 et seq.):

kab.la′ġe s'e wide and bulging (*b.la′ġa* to be opened out like an umbrella);—*'ica′g.la* alongside of;—*kacʻa′tkatka s'e* like left-handed, awkward (*cʻatka′* left-handed);—*yupʻi′ya* nicely, well, beautifully (*pʻi* good);—*'ayu′cʻoya* carefully (*cʻo* core?);—*'ayu′g.miyąyąpi s'e* neatly, tidily (*yug.mi′yąyą* he rolls it);—*yuġa′ġa s'e* tall and clumsy with long limbs, awkward (*yuġa′ġa* to be large-branched);—*yuš'į′š'įpi s'e* like being tickled, having a wiggling walk, overenthusiastic (*yuš'į′š'į* to tickle);—*yuȟni′yąyąpi s'e* atremble, hurriedly (*ȟniyą′yą* to tremble);—*'iyu′pseya* off the trail, off the subject;—*'ipa′weȟ* awry (*pawe′ġa* to snap by pushing)

Nouns are formed by composition.

hoka′šku fish scales (*ho* fish, *kašku′* to knock off);—*tʻiyu′ktą* dome shaped tipi (*ktą* to be bent);—*hoyu′ȟ'i* tree rings (*ho* circle, *yuȟ'i′* warty, rough);—*cʻąpa′kį* stick set in ground obliquely to indicate direction of travel (*pakį′* to be pushed over forward);—*'ipu′š'į* convex side of a curve (*š'į* convex; *kaš'į′* it is a concave line)

§ 47. ADVERBS WITH INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES

There are also a number of adverbs that cannot be associated with verbal stems and which take instrumental prefixes.

yutʻe′hą to delay (from *tʻe′hą* a long time), *patʻe′hąyą 'e′g.naka* he pushed it putting it far away;—*yae′cʻala* to make it soon by talking, i. e., to say it will be soon;—*yue′cʻala* to make it seem recent, i. e., as though it had been recently;—*yule′cʻala* as though it had been yesterday;—*yule′na* to make it be right here, *yule′na s'e* as though it were right here;—*pakʻą′ye 'iye′ya* he pushed it in front of him

§ 48. INSTRUMENTALS WITH VERBS IN *tu*

A number of such forms are derived from locative or temporal verbs in *tu*, contracted to *l*. (See pp. 58, 137.)

hukʻu′l downward (*yu, wo, pa, na, ka*)

yuhu′kʻul 'icu′ he pulls it down; *pahu′kʻul 'iȟpe′ya* he left him after having pushed him down; *kahu′kʻulya 'otka′* it hangs downward;—*yuhu′kutu′* pull it down lower!

'aką′l on top, into view (*ya, yu, wo, pa, na, ka*)

paa′kąl 'au′ he pushes it to the top; *yua′kąl 'ahi′g.naka* he pulled it up and laid it down here, *yaa′kąl 'icu′* he brought it to light by talking; —*yua′kątu, paa′kątu* to pull, push up *wąka'l* in upper regions

nawą'kal hiyu' it came upward 54.19

tʻąka'l outside (*ya, yu, wo, pa, na, ka*)

patʻą'kal yu'za he held him pushed outdoors; *yutʻą'kal ’icu'* he pulled it out, *yatʻą'kal ’iye'ya* by talking he sent him out

mahe'l inside

yuma'hel ’icu' he pulls it in

makʻo'skąl away from everybody, in the wilds

yama'kʻoskąl ’iye'ya he talks as though an important matter were a mere trifle

wosla'l in upright position

pawo'slal ’iye'ya he put it upright, raising a standard, etc.

’a'optel less than

yaa'optel ’iye'ya he lessens it, minimizes it speaking

pae'l ’iye'ya he forced it there (not with demonstrative *le, he, ka, tok*)

pae'cʻel ’iye'ya push it the way it ought to be

tʻe'hąl, mani'l, ȟewo'skąl are not commonly used with instrumentals

’iye'hąl is not used, but *yui'yehąyą* held at the same length as something else

§ 49. INSTRUMENTALS WITH VERBS IN *pʻa, kʻa*

Some adverbs are formed from instrumental prefixes attached to locative verbs in *pʻa* (see pp. 58, 143) that do not exist independently.

he'ktap back, retarded (*yu, wo, pa, na, ka, ya*)

pahe'ktap yu'za he holds it back pushing; *yuhe'ktap ’icu'* he jerked it back; *kahe'ktapya ’ų'* it stays forced back

Also compounded *’ų'zihekta* (*’ųze'* buttocks) backwards, reversed

paų'zihekta ’au'pi they bring it backing it up; *kaų'zihektakta g.nį' ną g.liȟpa'ya* he goes forced back repeatedly and falls (like a wounded warrior); see also *he'ktapʻatąhą* at or from the rear

’itų'kap face upward (*ya, yu, wo, pa, na, ka*) (*’ite'* face, *wąka'p* upward)

’itų'kap yųka' he lay face up; *’itų'kap ’e'tųwą ’oma'ni* he walks looking up; *pai'tųkap ’iȟpe'ya* he pushed him down so that he lay face up; *yui'tųkap yu'za* he held him face upward; *kai'tųkap g.liȟpe'ya* he caused him to fall face up

tʻoka'p ahead; *tʻoka'pya ’ece' ’ų'* or *tʻoka'pʻata ’ece' ’ų'* he is always at the head (*ya, yu, wo, pa, na*); the former means manner, the latter place

patʻo'kap ’iye'ya he pushed him ahead; *yutʻo'kap yu'za* he held it forward

ȟeya'p towards the hills, out of the way 51.12, 179.14; also *ȟeya'ta*

yuȟe'yap ’icu' he removed it; *paȟe'yap ’iye'ya* he pushed it aside; *kaȟe'yap ’iȟpe'ya* he struck it aside

cʻoka'p inside a bounded area

pacʻo'kap ’iye'ya he pushed it out into the middle

’iha'kap following

kai'hakapya ’iya'ya forced into an immediately following position he goes

From terminal *kʻa* we find

anų'k apart

yua'nųk yu'za he held it parted

§ 50. LOCATIVES WITH INSTRUMENTAL *ka-*

A number of these adverbs can take only the prefix *ka*. These are:

hu'tawapya towards downstream, southward

kahu'tawapkiyake s'e t'iyo'pya he makes the door of the tipi face approximately (*ke s'e*) south

'i'yok'iheya next in order (from *'i'yok'iha̧* to stand next)

kai'yok'iheya forced into second place

he'ktakiya towards the rear (see pp. 58; 121, no. 27; 143 *he'ktap*)

kahe'ktakiya g.licu'' he turned and came back

hepi'ya uphill, on the road to a place

c'a̧ku' ki̧ he'l kahe'piya 'iya'ya the road there goes uphill. Also used as noun (without *ka*) and as verb: *hepi'ya ki̧ 'a'taya c'a̧''* the hill side is all (covered with) wood

'ai'yoȟpeya downhill

he kaa'iyoȟpeya ki̧ he'l c'et'i' there the downhill there he built a fire. Also as verb or noun: *ha̧ta'*, *he'l kaa'iyoȟpeya ye'* look out! there is a downhill slope, or *he'l 'ai'yoȟpeya ye'* (woman speaking)

'a'beya in various directions (*yu-* and *wo-* rarely used)

kaa'beya k'ig.la'pi they have gone in different directions

§ 51. LOCATIVES WITH VARIED INSTRUMENTALS

Others occur with various instrumental prefixes.

'eha'kela last (in space or time) (*yu, wo, pa, na*) verb and adverb; *'ema'hakela* I am the last. With instrumentals always adverbial

yue'hakela (ma)yu'za he held (me) in the last position; *pae'hakela iye'ya* he sent him by pushing into the last position

'oȟla't'e underneath (*ya, yu, wo, pa, na, ka*)

pao'ȟlat'e 'iye'ya he pushes it underneath; *nao'ȟlat'e 'iȟpe'ya* he left it kicked underneath

'ic'i'e'uya in the wrong way, in opposite direction to each other (*ya, yu, wo, na, pa, ka*)

'ic'i'c'uya expresses also a mistake in address; mistakenly, opposed to the normal way; *'ic'i'c'uya 'iye'(wa)ya* (I) put it in the wrong end first; *yui'c'ic'uya b.lu'za* I hold them in opposite directions (this refers to a personal ceremony of a holy man, two firebrands being held with burning ends in opposite directions); *yui'c'ic'uya 'iye'yc se'ce'* perhaps he put it, held in the wrong position

pai'c'icawi̧ 'iye'ya he sends it back by pushing it; *yui'c'icawi̧ 'i(wa')cu* (I) take it back holding it back from the direction it was going

'ekta'ṡniya̧ (lit. not at the [right] place). The same meaning as the preceding

pae'ktaṡniya̧ 'iye'ya he pushed it into a wrong position

'ikce'ya[67] ordinarily, commonly (*'ikee'ka* it is ordinary, of the regular kind; *'ikce'-wic'a`ṡa* Indian) (*ya, yu, pa, ka*)

yui'kceya and *yai'kceya* are both verbs, to make secular, available for every day use

t'ahe'na towards the speaker (*'it'a'hena* this side, nearer than) (*yu, wo, pa, na, ka*)

yut'a'hena 'icu' he pulled it towards himself; *pat'a'hena hiyu'ya* he sent it pushing it this way

k'a̧ye' in front (*yu, wo, pa, ka*)

yuk'a̧'ye 'i(wa')cu (I) brought it out, forth, forward; *pak'a̧'ye hiyu'ya* he pushed it out

'ini'la silent, speechless 52.8 (*ya, yu, wo, pa, na, ka*)

(*'ini'la 'u̧'* he is speechless; also name of a snake that looks like a rattlesnake but makes no noise) *yui'nila 'iȟpe'ya* he left him made quiet, silent; *yai'nila 'iȟpe'ya* (the same, but effected by talking); *kai'nila 'ihpe'ya* (the same, effected by striking)

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[67] *'ikce'ya* means also "unceremoniously, without reference to anything." *'ikce'ya taku'waya* I am related to him in an ordinary way, i. e., he is one who does not require avoidance; also, he is an affinal relative.

k‘inų′k‘ą in two, in two ways; with instrumentals: apart separated (*yu, wo, pa, na, ka*)

pak‘i′nųk‘ą wic‘a′yuza he held them apart;—*yuk‘i′nųk‘ą ’ıwi′c‘acupi* they took them apart (*k‘inų′k‘ą ’ıwi′c‘acupi* each of two took one);—*kak‘i′nųk‘ą ’ıya′yapi* they went each his own way;—*kak‘i′nųk‘ąyą ’ųk‘ų′kte lo′* we'll separate (a married couple);—*yua′nųk yu′za* he holds it apart (like two curtains)

’ak‘o′ yonder, behind you

paa′k‘o ’iye′ya he shoves it away;—*yua′k‘o ’icu′* he takes it away

tąyą′ well

tąyą′ ’į′yąka it is running nicely;—*yutą′yąkel yu′za* he holds it rather steadily;—*yutą′yąkel ’oya′ka* he tells it rather well

’iṡna singly

yuı′ṡnala ’icu′ he took it away by itself, alone

Colloquially we find also the adverbial expressions *yuli′la s’e* with more speed (by some means, very, as though); and *yua′taya, kaa′taya, paa′taya* together; p. e., *yua′taya yu′za* he held it together (*a′taya* entire).

§ 52. INSTRUMENTALS WITH NOUNS

Instrumentals may also be used with nouns with the meaning "to make someone like, to treat like."

yuma′t‘o to make someone like a bear (angry) 276.16
’ig.lu′mat‘o (a name) he makes himself like a bear (angry)
yuwi′c‘aṡa to make into a man, i. e. to honor a person
yuwį′yą to make into a woman, i. e. to honor a woman; *le′l he′ witko′wį-’ų‘he c’ų, to′k‘eṡk‘e wic‘a′ṡa wą waų′ṡila c‘a yu′zį ną yuwį′yake* hereabouts that one a foolish woman (harlot) continually was, in some manner a man regarded her compassionately and married her and made something like a woman of her!
yuho′kṡicala to treat like a baby; *’eha′ṡ ’iya′kiye s’a ną luho′kṡicala ye′, wana′ he′ t‘ą′kaye ṡą′*, too much you always take his part and you treat him like a baby, although that one is big now
kahu′te to cut down to a stump
c‘uwi′-nac‘e′ȟkiya to buck (as a horse) (*c‘uwi′* body; *c‘e′ġa* kettle) body makes itself by inner force a kettle
yasu′ to judge, decide (*su* seed) Teton
yac‘o′ to judge, decide (*c‘o* kernel) Yankton
yuo′ko to pull apart; *pao′ko* to push apart (*oko′* space between)

Nouns with the prefix *ya-* with the mouth, express "to call someone so and so," ascribing a certain character to him.

yak‘o′ṡkalaka he calls him a youth;—*yawı′k‘oṡkalaka* he calls her a young woman;—*yawı′c‘įcala s’a laȟ! wana′ṡ c‘įca′ o′taye ṡą′* he is always calling her girl, although now she has many children;—*yai′te* to flatter (*ite′* face);—*kab.lo′b.lo* (to make ridges by striking) to flog (*b.lo* prominence)

We find also with indefinite pronouns:

yuta′kuniṡni (to make by means of—nothing—not)
yata′kuṡni to belittle by talking (by means of mouth nothing)

§ 53. INSTRUMENTALS WITH LOST MEANING

In a number of verbs containing instrumental prefixes the feeling for the meaning of the prefix has so completely disappeared that they are given an additional instrumental prefix.

’ipa′weȟ, ’ipa′weȟya off the straight line, off the subject (with prefixes *ya, yu, wo, ka;* see *we′ġa* to be snapped off)

yui′paweȟ yu′za he holds it out of the straight course, *yai′paweȟ ’eya′* he says it so as to mislead;—*woi′paweȟ ’iye′ya* he knocked it from a distance out of alignment

’iyu′pseya, ’iyu′psepseya off the straight line, same meaning as the preceding (with prefixes *ya, wo, ka;* the stem *pse* does not occur alone)

(wa)pa′ptuza (I) bend from the hips forward

yupa′ptustukel ’icu′ he held him sort of bent forward

The instrumental *pu* by pressure, is no longer recognized as a prefix and verbs containing it take readily other prefixes.

> *kapu'ški s'e 'iȟpe'ya* he left him thrown in a heap;—*kapu'stak* forced into a bent, stooping condition

§ 54. ORDER OF LOCATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES

As stated before (p. 39) the first prefix modifies the whole content of the following complex. Therefore locative prefixes may either follow or precede instrumentals. The following examples will illustrate this: *naa'b.laya* to smooth the top of a pile with the foot; *'ana'b.laya* to smooth something with the foot over something else; *nao'ȟmi* to kick something so that it is crooked; *'ona'ȟmi* to kick something crooked inside a place; *ksa* to be severed, *'oksa'* it is severed inside a whole (p. e., a tooth is out, a roof is caved in). With the instrumental prefix *ka* by striking, is formed *kao'ksa* to cause by striking something to be severed inside a hole (p. e., to knock a tooth out, to break in a roof by striking). On the other hand *kaksa'* means to sever by striking, *'oka'ksa* to sever by striking, the action occurring within or into a certain area.

> *pao'g.muza* to cause it by pushing to be closed in (p. e., to shut a pliable tent-door), *'opa'g.muza* to close by pushing within, or into an area
>
> *pao'g.migma* he pushes it into a rolling state, *'opa'g.migma* he pushes it so that it rolls down a given way
>
> *woa'š'aka* to make adhere by shooting, *'awo'š'aka* to make stick by shooting on
>
> *kaa't'ą̨į* he strikes it into a state of being visible to the eye, or mind, *'aka't'ą̨į* (rare, but possible) he makes it visible on top, by striking
>
> *kao't'į̨za*, he strikes it, making it fit tight in its place, *'oka't'į̨za* he strikes it into a hard, firm thing, in a place, as a room; or into a hole, *'ot'į̨'za* to fit tight; *t'į̨'za*, hard, firm, compact, solid
>
> *nao'pišyela* (adv.) appearing to be wrinkled, as the skirts of a slender woman, that whip about her legs; *'opi'ża* it is in a wrinkled state, *'ona'piża* by walking, she makes it wrinkled in, or about (herself)
>
> *naa'takunišni* by kicking, he makes it become annihilated; vanish into nothing, *'ana'takunišni* by kicking on, as a rock, he crushes the thing to pieces.
>
> *yao'g.mi* by eating the grass, he (horse) leaves a bare place, *'oya'g.mi* all over the place he grazes it bare
>
> *kao'tąyą* (adv.) by striking causing a jarring effect on or in, *'oka'tą* to hammer in, as a nail

Sometimes the two forms mean quite different things, one figurative.

> *yuo'sį* to make it get into a knot, by tying carelessly (where a bow was intended), *'oyu'sį* to have a hidden grudge against someone; to be at enmity with

The instrumental must always precede the locative (or nominal) when the verb, finite or subordinate, requires a fixed locative or nominal prefix. Examples are:

> *'ile'* to burn;—(-)*'iyo'waza* to echo;—*'ica'pa* to open mouth;—*'i'coġa* to gather in folds, to drift to;—*'ic'i'cawį*, *'ic'i'c'uya* in reverse direction (adv.);—*'itų'kap* (<*'ite'-wąkap*) face up (adv.);—*'ini'la* silent (adv.);— -*'iże(la)* disorderly arranged;— (-)*'a'šlaya* to expose, *'a'šlayela* plainly (from *šla* bare);—*'i'yašlalya* to show up a person (-*šlata* ?);—*'ata'kunišni* to vanish (*a-ta'ku-ni-šni* to vanish (on nothing—not);—*'owo't'ąla* straight;—*'o'p'o* warped

§ 55. INDEFINITE OBJECT *wa-*

The prefix *wa-* designates an indefinite object and is used with transitive verbs, corresponding to the English intransitive forms of verbs that are ordinarily transitive.

> *waka'kpą* to pound things fine;—*wak'u'te* to shoot things;—*wap'a'ta* to butcher;—*waya'wa* to read;—*wac'e't'ųg.la* to doubt;—*wac'a'št'ų* to confer a name on someone

When the verb begins with a vowel idiomatic use requires sometimes contracted, sometimes uncontracted forms. Verbs with initial *a* or *i* contract only when they have a special meaning. Verbs with initial *o* behave much more irregularly. The contracted forms are in meaning firmer units than those not contracted. They express a habitual occupation and are for this reason often more specific than the uncontracted forms. This general principle reappears in contractions of the possessive (p. 132) where contracted forms express the more intimate degrees of possession. Examples for initial *a* and *i* have been given before (pp. 6 et seq.). Characteristic forms for verbs with initial *o* are:

wao′cʻį to beg for various things, *wo′cʻį* to be a beggar
wao′kastaka to throw mudlike things into; *wo′kastaka* he is daubing mud (in building);—(*wao′hą* to cook things, not idiomatic, but understood), *wo′hą* to cook

The same contraction with the same meaning occurs when *wa-* stands before the instrumental *yu-*. (See p. 9.)

wayu′żaża she is washing things; *wo′żaża* she is washing;—*wayu′štą* to finish things, *wo′štą* to take a final vote (*wao′štą* to fit things into, from *'o′štą* to fit in)

Examples of uncontracted forms are:

wao′ to hit things;—*wao′hola* to be respectful to persons, things (*la* to consider);—*wao′kihi* to be able to achieve things;—*wao′kiya* to help people;—*wao′šteg.la* to call people names (*ošte′g.la* he considers him odd);—*wao′yuspa* to catch hold of; *kʻe-wo′yuspa* snapping turtle

Others are contracted:

wo′yaka to recount (*oya′ka* he tells it);—*wo′le* to search for things;—*wo′m.na* to smell something;—*wo′lota* to borrow something;—*wo′cʻį* to beg for something

With neutral verbs *wa-* forms nouns:

watʻo′ something green (blue), i. e., green leaves, grass;—*wasna′* pemmican (*sna* greasy, Assiniboine); *wam.ni′yom.ni* whirlwind;—*waġu′ġeca* something scaly, i. e., dandruff;—*wapa′m.na* something arranged in a clump (*pam.na′* adv.) a clump of trees, bushes;—*wale′ġa* something transparent, i. e., dried bladder, intestines;—*wašpą′šni* something not cooked, i. e., those entrails that were eaten raw;—*waho′ȟpi* something round drooping (*ho* round enclosure; *ȟpi* to droop), a nest;—*wag.mų′* something curled, twisted, i. e., pumpkin;—*wag.me′za* corn (*gwe′za* to have small ridges [?]);—*watʻe′ca* something new, i. e., food taken home from feast;—*walu′ta* something scarlet, i. e., a sacrifice of red material; *waȟpa′ye* things lying about, i. e., chattels, household goods

There are a few verbal terms of this type:

wašte′ good;—*waȟte′šni* ugly;—*wakʻą′* [68] wonderful, sacred;—*wa′ȟwala* to be gentle (*ȟwa* to be sleepy);—*wao′ta* things are plentiful;—*wai′cʻaġa* things grow

A neutral with indirect object is *wi′šteca* to be bashful, ashamed of things (*'ište′ca* to be ashamed of —).

We have found only one active verb without object which forms nouns with *wa-*: *waki̜′yą* something flying, i. e., thunder; *wakį′yela* dove.

Transitive verbs with *wa-* forming nouns. Most of these have a passive meaning.

wa′paha something held aloft, i. e., war standard;—*wana′p'į* something worn around neck, i. e., necklace;—*waya′hota* something choked on, i. e., oats (*yaho′ta* he chokes on it);—*wae′ktųża* forgotten things, i. e., poor ears of corn not garnered;—*watʻą′* (something touched (?), i. e., bait, *-tʻą* to come in contact with);—*wa′nuni* things on something out of place, i. e., dark spots on face (*'anu′ni* to be out of place on something, *nu′ni* to lose one's way);—*wak'į′* baggage

The indefinite *wa-* appears also with nouns.

wapʻa′ha something head skin, i. e., war bonnet;—*wacʻo′ka* something centre, i. e., opening in the woods;—*wahą′pi* soup (*hąpi′* juice);—*wahu′nųpa* something two legs, i. e., man with bear spirit;—*waȟu′pa* something wings, i. e., supernatural flying being

Nouns with initial vowel contract with *wa-*. (See pp. 6 et seq.)

wo′ȟa cache;—*wa′kaȟpe* sheet covering;—*wi′kʻą* rope;—*wa′ȟpatʻąka* something lying on, big, i. e., black bird (also called *pteya′ȟpaya* falling on buffalo);—*wa′ȟpaȟota* grey buffalo bird

A number of these forms are derived from stems not otherwise known.

wacʻą′ġa sweet grass;—*wa′cʻįhe* a long soft feather standing on head (*hą* to stand);—*wag.le′kšų* wild turkey;—*wahį′heya* mole;—*wam.nu′ȟ'a* snail shells;—*wašų′* den, lair;—*wakši′ca* dish

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[68] According to Walker the priests of old used the term *kʻą* for the specific sacred. Not known to E. D.

In a number of cases the noun requires the ending *-ka*. With neutral verb it expresses an object, with active verbs an actor. Examples of neutral verbs are:

> *wasku′yeca* something sweet, i. e., fruit;—*watʻo′keca* something different, i. e., a delicacy;—*waǧu′ġeca* something scaly, i. e., dandruff

With active verbs words are formed which are still felt as verbs, but which function very commonly as nouns when followed by the article.

> *wakte′ka* one who kills animals easily;—*wao′ka* a marksman;—*wao′kihika* one who is efficient;—*wi′yeyeca* one who is good at finding things;—*wi′šteštececa* one who has fits of bashfulness;—*wawi′ȟaȟayeca* an amusing person

Without *-ka* we find:

> *waų′cʻala* little imitator, i. e., monkey;—*wae′pazo* the one who points thither, i. e., index finger;—*waki′cʻųza* the one who decrees his own, a leader

Transitive verbs may employ a double *wa*, one being direct, the other indirect object:

> *waho′kųkʻiya* he advises him, *wawa′hokųkʻiya* he advises people about things;—*’ig.nu′* he mentions it to him; *wi′g.nu* he mentions (unkind) things to him, *wawi′g.nu* he mentions (unkind) things to people;—*’iyu′škį* [69] he is pleased with it, *wi′yuškį* he is pleased with things, i. e., he is happy, *wawi′yuškį* he is pleased with things towards people, i. e., he is cordial to people;—*’iȟą′kya* to destroy (*’iȟą′ke* end), *wai′ȟąkya* to destroy something, *wawi′ȟąkya* to destroy things for people;—*’iyo′pʻeya* he scolds him; *wawi′yopʻeya* to scold people;—*’iȟa′ya* he makes him laugh, *wawi′ȟaya* to be entertaining, *wawi′ȟaȟayeca* an amusing person;—*wawi′štelya* to cause embarrassment (*wi′šteca* to be bashful);—*wai′cʻaȟya* to cause things to grow, *wawi′cʻaȟya* creator

It appears from these examples that the double *wa* is the most generalized term. It is not always possible to trace the exact meaning of the two objects.

> *’iyu′tą* he is tempted by it, *wai′yutą* he is tempted by something, *wawi′yutąyą* to cause people to be tempted by things, i. e., to be a temptor;—*’ina′wizi* he is jealous of it, *wai′nawizi* or *wi′nawizi* he is jealous of something; *wawi′nawiswizika* a person of jealous disposition;—*yutʻą′* he touches it; *wayu′tʻą* to touch things, *wawa′yutʻą* one whose work it is to touch things, i. e., an attendant in a ceremony;—*wayu′pʻika* one who is skilled at something, *wawa′yupʻipʻika* one who is generally talented;—*’i′waȟtelašni* he dislikes something about him, *wawi′waȟtclašni* he is disagreeable, he dislikes everything about everybody;—*’iyu′tʻa* he tries it; *wai′yutʻa* he tries something, *wi′yutʻa* he uses sign language, he measures, *wawi′yutʻa* to be one who tries to expose people by tricky questions;—*’i′kʻuwa* to deal with someone, excite him, *wawi′kʻuwa* he is a schemer who excites people about things;—*wawi′nakiȟniȟnika* one who is always in a hurry (*’ina′ȟni* he is in a hurry);—*wawa′pʻilaya* to be obliging

The prefix *wo-* contracted from *wao-* forms nouns, particularly abstract nouns.

> *wo′waši* work (*waši′* to employ);—*wo′wašte* goodness;—*wo′wištecc* shame;—*wo′ptecašni* infinity (*ptecela* short);—*wo′winihą* something awe-inspiring (*’ini′hą* to be in awe of, *yuo′nihą* to honor, *nihą′šni* unawed);—*wo′pʻaȟte* a package (*wo′pʻaȟta* to tie things in a bundle);—*wo′iyokišice* sorrow (*’iyo′kišica* to be unhappy, *’oi′yokišica* it is a sad occasion, place; to behave unbecomingly, to be improper);—*woi′napʻe* a defense (*’oi′napʻa* to take shelter in);—*wo′g.naka* a container, also, to store things

§§ 56–64. SUFFIXES

§ 56. *-ca*

The suffix *ca* changes preceding changeable *a*. It is not free but occurs in many verbs. It might be mistaken for *-ka* rather, but differs from it insofar as its own terminal *a* does not change. It is probably not derived from *ka*, although it occurs only after *e* and *i*. The suffix *-ka* may follow all verbs that have the ending *ca*. *-ka* itself changes to *-ca* only after *e* changed from *a*, not when it follows verbs ending in *e* or *i*, while *ca* always retains the same form.

> *wążi′*, *wążi′ca* one; *wani′yetu* (*ma*)*wą′ži* or *wani′yetu* (*ma*)*wą′žica* (I am) one year old (*wąži′* is also adjective, not *wažį′ca*); *tʻową′žica* (the sky) is one blue (cloudless);—*sani′* one side, one of a pair, one half; *sani′ca* it is one-sided; *sani′ca-kašla`* he wears hair cut on one side; *hąp-sa′ni g.nu′ni* he lost

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[69] *ib.lu′škį* 1st person.

one of his moccasins (*sani'* is also adjective);—*'oȟlo'ġeca* it is hollow (tree, tooth); see *c'ąȟlo'ġu* pithy weed (<*c'ą-ȟloġ-hu; ȟlo'ġa* alone is not in use);—*ȟpeca'śnı, ȟpeca'ka, ȟpeca'keśni* energetic (see *ȟpeca'* to be inactive, Santee; *ȟpe-yų'ka* to lie inactive, refers to a dog with pups);—*kic'i'* with him, it (not with plural), *kic'i'ca* they two are partners, as man and wife;—*śe'ca* it is blanched (hay, wood) (see *śe'na* a Yankton nickname for a certain very blonde half blood);—*waȟpa'niya* to make poor (by desertion, death), *wa(ma)ȟpa'nica* (I am) poor;—*'ośı'ceca* it is bad weather (*śi'ca* bad);—*waki'g.leca* to have a feeling of something that is to happen, to presage from one's feelings (see *g.la* to sense, which is, however invariable), *'ośi'ceca-waki`g.leca* to sense by bodily feelings the approach of bad weather;—*'o(wa)ȟ'ą'-śųkeca* to do something irremedial; fatal (*'oȟ'ą'* to act, *śųką'yą* surprisingly, contrary to what seems probable), *'owe'-śųkeca* he said something irremedial;—*t'o'kcca* reduplicated *t'okt'o'keca* different (*t'o'ka* alien, enemy);—*'į'skokeca* reduplicated *'į'skoskokeca* of the same size as it;—*p'ica'* reduplicated *p'ilp'i'ca* fairly good (*p'iya'* to make better, to repair);—*waśe'ca* to be well supplied (with food);—*'owa'śteca* it is pleasant (cf. *waśte'ka* rather good);—*le'c'eca, he'c'eca, ka'k'eca, to'k'eca* it is like this, that, *'oa'hec'eca* to moderate, improve;—*'ųżį'ca* reduplicated *'ųżį'kżįca* bob-tailed, with short skirt or jacket;—*'ų'c'ųnica* to be dumbfounded, unable to act on account of excitement (cf. *kic'ų'ni* to fail, Santee; probably from *'o-'e'c'ų* to do, *-ni* negative);—*yuśtį'ca* to underestimate difficulties (cf. *maśtį'*[*ca*] rabbit);—*t'eca'* to be lukewarm (*t'a* dead?);—*nawi'c'akśeca* they were doubled up (in an epidemic) (*kśa* to be coiled up);—*wasku'yeca* berries, fruits (*sku'ya* sweet;—*waġa'ġeca* lattice work (*-ġa* opened out);—*'įzu'za* fine grained whetstone; *zuze'ca* snake;—*'įġu'ġa* sandstone, *waġu'ġeca* porous bone, dandruff; *ġuġe'ca* it is porous, rough grained

Evidently there is no feeling for *ca* as a suffix. This is indicated by the reduplicated forms *p'ica' p'ilp'i'ca, 'ųżį'ca 'ųżį'kżįca.* On the other hand it is not easy to tell whether some of these stems may not be cvc, for instance *śe'ca* blanched; *ġuġe'ca;* while *t'eca'* is abnormal for cvc verbs, because it has the accent on the second syllable.

A fairly large number of nouns end in *ca* and it is doubtful if they belong here.

naca' [69a] war chief;—*wąye'ca* firefly;—*t'ąśna'yeca* or *t'ąśna'heca* gopher (*t'ą* body);—*heca'* buzzard;—*pteġo'p'eca* hawk;—*k'uśle'ca* kingfisher(?);—*ma'yaśle(ca)* coyote;—*p'iśle'ca* spleen;—*c'eca'* leg;—*śkeca'* fisher;—*wazi'śkeca; ważu'śteca* strawberry;—*k'ąk'e'ca* large woodpecker;—*zica'* squirrel;—*hokśi'(ca)* child;—*t'i'canica* curlew;—*'om.ni'ca* beans [70]; —*'uȟna'ġicala* the screech owl (mythical);—*t'ak'ą'yeca* blackberry;—*ptehį'ca* calf;—*c'įca'* child

§ 57. *-ka* RATHER

-ka, somewhat, changes changeable *a* to *e* and takes itself after such change the form *ca*. (See p. 29.) The terminal *a* of *ka* is changeable.

cv and cvcv verbs, both active and static add *-ka* to the stem.

he' ba'ka he rather blames that one (*ba* to blame);—*'ole'ka* he searches for it casually (*'ole'* to hunt, search);—*c'į'keśni* he is rather disinclined to do it (*c'į* to want);—*wag.la'g.laka* he is rather squeamish (*g.la* to abhor);—*'ig.ni'ka* he asks for him casually (*'ig.ni'* to look up something);—*'ap'e'ka* he rather expects him (*'ap'e'* to wait);—*bubu'ka* he is clumsy, heavily built (*bu* deep sound);—*'ob.la'yeka* it is quite level (*–b.laya* level);—*ġą'ka* his hair is rather untidy (*ġą* hair is untidy);—*yuġo'ka* he is played out [colloquial] *-ġo* to have deep scratches);—*wakte'ktcka* to be of the kind that kills, to be a successful hunter (*kte* to kill);—*waki'g.mag.maka* he is rather like his forebears (*kig.ma'* he takes after his forebears);—*g.leśka'ka* it is somewhat spotted (*g.leśka'* spotted);—*'ao't'ehąṭuka* it is rather far (*'ao't'ehąṭu* it is far);—*c'aġu'ka* a fool (*c'aġu'* lungs), and *c'aġu'ġuka;*—*'okpą'ka* bits, crumbs;—*'o'smaka* a depression in the ground (*sma* dented);—*wayu'haka* one rather well-to-do

Not all active verbs take the ending *-ka;* it occurs, however, in phrases like the following with all verbs:

wo'(wa)heca ke'pį' ną (I) call that cooking and (it is done very badly) (*'ohą'* to cook in a kettle; literally (I) kind of cook I said and);—*g.le'ca ke'yį' ną* he calls that coming home and (he loiters) (*g.la'* to return home)

cvc verbs, also with instrumentals, with changeable *a* change terminal vowel to *e;* others retain *a*.

sa'peca it is blackish (*sa'pa* black);—*śe'caka* it is somewhat blanched (*śe'ca* blanched, as old hay, wood);—*'ac'e'peca* it is rather fat (*c'e'pa* to be fat);—*ȟpeca'keśni* he is rather energetic;—*'ayu'takeśni* he rather ignores him (*'ayu'ta* to look at);—also *'eye'ca* he says in a way (*'eya'* he says), *'eye'ca yų'k'ą'* by the way;—*c'e'yeca* he cries as it were (*c'e'ya* to cry)

[69a] There are only two words with an *a* followed by *ca*.

[70] Mandan *o'minik* suggests an older ending *ka*.

When the verb is nominalized by the prefix *’o* the *ka* is not changed to *ca* after terminal *e*.

> *le′l ’ob.la′yeka* it is level land here (*lc′l* from *letu*);—*’oa′ake s’e le′l* it seems to be somewhat mouldy (*le′l* from *le′cʻeca*)

With the suffix *la* (see p. 57) it intensifies:

> *wo′helaka wayį′* only as a cook I exist;—*ṡka′tclaka wayį′* only as a player I exist;—*wa′pʻilaka* an incredibly lucky person, (*wa′pʻika* a lucky person);—*cʻąle′laka mayu′hapi* they kept me mostly as a fuel gatherer (*cʻąle′* to gather wood for fuel);—*yuȟlo′kelake* that is some hole he makes!—*’oȟlo′kalakc’* that is some hole! (*oȟloka* a noun, does not change terminal *a* to *e*)—*ye′laka* he is really going along (although you think he can not move)

§ 58. *-kel* SOMEWHAT, RATHER, SUBORDINATE FORM

It seems likely that this is the subordinate form of a verbal suffix *-keca* which does not change a preceding changeable *a*. It may be related to the *-ca* previously discussed. The suffix *-kel* is attached to active verb stems terminating in a vowel. This includes cv and cvcv stems and those cvc stems that do not lose their terminal *a*. A few exceptions will be noted. Neutral verbs ending in a vowel are first transformed into subordinate form by the suffix *ya*. Active cvc verbs including the neutral stems made active by means of instrumental prefixes take the suffix *-tukel*. It may be that the *tu* of this form is identical with the *tu* discussed on page 58.

Active verbs with terminal vowel taking the ending *-kel:*

> *’apʻe′kcl ’ų′* he stays kind of waiting (*’apʻe′* to wait);—*hįg.nų′kel ’iye′ya* she singed it slovenly, *hįg.nų′* to singe;—*’ig.ni′kel ’ų′* he kind of looks for him (*’ig.ni′* to look up something);—*cʻį′ktaktakel* whining like a fretful child (*cʻį′kta* to whine);—*cʻe′kiyakel* addressing by kinship term (*cʻe′kiya* to address by kinship term);—*naȟma′kel* hiding in a way (*naȟme′ca ke′yį′ ną* he called it hiding and);—*cʻopʻa′kel hiyu′* he crossed half wading, half stepping on stones (*cʻopʻa′* to wade);—*slohą′kel* crawling (*slohą′*);—*pehą′kel* folding (*pehą′* to fold);—*puspa′kcl* glueing carelessly (*puspe′ca* he glued it some way)

Active verbs with causative *-ya* and *kʻiya* (See p. 100):

> *sku′yeyakel* making it sweet (*sku′ya* sweet);—*sapye kʻiyakel* kind of causing him to make it black

When a neutral cv or cvcv verb is made transitive by means of an instrumental prefix, the suffix *-kel* is attached to the stem.

> *kab.la′kel ’iye′ya* she jerks the meat slovenly, hurriedly;—*kab.lu′kel* making it somewhat powdery by striking;—*kacʻą′kel ’iyc′ya* he hurriedly sifted it (*cʻą* to be trembling, shaking);—*yasu′kel* passing judgment hastily (*yasu′* to judge, determine);—*yuġą′kel ’icu′* he opened the door by chance (*-ġą* to be open);—*kaġo′kel ’iye′ya* he just scratched (vaccinated) him;—*yug.la′kel ’icu′* by pulling he just unravelled it (*g.la* to be unwound, unravelled);—*yuwa′cʻikel* making him dance in a way;—*yug.mų′kel* twisting somewhat;—*yug.lo′kel* making it grunt by pulling;—*kag.mi′kel* clearing off weeds or bushes to some extent;—*yub.la′skakel* making it flat (*b.laska′* to be flat and hard)

Neutral verbs, cv, cvcv and cvc types, add *-ya* to the stem:

> *buya′kel lową′* he sings rather deep in the throat (*bu* it is a deep sound);—*b.luya′kel*rather powdery (*b.lu* it is powdery);—*coco′yakel* in a rather muddy state (*coco′* muddy, consistency of dough);—*cʻoya′kel* quite satisfactorily (colloquial) (*cʻo* satisfactory);—*c’oya′kel* with a rather splashing sound (*c’o* it is a splashing sound);—*ġąyą′kel* rather untidy of hair (*ġą* to have untidy hair);—*b.laska′yakel* fairly flat (*b.laska′* to be flat);—*cʻepya′kel ’ų′* he is pretty fat (*cʻe′pa* to be fat);—*ksapya′kel ’ų′* he lives rather wisely (*ksa′pa* to be wise) but *ksa′ptu`kel oȟ’ą′* he acts wisely; (*ksa′pa* is sometimes used as an active verb; always in Yankton and Assiniboine);—*kʻalya′kel ’ecʻe′ca* he is a little hot, feverish (*kʻa′ta* to be hot);—*sapya′kel* rather blackish;—*ṡilya′kel* (followed by neutral verb), *ṡica′yakel* (followed by active verb) badly (*ṡi′ca* bad);—*tʻelya′kcl* rather new (*tʻe′ca* new);—*b.lihe′lyakel* rather energetic (*b.lihe′ca* industrious, energetic);—*’otʻą′kayakel* in a fairly large area

Active cvc verbs, active verbs in *pʻa* losing their terminal vowel, and neutral cvc verbs losing terminal vowel, when made active by instrumental prefixes take the ending *-tukel*.

> *ṡka′ltukel* playing in a way;—*’icʻa′ptukel* stabbing in a way;—*cʻąya′ktukel ȟpa′yahą* he is lying there groaning somewhat;—*yuȟlo′ktukel ’iye′ya* hurriedly he made a hole in it (*ȟlo′ka* to have a hole, to be open through);—*kaȟa′ptukel ’iye′wicʻaya* he tried to drive them (*wicʻa*) away without carrying through his attempt ((–)*ȟapa* to have a rustling sound);—*kazų′ltukel ’e′g.nakapi* they laid (the logs) in a kind of parallel arrangement (*zų′ta* straight, parallel, upright in behavior, balanced);—*papu′stukel* being made dry by pushing to and fro (rubbing)

A number of verbs, active in form, are conceived as neutral and take accordingly the neutral form. The finite verb combined with it expresses a permanent state.

(wa)pa′ptuza (I) bend over the trunk sharply forward; *paptu′syakel ’ų′ s‘a* he always is in a somewhat bent over posture; with a second instrumental *yupa′ptustukel ’icu′* he took him in a somewhat bent posture

c‘o(wa′)p‘a (I) wade; *m.nic‘o′ptukel ’iya′ya* some way wading in the water he went; *c‘op‘a′kel hiyu′* he crossed wading now and then (action); *c‘op‘a′yakel t’a ȟpa′ya* like wading (condition) (i. e., feet in water) dead he lay

–ce′ka to be staggering (active with instrumentals except *ka*); *yuce′kcektukel ’e′yaya* in a way he pulled him staggering along; *kace′kcekyakel ’ų′* he is in a staggering condition

(wa)g.la′ (I) abhor; *g.laya′kel* squeamishly (correct in form, but not idiomatic)

yut‘ą′kayakel made into a larger size

yuo′cik’ayakel made in a way a small space

–b.la′za to tear open; *yub.la′stukel ’iye′ya* he tore it open hastily; *’i′yub.lasyakel ’ų′* he wore it spread open

c‘et’ų′g.la to doubt the truth of; *c‘et’ų′g.lakel ’ayu′pta* doubting him he replied; *c‘et’ų′g.layakel ’ece′ ’ų′* he is a skeptic, he always doubts it, him

Conversely some verbs that are in form neutral are conceived as active and take the form in *kel* if ending in a vowel, *tukel* when ending in a consonant.

’a(ma′)yuğį (I) take a snooze, contracted *’o′ğįğį* half asleep; *’o′ğįğįkel mąka′* I am sitting half asleep

(m)ištį′ma[71] (I) am asleep; *’ištį′makel mųka′* I lie somewhat asleep

’iyų′ka to go to bed, *’imų′ka* I go to bed; *’iyų′ktukel oma′ni* he goes about lounging anywhere

’ab.le′za; ’ab.le′stukel mąka′ I sat observing casually

t‘ezi′ ’oka′c’oc’oyakel ’ųku′pi we come, the belly making a splashing noise (referring to the horses) ***ka*** is here neutral (see p. 47)

waka′ği I am restrained by a taboo or shyness; *wo′kağiyakel ’ece′-’ų* he always lives in a condition of causing restraint (*-ya* to cause)

§ 59. *-la* DIMINUTIVE

Changes changeable *a* to *e;* itself not changeable.

k‘oška′la a youth;—*k‘a′zela* shallow (*la* fixed);—*ci′k’ala* it is small *ci′scila* (*la* separable);—*pte′cela* short (*la* fixed);—*oci′k’ayela* it is a small place (fixed);—*oci′k’ayelaka* it is a rather small place;—*c‘e′yela s‘a* the little one, or remarkable one, always cries; *wa(ma′)tuk‘ala* (I) the poor, little one (am) tired

With the plural of demonstratives *la* means “only,” *hena′la* only those, *to′nala* only some. With *ȟcį* and *la* (see p. 56) emphatic:

he′tulaȟcį wat‘i′’ just there I live

iye′hątulaȟcį g.li′’ exactly at that time he arrived coming back

§ 60. *–ȟca* PREDICATIVE, *ȟcį* SUBORDINATE

With indefinite pronouns it appears in adverbial form, both change preceding changeable *a* to *e*, *ȟca* itself changes to *e*.

’u-wa′c‘įȟca he wanted very much to come;—*’iyu′škįȟca g.li′* he was delighted with it when he came back;—*iyu′škįyeȟcį g.li′’* he returned, the return being delightful for him; —*’o′p‘akta c‘į′ȟca* to join (future) he really wanted; *’o′p‘aȟcįkta c‘į′’* really to join he wanted;—*’i′t‘ehąȟca yų′k‘ą′ ley e′’* it was a long while, then he said this; *t‘e′hąȟcį hi′šni* for a long while he did not come;—*loc‘į′ȟca wąya′k na′žį* he was very hungry he stood watching (here *c‘a* it being so, referring to the subject, is omitted after *loc‘į′ȟca*);—*miye′ȟca* (*c‘a*) *wąb.la′ke* I (and no other) (it being so) saw him;—*le′ e′ȟca c‘a* it is this very one, being that one

’owo′t‘ąlaȟcį ’e′ųpapi very straightly they laid it down;—*tuwe′ȟcį ’o′makiya ’oki′hi huwo′* anyone being helping me is able to? (can anyone help me?);—*tuwe′niȟcį ’ų′ši(ma)lašni* nobody pities (me);—*tuwe′niȟcį b.luha′šni* I have no one at all;—*ta′kuniȟcį b.luha′šni* I have not anything at all;—*ta′kuke c’e′yaš ’oya′s’įȟcį b.luha′* indeed I have everything

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[71] ***’ištį′ma*** does not take ***ya*** in subordinate form.

With the future *–kteȟcį*, *ȟcį* is predicative and signifies "to want badly, to be strongly inclined to." The terminal *į* does not change; *c‘e′yįkteȟcį* he is always inclined to cry.

§ 61. *–tu*

Verbs or nouns expressing spatial and temporal concepts in –TU

A number of verbs expressing spatial and temporal concepts are used both as verbs and nouns and it is not certain which is the primary concept. A very few others have the same form. In adverbial forms the terminal *u* drops off and *t* changes according to the general rule to *l*.[72]

Spatial concepts.

’aką′tu it is on top, the place on top	*’aką′l*
wąka′tu the upper regions, heaven	*wąka′l*
’i′huk‘utu the place region below	*huk‘u′l*, *k‘ul*
t‘ąka′tu the place out doors	*t‘ąka′l*
mahe′tu the place inside	*mahe′l*
mani′tu, the uninhabited regions	*mani′l*
mak‘o′skątu the wild regions	*mak‘o′skąl*
ȟewo′skątu the wild mountains	*ȟewo′skąl*
t‘e′hątu the region far away	*t‘e′hąl*
(*’i*)*k‘ąye′tu* the place in front	*k‘ąye′l*
’owo′slatu the upright position	*’owo′slal*
’a′optetu what is less than it	*’a′optel* (stem *ptec-*)

t‘ape′tu and *t‘ape′* the shoulder region (noun) does not seem to belong to this series

A number of locative terms derived from verbs in *-p‘a*, many of which are not in use in finite form, have their subordinate forms in *p*. (See p. 143, no. 8.)

’iȟe′yaptu place at a distance from it *’iȟe′yap‘aya*	*’iȟe′yap*
(*’i*)*sa′k‘iptu* the place beside (it)	*sak‘i′p*
c‘oka′ptu, *’i′c‘okaptu* the middle	*c‘oka′p*
’iha′kaptu the position following another one (*’o′hakaptu* the time later)	*’iha′kap*, *’o′hakap*
’ihe′ktaptu the position behind	*’ihe′ktap*
’i′hutaptu the region to the south, downstream	*’i′hutap*
ho′c‘okaptu the middle of the camp circle	*ho′c‘okap*
’ik‘o′kaptu and *i′t‘okaptu* place in front of it	*’ik‘o′kap*, *’it‘o′kap*

From verbs in *k‘a* we have:

’anų′ktu place on either side	*’anų′k*
to′k‘a, *to′ktu* it is in some kind of condition	*tok*

From finite verbs we have:

howo′kawįȟtu the track around the camp circle (<*ho ’oka′wįǧa* to go around the camp circle)

Temporal terms:

’ąpe′tu daytime	*’ąpe′l*
hąye′tu night time (modern form *hąhe′pi*)	*hąye′l*
ȟtaye′tu evening	*ȟtaye′l; ȟta′l ehą′* 222.15 yesterday
b.loke′tu summer	*b.lok*, *b.loke′* [73]
wani′yetu winter	*wani′-* (*wani′t‘i* to live in winter quarters)
we′tu spring	*we-* (*we′hą* last spring)
ptąye′tu fall	*ptį′hą* last fall
to′hųwetuka wą once upon a time (a some time)	*tų′wel* (<*to′hųwel*)

The following belong to different categories:

nųp‘į′tu both together	*nup‘į′* or *nup‘į′l*
’i′hątu it is in fun	*’i′ȟąl-’eyaˋ* to joke

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[72] See also pp. 48, 137, for derived adverbial forms.

[73] *b.lok-yą′ka* to stay in camp in summer; *b.loke′-c‘okaya* midsummer; *b.loke′hą* last summer.

The same ending occurs with demonstratives

'e'tu, le'tu, he'tu, ka'tu, tukte'tu it is here, there, somewhere
'e'l, le'l, he'l, ka'l, tukte'l subordinate forms

Modal

'ecʻe'tu, 'iye'cʻetu, le'cʻetu, he'cʻetu, ka'kʻetu, to'kʻetu it happens thus
'ecʻe'l, le'cʻel, he'cʻel, ka'kʻel, to'kʻel subordinate forms

Temporal

'iye'hątu, lehą'tu, hehą'tu, kahą'tu, tohą'tu it is at that time
'iye'hąl, lehą'l, hehą'l, kahą'l, tohą'l subordinate forms

'ecʻą'tulaȟcį just then (a very unwelcome interruption), *'ecʻą'l* subordinate form.

The demonstrative forms with *ka* that one visible, express manner rather than place or time.

Note:—A number of these forms may be combined with nouns

tʻima'hetu, tʻima'hel indoors
cʻąma'hetu, cʻąma'hel in the woods
tʻąma'hetu, tʻąma'hel in the body, in one's thoughts
ho'cʻokaptu, ho'cʻokap the area inside the camp circle (*ho'* camp circle)
makʻo'skątu, makʻo'skąl the wild regions (*makʻa'* earth)
ȟewo'skątu, ȟewo'skąl the wild mountains (*ȟe'* mountain)

§ 62. -*ya* WITH NEUTRAL VERBS

Neutral verbs when subordinated to other verbs take the suffix -*ya;* cvc verbs add it directly to the stem; cv and cvcv verbs add it to the terminal vowel. cvc verbs that cannot lose terminal *a* add -*ya* at the end. All those ending in changeable *a* change *a* to *e*. Monosyllabic stems throw the accent on the second syllable. Bisyllabic stems including cvc stems that do not lose terminal *a*, in other words all bisyllabic forms ending in a vowel, that have the accent on the first syllable retain it there.

Neutral verbs of the cvc type with accent on the first syllable add *ya* to the contracted stem and throw the accent on the second syllable.

nu'ġa* to be gnarled *nuȟya';*—(–)*ptu'za* to be bent over *ptusya';*—(–)*ṡa'pa* to be soiled *ṡapya';*—ṡe'ca* to be dry *ṡelya';*—**cą'ġa* to be porous *cąȟya';*—**ye'ġa* to be shiny *yeȟya';*—(–)*pte'cela* to be short *ptelye'la* or *pcelye'la; 'a'optelya* shorter

When combined with instrumentals and used as neutrals (see p. 47) they retain the same forms; *kaṡa'pya* being blackened by striking;—*yuȟlo'kya* being perforated;—*yuo'taya* multiplying.

Neutral verbs of the cvc type that do not lose terminal, unchangeable *a* are *tʻą'kaya* large; *–'a'taya* entirely; *suta'ya* firmly; *ṡica'ya* badly (with shift of accent).

Contractions are not used absolutely regularly. We have:

(–)*tʻe'ca* it is new, *tʻelya'* and *tʻe'caya;*—(–)*ṡi'ca* it is bad, *ṡilya'*, *ṡilye'la* and *ṡica'yela* [73]

Neutral verbs of the type cvc with accent on the second syllable do not lose the terminal *a* (See p. 30.)

(–)*suta'* it is firm, *suta'ya;*—**pʻica'* it is fair, *pʻica'ya;*—(–)*żica'* he is rich,[74] *żica'ya;*—**ȟaka'* it has branches, *ȟaka'ya;*—(–)*swaka'* it is fringed, frayed *swaka'ya;*—**t'eca'* it is lukewarm *t'eca'ya*

yąka' and *yųka'* do not take the ending *ya*.

ṡųk'a'ką-yąk 'u' he is coming on horseback;—*iyų'k-'ina'ȟni* he is in a hurry to go to bed

yųka' with continuative *hą* forms the adverb *yųka'heya* prone, fallen.

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[73] See p. 60.

[74] Sometimes in slovenly speech *wi'żilya* being rich in property, instead of *wi'żicaya*.

Neutral cvc verbs ending in *ya* do not contract. They change terminal *a* to *e* whenever it is changeable.

sku'ya it is sweet, *sku'yeyela;—spa'ya* it is wet, *spa'yeyela*

Neutral verbs of the type cv or cvcv add *ya*.

skaya' white;—*buya'* with a deep thud;—*pąyą'* with a shout, shouting;—*'ile'ya hą'* it stands lighted;—*c‘ąze'ya 'ų'* he stays in an angry mood;—*pem.ni'yą* slantingly;—*kaġi'ya ho't‘ąį* his voice appears respectful;—*waṡi'g.laya 'ece' 'ų'* in a resentful mood he stays;—*hą'ska* it is tall, long, *hą'skeya* in a tall way

The following do not form adverbs in *ya*, but remain unchanged:

t'a' to be dead; [75]—*'iṡtį'ma* to sleep;—*c‘uwi'ta* to feel cold;—*'ųspe'* to know;—*'ų't‘ų* to be injured;—*yazą'* to feel a pain;—*watu'k‘a* to be tired out;—*ḣica'hą* [76] to trip and fall;—*g.naṡkį'yą* to be crazy;—*'iṡna'la* to be alone;—*t‘ani'* it is old (inanimate objects);—*sani'* to be one-sided (adv. *sani'caya* one-sidedly);—*katka'* to choke swallowing;—*ką'* to be old (animate beings);—*ską'* to melt (ice, salt, etc., not fat);—*'ų'* to use, to wear;—*ḣwa'* to be sleepy, has an adverb *ḣwaye'la* gently, quietly

Numerals form adverbs with the ending *kiya:*

nų'pakiya by twos, *ya'm.nikiya* by threes; *co'nalakiya* in a few ways; *'o'takiya* in many ways; *to'nakiya* in several, how many ways, *hena'kiya, kana'kiya* in these ways (see *ena'kiya* to quit).

Bisyllabic stems that retain the accent on the first syllable:

ma'niyą walking (in a nervous state);—*hą'skeya* in a tall way, at great length

The suffix *-ya* may be expanded by the limiting suffix *-la* and takes the form *-yela* (*-la* requiring change of *a* to *e*). When both forms occur the simple form in *-ya* refers to a temporary, that in *-yela* to a permanent condition.

ṡapya' 'ahi' he brought it in a soiled condition;—*ṡapye'la 'ec‘e'ca* it is dirty by nature;—also *ṡica'ya yąka'* he sits in a bad position; *ṡilye'la yąka'* he badly (i. e., he a bad one) sits there

Often the ending *-yela* is used instead of *-ya*, because the latter form is identical with the causative in *-ya*. (See p. 100.)

c‘e'pa* fat, *c‘epye'la;*—sa'ka* to be hard and stiff and dry, *sakye'la;*—**ṡe'ca* to be dry and dead (wood) *ṡelye'la;*—**sku'ya* to be sweet, *sku'yeyela*

In other cases the difference in meaning rules out the form in *-ya*, p. e., speaking of a person *sapya'* as an adverb means that the person appears black at the time, perhaps as silhouetted against a bright sky; *sapye'la* that he is black by nature.

In still other cases both forms are used and the general setting decides what is meant; *k‘alya'* hotly, to cause to be hot; *k‘alye'la* more emphatic adverb.

A number of neutral verbs can be used as adverbs only in reduplicated form.

–ġa'ta it is branched, *ġalġa'lya;*— *–lo'pa* it is miry, *lolo'pyela* tender (meat);— *–ṡki'ta* it has a groove, *ṡkiṡki'lya;*— *–ġą* to be open, with holes, *ġąġą'yela;*— *–ṡlu'ta* it is smooth and shiny, slippery, *ṡluṡlu'lyela;*— *–ha* it is unsteady, *haha'yela;*— *–ġe* to be gathered in a bundle and held suspended, *ġe'ġeya*

In a number of cases both verb and adverb appear only in reduplicated form.

(–)*sloslo* it is mellow, *sloslo'yela;*—(–)*ṡtaṡta* it is slimy wet, *ṡtaṡta'yela;*—(–)*hoho* it is loose at its base, *'oho'hoyela* loosely held (a tooth, pole);—(–)*t‘ot‘opa* it is slimy like wet skin, *t‘ot‘o'pyela;*—(–)*tiktica* it is sticky, *tikti'lya;*—also *hį-ḣpa'ḣpaya* to stumble along, used both as verb and adverb

§ 63. *-hą*

hą' to stand (inanimate objects), is at the same time the continuative enclitic. (See p. 104.) It is used without accent and forms adverbs with demonstratives which, with *'e, le, he, to* express continued time; with *ka* which always refers to something within sight, that can be pointed out, generally space. When used in adverbs *hą* does not change to *he*. (See p. 32.)

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[75] *t'eya'* to cause to die; *t'at'a'ya* in a relaxed condition; *cuwi'ta-t'eyela* to feel frozen stiff; *watu'k'a it'e'yela* wearied to death; *ḣ'ų't'eya* worn out by work.

[76] *ḣilḣi'cahą yųka' 'u'* falling down now and again he came; cf. *yuḣi'ca* to arouse from sleep.

lehą'-hųniyą kažu'župišni all this time they have not paid;—*tohą'-hųniyą kį he' kic'i' tąyą' waų'* from some indefinite time on (always) with that one well (on good terms) I am (with final *tk'a'* it would be past time) (*ihų'ni* he arrives there; *-yą* adverbial after *n*)

A number of neutral verbs form a secondary adverb with *hą* which expresses a temporary condition.[77]

ksapya' (always) wisely; *ksapya'hą* wisely in regard to a special matter;—*t'įsya'* and *t'įsya'hą* firmly placed, reliably, seriously;—*b.lesya'* and *b.lesya'hą* sanely;—*pusya'* in a dry state; *pusya'hą* while still dry;—*c'epya'hą* while being fat (*c'epya'* to cause to become fat);[78]—*t'elya'* in a new condition *t'elya'hą* while still new;—*zųlya'* in a virtuous condition (permanent), *zųlya'hą* while being virtuous;—*t'elya'* lukewarm; *t'elya'hą* while still lukewarm;—*loya'* fresh; *loya'hą* (also *loya'k'e*) while in a fresh state (hide, meat);—*'išto'g.musyahą wac'i'pi'* in an eye-closed condition they danced (compare *'išto'g.mus wac'i'hąpi* 21.5)

A few active verbs are used in a similar way in pleonastic phrases.

na'žįhą na'žį standing he stands;—*'i'yotakehą* [79] *yąka'* sitting he sits;—*yųka'heya yųka'* tree is in a fallen position (*yųka'hą* to topple over)

After the negative it means "before."

k'a'te-šni-hą ḣeya'p 'iwa'cu not being hot (before it began to boil) away I took it;—*wau'-šni-hą he'c'amų* not I having come (before I came) I did that.

After the article *kį* it signifies "while."

maġa'žu kįhą wau'ktešni', while it is raining I shall not come, also *maġa'žukte cįhą wau'ktešni'* if it is going to rain I shall not come (when it rains I won't come);—(*maġa'žu he' cį[hą] oma'kiyaka yo'* [80] it rains when [if] it is so tell me!)

After the article *k'ų* it signifies "while" in the past.

maġa'žu k'ųhą' to'kiyani b.le'šni' the rain continuing in the past nowhere I go (when it was raining I did not go anywhere)

'ic'ų'hą concurrently with it, past:

lową'pi c'ą' 'ic'ų'hą wac'i' when they sang at the same time he danced

k'ohą' meanwhile:

tohą'l lową'pi c'ą' k'ohą' wac'i' whenever they sing meanwhile he dances, *lową'pi kį k'ohą' wawa'c'ikte* I'll dance while they sing, *wac'i' c'ą' k'ohą' p'aka'hųkhųke s'a* when he dances meanwhile he keeps his head habitually nodding

Many neutral verbs are used as verbs only with instrumental prefixes or in reduplicated form. A considerable number have a neutral meaning when used without instrumental prefixes, but with the continuative suffix *hą*. All of these seem to express a state which is the permanent result of some action, although not all that may be so interpreted can take the suffix *hą*. All those that express the effect of an action that has no permanent result cannot take the suffix *hą*.

–CVC *verbs*

–'ųka, without prefix *yųka'* (*–wąka, wąka'* Yankton) it is in a reclining position; *yųkyų'kahą* (verb and adverb) *yųka'hąhą* (verb); (*wąka'hą* Yankton) to be down having fallen (*mayų'kahą* I am down having fallen)
–weġa; weġa'hą it is broken (a pole); *weḣwe'ġahą*
–wįža; wįža'hą a supple rod or twig is bent; *wįšwį'žahą* it is supple, limber
–wįġa; wįġa'hą it is bent sharply and permanently
–hųhųza; hųhų'zahą it is unsteady, liable to tremble, or rock; *hųhų'zaheya* adverb (also *hųshų'zahą*)
–b.laza; b.laza'hą it is rent, torn open; *b.lab.la'zahą; b.laza'he s'e* adverb
–b.laža; b.laža'hą it is pulled apart (as legs, mouth); *yuka'b.lašya* adverb

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[77] Compare static verbs in *-hą*, p. 62.
[78] *c'epye'la!* how very fat it is!
[79] The change of *ka* to *ke* before *hą* is exceptional.
[80] Colloquially *hą* may be omitted.

–*b.laġa; b.laġa'hą* it is spread out in all directions; no reduplication; *b.laġa'he s'e* blatantly (adv.), reduplicated *b.laġa'he se'kse*

(–)*b.le'za* to be clear-minded; *b.lesya'hą* and *b.lesya'*

–*b.leca; b.leca'hą* it is shattered (brittle material); *b.leb.le'cahą; b.leca'heya* adverb

–*pota; pota'hą* it is worn out; *polpo'tahą; pota'heya* adverb

–*ptuġa; ptuġa'hą* it is chipped off; *ptuptu'ġahą; ptuġa'heya* adverb

–*psaka; psaka'hą* it is snapped (rope, thong); *psapsa'kahą; psaka'heya* adverb

–*m.nim.niża;* (*m.nim.ni'żahą* it is wrinkled (hide); no adverb in *heya; yum.ni'm.niża* curly, kinky [hair])

–*m.niġa; m.ni'ġahą* it is shrunken (more often *nam.ni'ġa*)

–*m.nuza; m.num.nu'zahą* it is of such consistency as to give the sound of being crushed (hard snow, etc.); *m.nu.m.nu'zahe s'e* adverb

–*m.nuża; m.num.nu'żahą* (the same for coarser material like cartilage); *m.num.nu'żahe s'c* adverb

–*m.nuġa; m.num.nu'ġahą* (the same for hard material); *m.num.nuġahe s'c* adverb

–*luza*, a current of water, air flows; *lu'zahą* [81] it is fleet; *luslu'zahą; luslu'zaheya* adverb (see p. 63)

–*suza; suza'hą* it has a slight crack; *susu'zahą; suza'he s'e* adverb

–*zapa; zapa'hą* it is torn off in strips; no adverb in -*heya*

–*sleca; sleca'hą* it is torn in strips; *slesle'cahą; sleca'heya* adverb

–*šleca; šleca'hą* it is cracked (large cracks in logs, stone, bone); *šlešle'cahą; šleca'heya* adverb

–*ṡuża; ṡuża'hą* it is crushed (meat, flesh); *ṡuṡu'żahą; ṡuṡu'żaheya* adv.

–*šloka; šloka'hą* something that fits on or into something is off; *ošlo'šlokahą* it is loose in all its parts; *ošlo'kahą* (skin) is chafed; *ošlo'šlokaheya* adverb

–*g.loka;* (*g.loka'hą* not used) it has a joint loose; *og.lo'g.lokahą* it is loose in all parts; *og.lo'g.lokaheya* adverb

–*kšiża; kšiża'hą* it is bent on a joint or fold; *kšikši'żahą* it is limp, falling into folds or bents; *kšikši'żaheya* adverb

–*k'įca; k'įca'hą* the outside is scraped off; *k'įlkį'cahą; k'įca'heya, k'įlk'į'caheya* adverbs

–*ġapa; ġapa'hą* it is flayed; no reduplication; *ġapa'heya* adverb

–*ġuka* it is stretched out long so that it remains long (*zikzi'ca* if elastic); *ġuka'hą; ġuka'heya* adverb

(–*ḣica* he is aroused from sleep;) *ḣica'hą* he trips and falls; *ḣilḣi'cahą* (adv.); *ḣica'hąhą* (verb); no adverb in -*heya*

–*ḣuġa; ḣuġa'hą* (a shell, skull) is broken; *ḣuḣu'ġahą; ḣuġa'ḣeya, ḣuḣu'ġahcya*

–*ḣleca; ḣleca'hą* it is torn (fabric, skin); *ḣleḣle'cahą* it is ragged; *ḣleca'heya* adverb

CV *verbs*

Verbs of the type CV duplicate the second syllable, *hą*, to express repetition of the condition, the stem syllable if the condition occurs at many places. Those ending in *u* introduce *wa* before *hą*. In Santee the *wa* is often introduced also after other vowels.

–*'iże* it is out of order, disarranged; *i'żehą* and *iże'hą* always being out of order; (idiomatically used for "always")

–*pta* it is falling to pieces (meat, hide); *ptahą'hą* it is falling to pieces entirely; *napta'ptahą; napta'ptaya* adverb

–*pšų; pšųwa'hą* it is broken at a joint; *pšųwa'hąhą, pšųpšų'wahą; pšųwa'heya* adverb

–*m.na;* [82] *m.nahą'* it is ripped; *m.nahą'hą* (no *m.nam.na'hą*)

–*swa; swahą'* it is unravelled, unevenly fringed; *swahą'hą; oswa'swahą; oswa'swaheya* adverb

–*sna; snahą'* to fall off (leaves, beads)

–*za; zaza'hą* it is shredded (frail material); *zaza'hąhą*

–*ṡpa; ṡpahą'* to have small bits falling off (flesh); *ṡpahą'hą; ṡpaṡpa'hą; ṡpaṡpa'heya* adverb

–*ṡpu; ṡpuwa'hą* it is unfastened; *ṡpuṡpu'wahą, ṡpuwa'hąhą; ṡpuwa'heya* adverb

–*štą; 'oštą'hą* a sore continues open; *'oštą'hąhą; oštą'štąhą* river ice has holes

–*ška; škahą'* it is untied; *škahą'hą*, no adverb in -*heya;* no reduplication of stem with *hą*

–*ża; żahe'ya* confused sound; *żahe' s'e* as though a discordant sound were permanent

–*żużu; żużu'wahą* it is all apart; no duplication of *hą; ożu'żuwaheya*

–*żų; żųwa'hą* it is uprooted (a tooth has come out of its socket, a post out of the ground); *żųwa'hąhą*

(–*gwa* disintegrated); *ogwa'hą* it is spoiled (meat, egg), *ogwa'gwahą; ogwa'heya, ogwa'gwaheya* adverbs

–*g.la; g.lahą'* it is unbraided; *g.lahą'hą; g.lahe'ya iya'* he speaks fluently; no reduplication of stem

–*g.na; g.nahą'hą* small things in a row come off (peas, corn, berries that grow in rows); no adverb; no reduplication of stem

–*ksa;* [83] *ksahą'* to be severed (also *ksa*); *ksahą'hą; ksahe'ya ksahe'heya* adverb

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[81] *lu's 'iya'ya!* go quickly

[82] •*m.na* to give off an odor.

[83] Rarely without prefix: *si' maksa'* my foot is severed (is off).

–*ġa* to husk corn, to open out something that is folded together like a bud; only *ġahe′ s'e* adverb, harsh and loud (*ġahe′s'e p'ą′* be shouted wildly)
–*k'ą; k'ąhą′* they are shed (leaves, berries); *ok'ą′k'ąheya, ok'ą′heya* adverb
–*ȟpu; ȟpuwa′hą* (mud or other easily removable material) has come off *ȟpuȟpu′wahą; ȟpuȟpu′ya, ȟpuȟpu′yela* adverb
–*ȟtą; ȟtąhą′* it is porous, absorbent; *ȟtąhą′hą; ȟtąhe′ya* adverb
–*ȟlaya; ȟlahą′* it is peeled off; *ȟlahą′hą*; no adverb

In adverbial forms in *ya* reduplicated forms in *hąhą* change to *heheya.*

ksahe′heya broken often;—*żahe′heya* with repeated confused sounds;—*żųwa′heheya* uprooted frequently

The verb (–)*psica* takes prefixes which give it the sense "to make jump." Nevertheless it forms a static verb with the suffix *hą*.

psica′hą to be missing; *psipsi′cahą* to be missing in places (to have jumped out, like grains of corn from a cob, teeth, etc.); *psi′cahą* he is jumping along, continuative); *hi 'opsi′caheya* with teeth missing, adverb

The following verbs with obligatory instrumental prefix cannot form neutrals with *hą*, losing at the same time their prefix. In most cases the adverbial forms retain the prefix and lose terminal *a*. Stems which occur also without prefixes either as verbs or adverbs or both are marked with an asterisk. Those marked with a double asterisk have a distinctive meaning when occurring without prefix. The particular prefix used with the stem, unless illustrated by examples is given in parenthesis.

CVC *verbs*

–*yeza* he is annoyed, –*yes* adverb
–*waza* it is disturbed, superficially stirred, irritated (p. e., soil by pawing of horses), –*was* adverb
–*wįta* it is rubbed on, stroked over, –*wįl* adverb
–*hįta* a surface is cleared off, –*hįl* adverb
–*b.laya* it is leveled out, –*b.laya* adverb
–*paza* a thin skin is extended, blistered, –*pas*, –*pasya* adverbs (*na*)
–*pąza* (variant of *paza*)
–*poġa* it is inflated, –*poȟ*, *napo′ȟya* adverbs (*na*, *ka*)
*–*ptuta* it is sprinkled, generally *yuptu′ptuta*, *yuptu′l* strewing on in tiny bits, adverb; *ptuptu′lya* in small amounts
–*ptuża* (S) it is cracked
–*psįta* it is in the condition of having been struck with a switch, *kapsį′psįl* adverb; *kapsį′tapi s'e* fast moving
*–*p'ą′ża* it is soft and yielding (hay, cotton); *p'ąśya′*, *p'ąśye′la* adverb *p'aśp'ą′śyela* adverb without instrumental
–*p'oża* always with *-la*, *kap'o′żela* it is light in weight, *kap'o′śyela* adverb
–*lepa* it is scalloped at edge, –*lep* adverb
*–*lopa* it is soft, miry –*lop; lolo′pa* it is overdone, so as to fall to pieces, without instrumental
**–*luza* air or fluid is in motion, –*lus*, –*lusya* adverb; *lu′zahą* he is a fast runner (see p. 62)(*ka*, *yu* by suction)
–*tepa* it is slanting, sloping, –*tep* adverb, *kai′tepya* adverb
*(–*tica*), only reduplicated (–)*tikti′ca* it is sticky and soft –*tiktil*, (–)*tiktilya*, adverb (see *zica*)
*–*tųpa* it is thick and muddy, not sticky, –*tųp*, adverb; also *tųptų′pyą* adverb without instrumental; *tųptų′pa* verb
*(–*t'apa*) only reduplicated (–)*t'at'apa* it is partly dry (like mud drying up, partly dried meat), –*t'at'ap*, *t'at'a′pya* (*ka*)
–*t'aka* [84] it is blocked, held, locked, –*t'ak* adverb
–*t'ipa* it is shrunk, contracted (muscles in spasm, leather by heat) –*t'ip*, –*t'ipya* adverb (*yu*, *na*)
–*t'ica* it is packed hard (as snow), tucked in, –*t'il* adverb, *opa′t'ilya* being tucked in, adverb
*(–)*t'opa*, (–)*t'ot'opa* it is partly dry, no adverb
–*t'uża* he is in stooping position, he has the head bent forward, *pat'u′ś* adverb, *yupa′t'uś* held stooped, adverb (two instrumentals) [85]
–*slata* it is upright, perpendicular, –*slal* adverb; *opa′slata* a sliver goes into the flesh, *nasla′*ta to go about stealthily
–*sluta* a long thing protrudes out of a hole, –*slul* adverb

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[84] *t'a′ka* to parch corn.
[85] cf. *pat'u′za* to bow; *paptu′za* to bend over so that the back sticks out; (–) *ptu′za*

**–_staka_ it is mud-like, –_stak_ adverb (_sta′ka_ he is listless, _stakya′_ adverb) (_ka_)
*–_skapa_ two broad surfaces are in sudden contact, (–)_skap_, (–)_skapya′_ adverb, _ska′skap hįg.la′_ clapping suddenly heard
–_skita_ it is bound, –_skil_ adverb
–_skica_ it is compressed; _ag.la′skil_ lying on something compressing it; adverb
**–_zica_ it is stretching; (–)_zikzica_ it is elastic; –_zikzi′lya; –zil_, –_zilya_ adverbs
–_zoka_ (only with _ya-_) it is being tasted, licked, _yazo′k_ adverb
–_zuka_, generally –_zukzuka_ it hangs in mucous strings, _kazu′kzukya_, _kazu′kzukycla_ adverb
–_ṡipa_ it is low above ground, –_ṡip; o′kaṡipyela_ branches hanging low towards ground; _paṡi′p_ genuflecting
–_ṡwoka_ it is overflowing; –_ṡwok_ adverb
*–_ṡluta_ it is slippery (with prefixes; to slip, slide); –_ṡlul; ṡluṡlu′lyela_ adverb (–)_ṡluṡlu′ta_ it is slippery
*–_ṡkapa_ two broad, wet or yielding surfaces are in sudden contact, (–)_ṡkap_, (–)_ṡkapya_ adverb; _ṡka′ṡkap hįg.la′_ the noise of such contact comes
*–_ṡkepa_ a fluid is dried (by sweeping); see (–)_skepa_ to be dried by leaking; –_ṡkep_
*–_ṡkita_ it is grooved, ridged, notched, –_ṡkil_; (–)_ṡkiṡki′ta_ corrugated
–_ṡkica_ liquid is squeezed out, –_ṡkil_
–_żipa_ thin layers are lifted or removed, –_żip; yużi′pa_ to pinch and lift tiny piece of skin, _każi′pa_ to shave off slivers
–_żųta_ it reaches into a cavity, –_żųl_
–_ceka_ it is in a staggering condition, _kace′kcek_ adverb (neutral), _pace′k_ adverb (active); (_cekce′ka_, only a nickname)
–_cʻapa_ to have legs lifted in high steps, _yucʻa′pa_ to prance, _yucʻa′p_, _yucʻa′pcʻap_ adverb (_na_, _yu_)
–_gwoka_ it is being churned up, _kagwo′k_ adverb
–_gmica_ it is being pulled (like hair), –_g.mig.mica_, _yugmi′l_ adverbs
–_gmuza_ it is gathered in, pursed, drawn tightly, –_g.mus; ’o′g.muza_ or _yug.mu′zya ’ecʻe′ca_ it is closed; active with _o-_ followed by instrumental
–_kiża_ he is suffering, in agony, _kaki′ṡ_, _kaki′ṡya_ adverb (only with _ka-_)
–_kota_, –_kųta_ to be probed into, as a tubular object, _pako′l_, _pakų′l_ adverbs (–_kųta_ it is of uneven length in patches [hair, grass] takes _hą_)
*–_ksiza_ he is irritable, _yuksi′s_ adverb (_ksisya′_ adverb used colloquially); _ksi′zeca_ heartless, brutal
–_kṡeca_ he has his joints violently bent, as in spasms, no adverb; see _yukṡa′kṡala ma′ni_ he walks bending the knees high, perhaps from _kṡa-ka_)
–_kʻįta_ it is in the condition of being wiped off, –_kʻįl_ adverb
–_k’eza_ (always as _ina′k’eza_) it is near the edge of, _’ina′k’es_ adverb; _’i′yak’es’yela_
*–_k’e′ġa_ a surface is scratched, –_k’eḣ_ adverb; _k’c′ḣ-hįg.la_ a scratching sound comes; _k’e′ḣk’cġa_ it gives off a grating sound
*–_k’oġa_ a surface is scraped, –_k’oḣ_ adverb; _k’o′ḣ-hįg.la_ a scraping sound comes; no _k’o′ḣk’oġa_, but _k’o′ḣk’oḣ hįg.la′_ (repetitive)
*–_ġata_ they are sticking out in many directions, _yuġa′l_ reaching out with the hand, arm; _kaġa′l-hįg.la_ he is startled throwing out his arms; _ġalġa′ta_ it has many branches, arms; _ġalya′_, _g.alġa′lya_ adverb
–_ġipa_ it is in a state of being pinched between two edges, _yuġi′p_ adverb; _ina′ġip; ina′ġipya hą′_ it remains caught
**–_ḣapa_ it is in a state of being driven (animal), _kaḣa′p_ adverb; see *_ḣa′pa_ to give off a rustling, muffled sound
–_ḣepa_ it is in a state of having been drained, _yaḣe′p_ drinking up (adv.)
**–_ḣica_ he is roused from sleep, –_ḣil_ adverb; _ḣica′hą_ he trips, falls down (verb)
–_ḣųta_ it is pliable, _yuḣų′l_ adverb; _haḣų′ta_ hemp (bark) rope
–_ḣwoka_ it is floating in the air, _kaḣwo′k_ being carried by the wind (adv.)
–_ḣlaya_ it is in a peeled condition, –_ḣlaya_, –_ḣla′ḣlaya_ adverb, see _ḣlahą′_ it is peeling off, is peeled; see _ḣla_ to rattle, being loose
–_ḣlata_ it is in a state of being clamped, _yuḣla′l_ adverb
–_ḣtata_ it is loosened, not taut, _kaḣta′l_ slowing up (adv.), _ayu′ḣtal_ slacking reins, _o′ḣtal_ relaxed, _o′ḣtata_ to be weakened by sickness (i. e., having the skin hanging loose)
–_ḣtaka_ it is in forcible contact, _naḣta′k_ kicking (adv.) _ica′ḣtak_ in touch with, _woḣta′k_ bumping (adv.) (_yaḣtaka_ to bite)
–_ḣniġa_ it is chosen, _kaḣni′ḣ_ adverb, _oka′ḣniḣ_ comprehending (only with _ka-_)
(–_ḣ’ota_ not used as verb) _kaḣ’o′l_ hurling

CV *verbs*

*–*wi* it is tied up (wound, broken object), *yuwi'* adverb, *wiwi'la* it is soft and yielding; *pʻo'wiwila* fontanelle, *wiwi'la* spring of water

*–*ha* it is unsteady, also *haha'la* verb, *haha'yela* adverb

–*hų* it is gashed, verb and adverb (*wa*, *ka*)

–*b.la* meat is in a jerked condition, verb and adverb (for meat always with *ka-*)

*–*b.laya* it is level, *b.la'yeyela* adverb

**–*pe* it is chopped into, verb and adverb; see *pehą'* to fold (*ka*)

*–*psą* it is in a state of oscillation, –*psą*, *kapsą'yą* adverb; *psąpsą'ka* vacillating

*–*pʻą*, *pʻąpʻą'la* it is pounded to a pulp (also by rain, hail), *kapʻą'yą* yielding (like a cushion) [86]

–*ma* it is in continuous moving contact with something, –*ma* adverb; *ica'meya* in continuous contact permitting rubbing (as verb with instrumentals to brush, sharpen, whet, file)

–*m.ni* [87] it is turning around its own axis, –*m.ni* adverb; *nam.ni'* to turn back before reaching destination; *kam.ni'm.niyela* with garments whipping about wearer in wind 133.10

–*la* powdery substance is being spilled, *kala'* adverb always with *ka*

–*lu* it is in fanlike motion, *kalu'* to fan (v., adv.) (cf. *luza* air, water in current)

*–*to* it gives sound of a sharp, light impact, –*toto* to rap; *to'to hįg.la'* a rapping noise comes

–*tʻa* it is compressed into a small bulk (v., adv.), *aka'tʻa* to cover (as with soil); *yatʻa'* to chew

–*tʻą* it is in touch with something (v., adv.), *katʻą'tʻą* to pound (meat) lightly (before cooking)

–*tka* he is choking on something (v., adv.) (*ka*, neutral)

–*tką*, only *yatką'* to drink (v., adv.)

–*si* he is ahead of someone, *pasi'* to follow, to trace a rumor (v., adv.); *i'pasi* to insist upon details, cf.–*sisa* always with *pa-* it is sewed with a running stitch; *ipa'sisa* it is pinned; *pasi'sa* to quilt, also adv.

**–*sį*, *oyu'sį* to bear a grudge against someone (v., adv.), *wawo'yusįyą* adverb; *yuo'sį* it gets into a knot (v., adv.), *yuo'sįyą* adverb, *sįsį'* it is of such consistency that it contracts in drying (fish skin, glue, white of egg)

–*spa*, only *oyu'spa* to take hold of (v., adv.); *opa'spa* to duck (v., adv.); *kao'spa* to dent by striking

*–*smi* it is in a state of being trimmed (as leaves from a bush, hair) verb and adverb; *smismi'* it is irregularly deprived of trimmings (hair badly cut, a branch with few leaves left on); *yusmi'* to fleece; *aka'smiyąyą* to trim limbs off a tree

*–*sli* it is squeezed out (v.), *sli' s'e*, adverb *sliya'*, *sli'sli hįg.la'* sound comes of beating an object that gives a distant report

**–*slo* only reduplicated (–)*sloslo'* it is mushy; *kaslo'slo* adverb; see *slohą'* to crawl

–*snu* it is set up on a stick, on a spit for roasting, always with *pa-*; *pasnu'* adverb.

*–*sku* it is peeled, used of objects the skin of which has to be cut off, to be pared (v., adv.); *skusku'* it is scaly (v.), *skusku'ya* adverb

*–*zą* loose material, such as hair, hay is separated, *pazą'zą*, always with *pa-*, adverb; *zązą'la* it is loosely woven, open woods, so that one can look through; *żążą'* translucent

*–*ze* it is dangling (v., adv.); *ze'zeya* adverb, with instrumentals: to lift out of a liquid; see *apʻa'żeżeya* on the very edge (adv.)

–*zo* a line is drawn on a surface, –*zo*, *ica'zo* adverb; *pazo'* to point out

–*ṡe* it is obstructed (v., adv.); *kʻuṡe'ya* in the way (adv.) (*ka*)

–*ṡį* it is wrinkled; *yuṡį'*, *yuṡį'ṡį*, *yuṡį'sįyą* adverb, (*yu*, *na*) it is wrinkled *pʻo'ṡį* he wrinkles up the nose

–*ṡo*, only *woṡo'* it is protruded, as lips; *woṡo'ya* adverb

*–*ṡwu* it is dripping, *ṡwuya'* giving out the sound of dripping (adv.)

–*ṡpi* small objects are removed, *yuṡpi'* to pick berries (v., adv.)

(*–*ṡmi*) *ṡmiṡmi' s'e* like something trimmed

*–*ṡli* it is oozing; *naṡli'* to have a rash on the face; *ṡliya'* sounding like water dripping, *ṡliya' hįhą'* it sounds as rain dripping *ṡliṡli'-'iḣa`t'a* to giggle

*(–*ṡta* not used) (–)*ṡtaṡta* it is soggy wet, like skin (v., adv.)

–*ṡtą*?; *yuṡtą'* to finish; *kaṡtą'* to pour; *o'ṡtą* to fit in, on; *naṡtą'ṡtą s'e* as if making oneself wobble by steps

–*ṡna* it is dropped, missed (v., adv.); *yuṡna'* it drops out of hand (all prefixes)

–*ṡki* it is gathered tightly together; it is rough (land); *yuṡki'* verb and adverb, *yuṡki'ya* adverb; *kaṡki'* to pound cherries with pits, berries with seeds (v., adv.)

–*ṡku* it is taken off (scales off fish, kernels off cob, hard small objects) (v., adv.) *ṡkuṡku'ya* it is scaly (skin, etc.)

–*ṡ'į* it is touchy, moving at slight touch; *kaṡ'į'* curved (as a repoussé nose, a curved spine); *kaṡ'į'yą* adverb; *yuṡ'į'ṡ'į* tickling (adv.)

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[86] Compare (–)*pʻą'ża* it is yielding.

[87] **m.ni* to spread out many small objects, like berries.

*–*ża* it is agitated, stirred; *yuża'* to cook porridge (v., adv.); (*żahe'ya*), *żahe' s'e* discordantly; –*żaża* it is stirred about in water, it is being washed; *ża'żaya* clearly

–*g.mi* it is weeded, cleared of vegetation (v., adv.); *yag.mi'* it grazes close to ground (like sheep); *'og.mi'la* a bare ground, an opening in the woods

–*g.mų* it is twisted (v., adv.)

–*ką* it is hewed, chopped (v., adv.); only with *ka-*

–*kį* it is inclined, of arched form; *pakį'* (neutral), *pakį'yą* adverb

–*ko*, only as *'iya'ko* to gag on account of an unpleasant taste (v., adv.)

–*kpi* noise or condition of snapping (like burning bark, killing bugs, lice, small seeds); *nakpi'kpiya hą'* (fire) stands making a snapping, crackling, slight popping noise

–*kṡa* it is coiled, bent into a coil or closely knit form (v., adv.); –*kṡaya* adverb

*–*kca* it is unbraided, loose (as hair); *kcaya' 'iya'* he talks without impediment

*–*ġa* it is spread out in all directions, opened out as an ear of corn; *ġahe' s'e* blatantly (see p. 63); *ġaġa'ya* to cause to crackle and curl up (used only for roasting blown up, dried entrails); *yuġa'ġa s'e* tall and long-limbed, so that arms and legs seem to stand out when moving

*–*ġą* it is open like a door, exposed (v., adv.) *ġą s'e* untidy (as if uncombed), *gągą'la* it is open work (like lattice, embroidery)

*–*ġe* it is gathered together (v., adv.), *kaġe'* to skim milk, soup; *o'(wa)ġe* (I) veil, encase, *kaġe'ġc* to sew; *ġc'ġeya* (held) suspended in a container

–*ġo* it has a line cut into it, is engraved (v., adv.); *'aka'ġoya* blood or perspiration runs down in lines; see *ġuhe'ya* in the manner of long, narrow lines of porcupine quill embroidery 195.8.

–*ȟpa* it is in a low position (i. e., made to fall so that it comes to be in a lower position); (v., adv.), see **ȟpa'* it is untidy; *ȟpa' s'e* like one untidy

–*ȟ'i'* only *yuȟ'i'* it has a rough, chapped surface; *yuȟ'i'ya*, *yuȟ'i'yela* (adv.)

–*ȟ'u* it is peeled off, like bark that does not come off easily (v., adv.)

cvcv verbs

–*tità*[88] it is subject to a steady force, –*titą* adverb reduplicated –*tiktitą* (for *kitą?*)

*–*zamni* it is exposed by removal of a cover; *zam.ni' s'e* said of persons whose garments fly loosely about them

§ 64. *-pi*

The unaccented ending *-pi* expresses the exclusive dual, he and I, and the plural of the animate subject of a sentence. In simple stems its position is terminal. It does not ordinarily pluralize a single word, but rather a phrase and may appear attached to nouns and verbs.

It may either precede or follow the diminutive *-la: hokṡi'pila* or *hokṡi'lapi* boys. When *ka* rather, is a detachable element *pi* precedes; if it is inseparable *pi* follows: *wo'hitikapi* they are greedy.

It precedes the future *kta* and all declarative, interrogative and imperative particles.

It follows *-tu* which is always firmly connected with the stem.

It precedes *ṡni* not, *s'a* customarily, *ȟca* very, and the compound *-kteȟcį*.

The third person plural subject expressed by *-pi* indicates also an indefinite subject and often corresponds to our passive.

wana'sapi there was a communal hunt 184.2;—*ki'cak'iyag.lapi* his had been taken away 185.1; *kaza'zapi* it is slashed 36.2;—*t'ahį'ṡpa 'ų' hąp-ka'ġeġcpi s'a* with an awl moccasins are customarily made

Many nouns are verbal forms with the plural ending *-pi:* Some of these have lost their verbal function and are used as nouns only while others are rather felt as verbal forms.

Nouns.

ṡpąka'ġapi preserved sweet corn (*ṡpą* to be parboiled; *ka'ġa* to make);—*waki'c'aġapi* a redistribution ceremony (they make their own things); the verbal form *wawe'c'aġa* I make my own things, does not exist);—*wi'ȟpcyapi* the ceremony of discarding goods at death (*'iȟpe'ya* to throw away);—*c'ąka'wac'ipi* a top (*c'ą'* wood; *kawa'c'i* to make dance by striking);—*he' c'įṡka'yapi* mountain goat (*he* horn; *c'įṡka'* spoon; *–ya* to have for);—*hokṡi'c'ąlkiyapi* a child-beloved (*hokṡi'* child; *c'ąte'*, *c'ąl-* heart; *-ya* to have for; they have a child for their own heart);—*'iya'pi* words, speech (*'iya'* to speak);—*wi'pat'api* a piece of porcupine work (*'ipa't'a* to work in porcupine quills);—*wakṡu'pi* a piece of bead work (*akṡu'* to pile on; *wakṡu'* to do bead work);—*p'a'p'aȟtapi* a doll (*p'a* head; *p'aȟta'* to tie in a bundle);—*wo'żapi* chokecherry porridge (for other kinds the name of the plant is stated *tʻi'psila yuża'pi* mashed wild turnip porridge; *yuża'* to stir, mix);— *-huhu'-wasmi`pi* trimmings of meat, particularly from the spine, used for soup (*huhu'*, *hohu'* bone; *wasmi'* to trim with a knife); *-yaȟu'ġapi* nuts (*ya-* with mouth; *-ȟuġa* to crack a shell); *-wo'yaptapi* food left in the kettle after a meal (*watʻe'ca* is food left by the guests and taken home; *pta* to cut into something);—*wo'kpąpi* corn meal (*wa-yu-kpą* to grind fine);—*pʻehį'-sųpi* braided hair (*sų* to braid);—*waka'pʻąpi* pemmican (*kapʻa'* to pound to a pulp);—*paśla'yapi* hominy (*śla* bare, the hull being removed by the heat of hot ashes);—*wo'śleślecapi* cracked corn (*-śle'ca* hard things are cracked);—*cʻati'yohąpi* hominy (*cʻata'* ashes; *'i-* by; *'ohą'* to boil);—*wakce'yapi* broiled rib piece (*kceya'* to broil over coals); *tʻi'pi* dwelling, tent (*tʻi* to dwell); *-'au'yeyapi* and *'aųyeyapi* ground-cherries (*'a-* on; *uya'* the wind comes from a certain direction; *-ya* to cause; lit. they cause the wind to blow on them; it is believed that if approached with the wind they will become sour, if against the wind they will be sweet)

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[88] Compare (*wa*)*ki'tą* to be stubborn; *waki'lkitąka* a willful man; *pati'tą* to hold in place by pushing, to brace; reduplicated *pati'ktitą*.

Names of games are of this type:

paį'yąkapi they make it run by pushing;—*paslo'hąpi* snow snake (they make it glide by pushing). To play these games is expressed by the noun followed by *'ų'* to use, *paslo'hąpi 'ų'pi* they play snow snake.

Terms for a great many modern objects are formed with *-pi:*

'aġu'yapi bread (they cause it to be scorched, *ġu*);—*śina'-kaswu`pi* a fringed shawl (they make the blanket fringed);—*wakʻa'lyapi* tea, coffee (something they make hot);—*wicʻa'ȟapi* grave (they bury men);—*'ożą'żąg.lepi* window (*'ożą'żą* daylight, *żązą'* glass; *g.le* to set up);—*wapa'zopi* a show (*pazo'* to hold up to view, expose), etc.

§§ 65–70. Compounding

§ 65. INTRODUCTORY

Compounds are formed of nouns and nouns, nouns and adjectives, nouns and verbs, verbs and verbs, adverbs and verbs, and adverbs and adverbs. Each compound has only one primary accent. When the first part is monosyllabic and the accent of the compound is on the second syllable that of the second part will be shifted; p. e, *śkal-'o'mani* he goes about to play. The accent of the independent word would be *oma'ni; ȟe-'a'kątu kį* the top of the mountain (*'aką'tu*). If the accent is on the first syllable or when the first word has more than one syllable the original accent of the second part of the compound is retained as a weak, secondary accent.

Compounding always expresses that the compound is a unit concept. There are, however, two degrees of such unity. An example may illustrate this.

cʻe'ġa wą tʻą'ka kį he' mak'u' a kettle a certain one that is large, that give me!
cʻe'ġa-tʻąka kį he' mak'u' the large kettle, that give me
cʻeȟ-tʻą'ka wo'he' she cooked a big-kettle-full (i. e., she cooked for a feast)

In the first case the words kettle and large are independent; in the second *tʻą'ka*, large is subordinate to *cʻe'ġa*, kettle; in the third case they form a single concept. The same point is illustrated by the two forms *cʻe'ġa-zi* a yellow kettle and *cʻeȟ-zi'* brass kettle. In the former *zi'* yellow is subordinated to *cʻe'ġa;* in the latter the two form a unit. Another example is *m.ni'-waȟca`ȟca* water flower, any flower growing in water, and *m.ni-ȟca'ȟca* water lily. We have also by contrast:

śų'kakʻą' kį sįte' 'e'l 'oyu'spe' he clung to the horse's tail, and *śųksį'te wą kʻoya'ke'* he wore as ornament a horse tail
cʻa'pa sįte' kį 'owa'kakse' I cut short the beaver's tail, and *'ehą'ni cʻapsį'te 'ų' g.lakca'pi'* formerly with beaver tails they combed (their hair)
hą'pa 'ipa'tʻapi wą mak'u'' she gave me a pair of embroidered moccasins, and *hąp-'i'patʻa* general term for embroidered moccasin [89]

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[89] These two stages of more or less intimate relationship appear also in the possessive pronoun. It will be shown that in nouns beginning with *o* the possessive prefix *tʻa* is not contracted with *o* if possession is not permanent, while the two are contracted, if possession is permanent: *tʻao'wį* his earrings, those he made or happened to wear; *tʻo'wį* his earrings that are characteristic of him and of no one else (p. 132).

§ 66. NOUN AND NOUN

When the first noun expresses the material of which the second consists the second noun is subordinated; that is, the stem expressing material retains its accent. The stem *ma′za*, metal, when contracted, forms an exception. (See pp. 72, 73.)

c‘ą′-c‘eğa drum (lit. wooden kettle);—*c‘ą′-hąpa* shoe (wooden moccasin);—*c‘u′-m.ni* dew (dew water);—*he′-c‘į̨ska* horn spoon

but *mas-c‘į′śka* or *ma′za-c‘į̨śka* metal spoon;—*mas-wa′kśica* metal bowl;—*ma′za-t‘ipi* iron house 57.4;—*ma′za-napo`ktą* or *mas-na′poktą* metal bracelet

Sometimes the second part of the compound retains its verbal character. In these cases the accent is on the second syllable.

c‘ą′-wog.nake wooden box; *c‘ą-wo′g.naka* coffin (see p. 33); *c‘ą-wo′slohą* sledge;—*c‘ą-wa′kśica* wooden bowl

With stems of more than one syllable:

mak‘a′-t‘i`pi* earth lodge;—*p‘eżi′-wok‘e`ya grass house;—*t‘aha′-śina`* deerskin blanket;—*wizi′-p‘ą* bag made of old tent cover (*wi-* tent; *zi* yellow);—*pśit‘o′-hąpa* beaded moccasins;—*’į′yą-hokśi`la* Stone-boy 91.16;—*’į′yą-mila* stone knife;—*p‘atka′śa-hąpa* turtle moccasins;—*t‘ahu′ka-wata* bull boat (raw hide boat)

When the second noun is considered as a qualifier of the first one, the second noun loses its accent.

pte′-’oya`te* buffalo-people 208.3;—*pte′-wį`yą buffalo-woman 184.12;—*wag.me′za-wį`yą* corn-woman 184.12;—*hit‘ų′kala-oya`te* mouse-people 143.12;—*hoğą′-’oų`c‘aġe* fish-shape (lit. fish in way of growing);—*wic‘a′śa-’it‘ą`c‘ą* man-leader 145.8;—*wį′yą-wic‘a`śaśni* an inhuman woman (i. e., tricky) 167.14

Many names are formed in this manner:

wąb.li′-hokśi`la* Eagle-Boy;—*ptesą′-wąb.li` White Buffalo Eagle;—*c‘etą′-waha`c‘ąka* Hawk Shield

Demonstratives are treated in the same manner:

le′-wic‘a`śa kį, he′-wic‘a`śa kį this, that man;—*he′-ȟtaye`tu kį* that same evening 226.2;—*he′-’oya`te kį* that particular people 225.8;—*tukte′-wic‘a`śa* which man;—*tuwa′-wic‘a`śa* some man;—*ta′ku-wic‘a`śa* some kind of man, what kind of man 234.9;—*ta′ku-hoų`kśipika c‘a* we are some kind of children (i. e. not children) 167.6;—*le′c‘a-wį`yą, he′c‘a-wį`yą* this, that kind of woman;—*le′c‘i-’oya`te, he′c‘i-’oya`te* people of the kind that are here, there; but *to′k‘i ’oya′te wą* a people somewhere;—*le′c‘iyatąhą-, he′c‘iyatąhą -’oya`te* people from (belonging to) this side, that side;—*hctą′-’oya`te* people from there (See p. 115)

Partitive genitives.—Most of these are firmly united. They appear most frequently with locative terms.

ȟe-’a′kątu kį the top of the mountain;—*m.ni-c‘o′ka* the middle of the water;—*m.ni-yo′huta* bank of river;—*p‘į′kpa* (<*p‘a′-į′kpa*) tip;—*c‘į′kpa* (<*c‘ą′-įkpa′*) top of tree

A number of terms for parts of the body are so formed:

p‘asu′ nose (=head seed);—*nasu′* brains (=scalp area, core);—*sip‘a′* toe (=foot head);—*nap-k‘ą′* sinews of wrist;—*nakp‘ą′* wrist part of sleeve (by metathesis);—*’iśta′-hokśi`cala* pupil of eye (=infant of eye);— *p‘o′wiwila* (<*p‘a-owi′wila*, see p. 8) fontanelle;—*c‘ąto′ġe* (<*c‘ąte′-o′ġe*, see p. 8) pericardium;—*nu′ġoȟloka* (<*nu′ġe-oȟlo′ka*, see p. 8) meatus auditorius (*’onų′ġe* or *’onu′ġe* gnarl) ***’iśko′naġi*** (<*iśka′-o-naġi′*, see p. 8; for *onu′ġe* gnarl) the spot black inside horse’s hoof;—*pte-p‘a′* buffalo skull;—*śųk-sį′tc* horse tail

Evidently only such body parts are included in this list that are used so specifically that the partitive idea prevails over the possessive. (See p. 69.)

Here belong also terms like—

paha′-’ip‘a`* end of a hill;—*’ita′zipa-’ik‘ą` bow string; —*wa-sį′te* (<*wa′ta sįte′* boat tail) rudder;—*c‘ą-ha′* bark (=wood skin)

Not all the partitives show the more complete degree of assimilation; for instance *c‘e′ġa-mat‘e`te* rim of kettle (but also *c‘eȟ-ma′t‘ete*).

The contracted form *śųk-ma′nitu* wilderness-dog, i. e. wolf, may be understood from the point of view either that it has come to be the formal word for wolf, or that *mani′tu* is a locative term which, however, in this case has an attributive meaning.

Possessive relation.—When two nouns are in possessive relation both retain their independence and their accents.

> *śų′ka hi′* a dog's tooth;—*wag.mu′ su′* pumpkin seed (but *wag.mu′-ha* rattle of pumpkin rind, but also pumpkin rind);—*matʻo′ cʻąte′* bear's heart (name);—*pʻatka′śa ha′* turtle shell (but *pʻatka′śa-hąpa* turtle moccasins);—*zuze′ca ha′* snake skin

When possessives [90] are used idiomatically as names of objects they are firmly united, p. e.:

> *ptetʻa′wote* buffalo its food (a plant);—*zuze′ca-tʻawo`te* snake food (a berry);—*heȟa′k-tʻapʻe`żuta* elk medicine (a plant);—*tʻatʻa′wab.lu`śka* horse fly (ruminant's bug);—*pi′śko-tʻahą`pe* lady slipper (night hawk's moccasin);—*ho′he-tʻama`ȟpiya* Assiniboine clouds (northern lights);—*kʻąġi′-tʻame* gumbo (*kʻąġi′* crow; *me?*)

§ 67. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE

The adjective follows the noun and is subordinate to it. The adjective is identical with the neutral verb. As a verb it retains its independent accent, as adjective it loses it.

> *śų′ka kį tʻą′ka’* the dog is large, *śų′ka-tʻą`ka* large dog;—*he′ śų′ka-tʻą`ka’* that is a large dog, *nazų′spe-waśte` kį he′ mitʻa′wa’* the good ax, that is mine

but also—

> *nazų′spe waśte′ b.luha′’* (considered as contracted from *nazų′spe wą waśte′ cʻa b.luha′’* a certain ax is good, it being so I have it)

Examples of noun with adjective:

> *pte′-tʻą`ka* a large buffalo;—*ho′-tʻą`ka* a loud voice;—*’į′yą-kʻa`ta* a hot stone 174.8;—*cʻą′-hą`ska* a long pole;—*’ape′-śa* a red leaf;—*śina′-lu`ta* red blanket;—*hą′pa-tʻo* blue moccasin;—*kʻų′ku-winų`ȟcala* his old mother-in-law 240.1;—*tʻośu′-hąska kį ’au′* bring the long tent pole!—*cʻą′-’owa`śtecaka* woods in which it is pleasant (cf. *cʻą-’o′waśtecaka* a place pleasant on account of woods 172.15)

When noun and adjective are thoroughly amalgamated into one concept, the first stem, if monosyllabic, loses its accent which falls on the second syllable.

> *cʻe′ġa-zi* a yellow kettle, *cʻeȟ-zi′* a brass kettle
> *b.le′-ska* a lake that appears white at a distance, *b.le-ska′* a clear lake without vegetation of water plants
> *b.le′-hįśma* (v.) a furry lake, i. e., full of reeds (as an individual); *b.le-hį′śma* a lake full of reeds as a type (iv.)
> *hįske′* (<*hi-hą′ska*) canine teeth (long teeth)
> *hą′-wakʻą* a holy night, *hąwa′kʻą* northern lights
> *cʻą′-wakʻą* a sacred pole, *cʻąwa′kʻą* sundance pole

Numerals form an exception to the general rule. Cardinals when used as adjectives follow the noun but retain their accents. *nų′p* two, and *to′p* four, as adjectives are always used without terminal *a*, accented, not in the predicative forms *nų′pa* and *to′pa*. Ordinals follow the general rule.

> *paha′-tʻokahe`* the first hill;—*paha′-’ici`nųpa* the second hill 244.2

Present participles of active verbs and those neutral verbs which express a temporary condition or one in which the noun presents itself under unusual conditions, which are used in English as adjectives cannot be so used in Dakota.

> *wicʻį′cala wą wacʻi′ kį he′ ’u′’* a dancing girl arrived;—*wicʻa′śa wą ’aki′ȟ’ą kį he′ ’ų′śike’* a certain man that one who is starving is pitiable;—*śʻų′ka wą ’ocʻo′za cʻa b.luha′’* I have a cozy (warm) dog; but *śina′-’ocʻo`za wą b.luha′* I have a warm blanket;—*śų′ka wą tʼe′ cį he′l tʼa′ ȟpa′ye* a dead dog a dog that is dead, that one lies dead;—*śų′ka wą ni′ kį he′* a living dog

Past participles as passive terms are no longer active and are used as adjectives.

> *tʻalo′-’iyo`ȟpeyapi kį* the boiled meat (lit. meat they throw into the);—*hą′pa-kśupi kį* the embroidered moccasin (moccasin they embroider the);—*tʻi′pi wą lecʻa′la ’itʻi′caġapi* a newly erected tipi 16.4

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[90] See p. 131.

A few terms forming fixed units omit the *pi.*

hąp-'i'pat'a kį beaded moccasin (in this combination *a* is unchangeable);—*t'i-o'wa* a painted tipi 4.13; but *šina' owa'pi wą* a painted blanket;—*šųk-nu'ni* or *šųk-'i'yeyapi* a stray horse

Proper names translated in English as noun and qualifying adjective are in most cases nominalized noun and verb.

mat'o'-nažį he stands as a bear (not Standing Bear);—*k'ağí' 'i'yotake* Crow Sits;—*pte-są'-'i`yotake* he sits as a White Buffalo;—*'aki'c'ita na'žį* warrior stands;—*'aki'c'ita-nažį* he stands as a warrior;—*mat'o' k'ina'žį* bear takes a stand (lit. returning stands)

The name of Sitting Bull is *t'at'ą'ka 'iyo'tąke* Supreme Bull. Sitting Bull would be *t'at'ą'ka-'i`yotake* he sits as a bull or *t'at'ą'ka 'i'yotake* bull sits.

§ 68. NOUN AND VERB

As shown in §67 the subject of a neutral verb is not compounded with the verb.

The noun expressing the object of a transitive verb is often compounded with the verb. cvc nouns that can be contracted (see p. 34) are used in contracted form. Special objects followed by *kį*, *wą*, etc., remain independent. Compounding is used whenever object and verb are conceived as a unit action, expressing customary activities.

wą-ka'žipa to whittle arrow-shafts;—*c'ą-le'* to gather firewood;—*c'ąli'-wakpą`* to cut tobacco;—*c'ą-pa'ile* to make fire with fire drill;—*c'ą-ka'bu* to drum;—*pte-kte'* to kill buffaloes;—*pte-'a'tųwą* to scout for buffaloes;—*p'a-ka's'į* he raised his head 13.9;—*waha'tka* to dress flesh side of hide by scraping it clean;—*wahį'(wa)pahpa* (I) knock off the hair (clean off the fur side);—*c'ąp'a'-kaški* to pound fresh cherries into a mash for drying;—*c'ap-'o'(wa)le* (I) search for beavers;—*k'ą-ka'kpa* to tap the vein for bleeding the sick;—*t'ošu'-kaksa* to cut tent-poles;—*šų-m.ni'-k'u* to water horses;—*šųkma'-nitu-kte`pi* they are wolf-killers;—*ptc-'a'wąyaka* to guard cattle;—*c'ą-pa'slata* to set up posts;—*asą'pi-yusli`* to milk;—*maka'-'ok'a* to dig skunks;—*haka'-k'utepi* the shooting-the-brush game;—*p'a-ka'hųka* to nod;—*'aške'-g.luwi* to wear hair in braids (men) (literally; to bind one's braids);—*si-ca'psą* to swing one leg from knee down [90a];—*hokši'-k'į* to carry child on back;—*hokši'-yuha* to give birth;—*hokši'-napa`tayus* leading child by hand, adv.;—*hokši'-g.lašta`ka* to whip one's child, corporal punishment of child;—*heyo'k'a-ihą`bla* to have *heyo'k'a* as guardian;—*mat'o'-'ihą`bla*—bear—;—*wana'ği-'ihą`bla*—ghost—;—*'osni'-waki`g.leca* to feel in the body the portents of cold weather;—*m.ni-c'o'p'a* to wade (in) water;—*m.ni-ya'tką* to drink;—*m.ni-t'o'kšu* to haul water;—*m.ni-na't'aka* to make a dam;—*'ikto'mi-kağa* he acts (like) *ikto'mi* (the trickster) 184.2;—*c'ąp'a'ksa-'ic'i`c'ağa* to make oneself into a stump 169.19;—*hąc'o'kaya-kağa* he acts midnight (i. e., goes to bed early);—*he'c'a-ka`ğa* to act in the manner of that kind 245.4;—*hoğą'-'ic'a`ğa* he grows (to be like) a fish 168.18;—*ho-k'u'wa* to fish

t'a't'e (adv.) hunting deer, may be contracted from *t'ahca-k'ute* or *kte*

The third person plural of active verbs, used for a passive is also employed in compounds.

'į'yą-kab.le`capi* crushed stone (*kable'capi* they crush it);—*'į'yą-kape`m.nipi sling stone;—*'ųkce'la-ka`ğapi* made cactus-shaped (an ornament)

In some terms of this class the noun and verb remain independent: *m.ni' hiyo'ya* to go to get water;—*m.ni' 'aku'* to bring water;—*m.ni' t'a'* to die by drowning.

§ 69. NOUNS, CLASSIFIERS

A number of nouns in abbreviated form (or their primary stems?) are used in compounds as classifiers. The consciousness of their derivation is not always clear as is proved by those cases in which the noun is obscured by metathesis. Examples are:

wąsma'hi for *mas-wą'hi* (metal arrow tooth) iron arrowhead;—*nakp'ą'* for *nap-k'ą* (hand-sinew) wrist

Abbreviated nouns:

'ąp- daylight;—*'ąpt'a'niya* air of early morning (*niya'* breath);—*'ąpo'wašte`caka* an agreeable day, best part of the day;—*'ą'pa-o'* [90b]dawn; —*'ą'po'wąka* (two accents) very early (adv.);—*'ąpe'tu* daytime

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[90a] *kapsą'* to oscillate,—*koza* to swing, brandish, wave.

[90b] Day shoots.

’i or *į* from *’į′yą* stone, rock;—*’iġu′ġa* whetstone;—*’izu′za, ’įzu′za* grindstone;—*’im.ni′ža* great rock, high cliff;—*’iswu′la* pebbles, (*swu′la* fine);—*’iȟ’e′* place full of small stones (*ȟ’eȟ’e′* ragged);—*’iȟ’e′-oi`yuweġe* Rocky Ford (place name);—*’iȟ’e′-paha`la* Little Rocky Hills (place name)

wi or *wį* from *wį′yą* woman;—*wio′k‘iya* to court a woman;—*winų′na* first-born child, if a girl (Santee);—*winų′ȟca* old woman;—*wikte′* to beat a wife (*kte* to kill);—*wį′kte* to act like a woman, hermaphrodite;—*wii′c‘uwa* love medicine (means of pursuing woman);—*wii′lową* to sing about woman

wi tipi;—*wio′wa* a painted tent, ceremonial tipi;—*wihu′ta* base of tipi;—*wihį′paspe* tipi pegs holding down cover (*hį′paspa*<*hu-i′paspa, paspa′* to push into);—*wip‘a′* tipi flaps;—*wic‘e′ška* chest of tipi, part over doorway;—*wipa′t‘a* to cut and sew a tipi cover;—*wip‘i′paha* flap pole;—*wi′yapaȟice* rear center pole (*paȟi′ca* to arouse by pushing)

wic‘a′ human being;—*wic‘a′ša* man;—used with all parts of body when it is necessary that part of a human body is meant (*wic‘a′p‘aha* scalp);—*wic‘a′c‘ąte* human heart;—also in other cases it distinguishes humans from other beings: *wic‘o′wašte* it is good for humans (*wo′wašte* goodness);—*wic‘a′hųku* mother of humans (see p. 131)

wo- food;—*wo′yute* food;—*wo′(wa)k’u* I give food;—*wo′aya* to take food to a guest;—*wo′(wa)la* (I) ask for food

hą night, from *hąhe′pi*;—*hąya′ġuka* to dry by night (*yaġu′ka* to suck out with mouth);—*hąye′tu* night time;—*hąo′kpaza* dark night (*’oi′yokpaza* it is dark);—*hąwa′tohąl* some time at night;—*hąwa′c‘i* to dance at night;—*hąwi′* moon (in mythology);—*hąwi′yąpa* moonlight (*’ąpa′* daylight);—(*hąb.le′* to quest)[91];—*hąo′mani* to walk at night, *hąma′ni* to be puzzled, "in the dark" about something;—*hą′ t‘ahe′na* before the end of night;—*hąši′l-kikta* to wake up from a nightmare (*ši′ca* bad; *kikta′* to sit up from a reclining position);—*o′hązi* shadow, shade (*zi′* yellow);—*hąki′kta* to watch al night, *hąki′ktaka* an early riser;—*hąk‘o′kp‘a* to be afraid of the dark (*k‘oki′p‘a* to fear);—*hąc‘o′kaya* midnight

he louse, from *he′ya*;—*hei′cak‘ą* fine-toothed comb (*kak‘ą* to knock down small objects);—*hežą′žąla* nits (*žąžą′la* translucent, light-colored)

ho a circle;—*ho′c‘oka* the inner area of the camp circle;—*hola′zata* outside (behind) the camp circle;—*howo′kawįȟtu* track around the camp circle, parade track (place of turning around camp circle);—*hoc‘e′ta* the opening of the camp circle or buffalo surround (S);—*hoį′kpa* or *hų′kpa* the "tips" of the camp circle, next to the entrance;—*hų′kpat‘i* the Yanktonnais who lived at the entrance to the camp circle;—*hų′kpap‘aya* Hunkpapa

ho fish, from *hoġą′*;—*hoa′pe* fins;—*hoi′yupsice* fish hook;—*hoi′c‘uwa* fishing net;—*hoyu′ze* to lift fish out of water (from *ze-* to dangle);—*howa′b.luška* eel;—*howa′sapa* catfish (*wa, ’a* on, *sa′pa* black);—*howa′k‘ą* spotted pike;—*hohu′* fish bone;—*hohu′ka* old fish (Santee);—*hopa′t‘a* to use a net;—*hopa′šku* (*hoka′šku* S) scales;—*hot’e′ca* dead fish;—*hoži′žila* perch;—*hoc‘e′špu* scales;—*hona′witkala* tadpole;—*hoka′* pike;—*hok‘u′wa* to fish

ma- one of the fundamental regions of the world? *mak‘a′* earth;—*maȟpi′ya* sky, clouds (*ȟpi* to dangle); *’ama′ȟpiya* clouds (S);—*maya′* cliff;—*mahi′* flint (earth tooth);—*matka′* clay (*tka* old form for heavy);—*mat‘e′te* edge of cliff;—*mac‘a*[91a] dawn;—*ma′ġa* field;—*ma′ni* to walk;—*mašte′* it is good weather (*-šte* good);—*maġa′žu* rain;—*ma′za* metal;—(perhaps also *m.ni*<*mani* water, from *ni* to be alive?)

mi knife, from *mi′la*;—*mi′yog.liye* whetstone;—*mi′yožuha* knife case;—*mi′yukšiža* jack knife;—*mi′wak‘ą* sword;—*mi′p‘aksa* stubby knife;—*mi′p‘įšla* knife with rounded point;—*mi′p‘estola* butcher knife;—*mig.na′ka* to carry in belt (originally to carry knife in belt?)

t‘a ruminant (does not occur as independent noun) with all parts of body (see effect on terminal *a* p. 34);—*t‘ap‘i′* liver of ruminant;—*t‘a′b.lo*[91b] foreleg of ruminant, including shoulder;—*t‘aha′* dressed skin;—*t‘aha′lo* green hide;—*t‘ahu′ka* heavy rawhide;—*t‘aho′m.ni* hoop for drying skin;—*t‘at‘ą′ka* buffalo bull;—*t‘awi′yela* female deer;—*t‘aži′* buffalo calf (tawny ruminant)

t‘ą body, from *t‘ąc‘ą′*;—*it‘ą′wokšą* around (living body), *t‘ąc‘o′la* without wraps,—*t‘ą′nicela* gnat (little one without body);—*t‘ąza′ni* to have a healthy body;—*t‘ą′tąhą* with reference to

t‘i tipi;—*t‘ima′hetu* it is inside;—*t‘io′le* to search for a house (to beg);—*t‘ica′ġa* to put up a tipi

si foot (*siha′* Santee);—*siye′te* heel;—*siyo′kaza* tarsals;—*siyo′ȟ’ape* arch of foot;—*sio′ko* interstices between toes;—*sip‘a′* toes;—*sii′yut‘e* moccasin pattern;—*sii′takaha* top part of moccasin

c‘a fine dry material;—*c‘ata′* cinders;—*c‘asmu′* sand;—*c‘aȟo′ta* ashes (*ȟo′ta* grey);—*c‘aȟli′* gun powder

c‘o central part, kernel (does not occur as independent noun);—*c‘oni′c‘a* the living flesh;—*c‘oka′* middle;—*c‘oka′ya* in a middle course;—*c‘oka′ta* in the center;—*c‘ok‘u′* inner flesh of body;—*c‘oġį′* pith;—*c‘oȟwą′žica* small willows

k‘e turtle, from *k‘e′ya*;—*k‘eha′* turtle shell (Santee);—*k‘ewo′yuspa* snapping turtle (*oyu′spa* to hold on to);—*k‘enu′nuža* soft shell turtle (instead of *k‘enu′šnuža*);—*k‘eg.le′zela* striped-back turtle

na scalp region, from *nata′*;—*nawa′te* temples;—*nasu′la* brains;—*nažu′te* nape of neck;—*nakpa′* external ear

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[91] *i(wą′)hąb.la* I dream about it; *hą(wa′)b.le* I quest for a vision.

[91a] Accent doubtful.

[91b] *t‘a-ab.lo′*.

cʻe occurs often initially in words expressing parts of the body, but neither *cʻe* nor the following part of the word can be analyzed except in a few cases;—*cʻe'* penis;—*cʻehu'pa* jaw;—*cʻeg.na'ke* breech cloth (*g.na'ka* to lay on);—*cʻe(wa')sli* (I) defecate (*sli* to slide through a narrow opening);—*cʻeb.lo'hu* clavicle (*b.lo* ridged; *hu* bone);—*cʻetu'te* femur (uncertain whether the two *t*'s are aspirated or not, from *cʻeca-hu'te* leg base);—*cʻeška'* chest;—*cʻeżi'* tongue;—*cʻeca'* leg, from hip joint down;—*cʻekpa'* navel;—*cʻekpa'ag.nake* afterbirth (*ʻag.na'ka* to lay on);—*cʻeȟpi'* flesh (as opposed to spirit)

cʻa occurs also in terms for parts of the body; *cʻaka'* palate;—*cʻaġu'* lungs;—*cʻana'* groins. In some cases *cʻa* seems to mean leg; *cʻa'e'g.le* to set down the leg, i. e., to take a step, *cʻa-g.le'pi* a step;—*’acʻa'kšį* to step over (*kšį* curved like a crescent);—in a tale is found *cʻe'wįš cʻa'-waš'aka nacʻe'ce*! how indeed leg-stout doubtless! i. e., how untiring his legs must be!

cʻą occurs also in terms for parts of the body;—*cʻąte'* heart;—*cʻąkpe'* knee;—*cʻąkʻa'-hu* spinal column;—*cʻątkʻu'* chest (*cʻątc'-kʻu* heart below)

ȟta- evening;—*ȟtawo'ta* to eat the evening meal;—*ȟtao'mani* to walk about in the evening

Certain cv nouns are treated in the same way.

wą arrow;—*wąi'yukeze* implement for grooving arrow;—*wąye'ya* to go hunting with bow and arrows;—*wąhi'* arrowhead (tooth);—*wąhi'ša* percussion caps (*ša* red);—*wą'tʻo* blue racer (a snake) (*tʻo* blue);—*wąsa'ka* sticks for making arrows (*sa'ka* to be dry and stiff);—*wąsma'hi* iron arrow head (Metathesis for *maswą'hi*);—*wą'żu* quiver (*żu* full)

wa- indefinite object is often used to designate the bear;—*waha'* bear skin;—*wahu'topa* the four-legged one, i. e., the bear in sacred language;—*wahu'nupa* the one with two legs, i. e., a man with a bear guardian

he' horn;—*heȟa'ka* elk (branched horns);—*heyu'ġa* stag (spread out horns);—*heį'kpa* tips of horns;—*hecʻa'nicela* a yearling colt, *heyu'ktą* a buffalo with bent in horns (horn bent in);—*he'ȟloġeca* hollow-horned buffalo;—*he'šlušluta* smooth-horned buffalo;—*hchu'tela* dull-horned buffalo

ȟe' mountain, the country away from rivers and camp;—*ȟe-’i'm.niża* a hill consisting of rock;—*ȟe-’į'kpa* top of mountain, brow of hill (Santee);—*ȟe-’o'ȟlatʻe* base of mountain;—*ȟewą'ka* hoar frost;—*ȟewo'skątu* deserted places;—*ȟeb.lo'* upper ridge of a mountain chain;—*ȟeska'* Big Horn Mountains;—*ȟo'puza* dry wilderness (*ȟe'-’o-pu'za*);—*ȟo'ški* Bad Lands (*-ški* gathered, curled, rough)

ha' skin;—*haȟų'ta* rope (rough skinned);—*ha'sapa* Negro;—*haya'ke, haya'pi* clothing

ho' voice, tune; to howl (only with verbs);—*ho'(ma)bu* (I) have a low voice;—*ho'(ma)ġita* (I) have a strained voice, hoarse;—*ho(wa')ȟpa* (I) cough, have a cold;—*ho'pʻimiciya* or *ho'pʻimic'iya* I clear my throat; *ho'pʻiciya* to clear one's throat;—*ho'ȟliȟli* (adverb) in a froggy voice (*ȟli'* to have mucus, pus);—*ho'ye(wa)ya* (I) call out away from here (to make the voice go);—*ho'uya* to call out to this place (to make the voice come);—*ho'ycic'iya* to speak audibly, to make a vow (as, to give a sun dance);—*ho'(ma)pʻesto* to have a squeaky, sharp voice (*pʻe'sto* pointed; *pʻe* sharp);—*ho'(ma)wakʻą'* to cry in mourning, to wail (*howa'kʻą* trout);—*hotą'* (*waho'tąhą*) to rave on (even without listeners);—*ho'(ma)tʻąį* (my) voice is distinguishable, plain; I speak significantly;—*ho(wa)tʻų'* to give forth a natural cry, (used for cries of animals not otherwise designated); *wakį'yą hotʻų'pi* the thunders cry out;—*ho'(ma)sna* (I) have a ringing voice, like the voice of a good woman speaker;—*ho'(ma)ȟapa* I have a soft, husky voice, like that of a timid person who does not like to speak out;—*hoa'g.nag.na(wa)kiya* (I) give utterances in spiritual intercourse with a guardian spirit;—*ho'ci-lową'* she sings a very high soprano (*ci'k'a, ci'k'ala, ci'scila* small; cf. *cici'*, *cici'la* little mythical bug-a-boos; *’aci'la s'e* said of a little girl with nice, small features; *naci'cila s'e* said of mincing steps of a little child);—*ho'cila* nickname of a woman

hu' stalk, leg, trunk;—*wahu'wapa* corn on the ear (*’apa'* to be attached to);—*huwo'kaȟmi* inner side of knee joint (*’oka'ȟmi* corner);—*hub.lo'* front of shin bone (*b.lo'* ridge, protuberance);—*husa'ni* one of a pair of legs, socks;—*husli'* ankle (*sli* narrowed down)

pʻa' head;—*pʻa'huhu* skull;—*pʻahu'* round end of anything;—*pʻahu'te* bridge of nose between eyes (*hu'te* base);—*pʻasu'* nose;—*pʻaȟla'te* inner part of nose to posterior nares;—*pʻo'wiwila* fontanelle on infants' head;—*pʻo'štą* (S), *wapʻo'štą* hat (*’o'štą* to fit in);—*pʻo'ġe* nose;—*pʻo'ġoȟloka* nostrils;—*pʻo'ġe ȟlo'ka* Nez Percés;—*pʻoȟcʻą'te* septum of nose

m.ni' water;—*m.ni'yatke* cup (*yatką'* to drink, *’iya'tke* drinking instrument;—*m.niyo'paspa* to duck some one;—*m.niwa'tʻicoġa* water algae (*wotʻo'* green plants; *’ico'ġa* to drift against in a heap);—*m.niwą'ca* ocean (*’o'wąca* all over);—*m.nitą'* flood;—*m.nitʻa'ġe* foam (*tʻaġe'* saliva);—*m.nisku'ya* salt

cʻą' wood;—*cʻąha'* bark (*ha* skin);—*cʻąhą'pi* sugar;—*cʻąhu'ta* tree stump;—*cʻąȟlo'ġa* weeds;—*cʻąwa'pe* leaves;—*cʻąka'ġa* log;—*cʻąhu'tkʻą* tree roots;—*cʻą'cʻeġa* drum;—*cʻąna'kpa* fungi on trees;—*cʻąo'tʻila* a tree spirit;—but *cʻą'hąpa* shoes (=moccasins made of wood)

cvc nouns which can lose their terminal *a* or *e* are treated in the same way. When not contracted they retain their accent. *ma'za* metal, the only word of this type that expresses material (see p. 68) follows the same rule.

hą′pa moccasin;—*hąp-ka′ġeġe* to sew the sole of the moccasin to the uppers;—*hąpi′take* tongue of moccasin;—*hąpsi′cʻu* uppers;—*hąp-’i′patʻa* embroidered moccasin;—*hąpi′ṡka* ankle piece;—*hąpa′kig.lake* rawhide sole pieces;—*hąpṡi′ṡica* old moccasin;—*hąkpʻą′* moccasin strings (<*hąp-kʻą′*)

hu′te base;—*’o′huta* shore;—*hutkʻą′* roots (*kʻą′* ligament, sinew?)

pʻe′ta fire;—*pʻel-m.na′* smell of fire;—*pʻel-’i′leye* kindling;—*pʻel-’i′ṡką* to be active around the fire;—*pʻeṡni′ża* sparks (*l* drops out before consonantic cluster);—*pʻel-na′kpakpa* fire crackles;—*pʻeta′ġa* live coals;—*pʻel-’a′-’ihąˋb.la* to dream of fire (and obtain it as protector)

ma′za metal;—*mas-’i′yapʻe* hammer;—*mas-’i′yokatą* nails;—*mas-’a′pʻapi* telegraph (*’apʻa′* to strike);—*mas-wi′cʻak’upi* annuities paid by government (they give them iron);—*mas-wi′g.muke* trap

ma′ġa field;—*maḣ-yu′ṡla* to weed

maġa′ goose;—*maḣ-kʻu′te* to hunt geese

(*lote*) food;—*locʻį′* to be hungry (to desire food);—*log.le′ṡka* oesophagus;—generally *lol-*, *lol-’i′g.ni* to go out for provisions;—*lol-’i′ḣ’ą* to cook food;—*lol-’i′pʻila* to begrudge food to another;—*lol-’o′pʻiye* granary;—also *walo′teteka* one who thinks only of food

tʻa′pa ball;—*tʻap-ka′psica* to strike ball in game

tʻaġe′ saliva, *tʻaḣ-na′kipca* to swallow saliva (i. e., to swallow hard in state of excitement)

ṡų′ka dog;—*ṡų′kakʻą′* horse (*wakʻą′* wonderful);—*ṡųk-ma′nitu* wolf;—*ṡuk-ma′nų* to steal horses; *ṡųk-cʻį′ca* wolf cubs;—*ṡųk-cʻį′cala* colt;—*ṡųḣpa′la* puppy;—*ṡųḣpų′ka* dog with puppies;—*ṡų′ṡųla* donkey, mule;—*ṡų-b.lo′ka* stallion;—*ṡųk-wi′yela* mare;—*ṡųġi′la* red fox (*ġi* brown);—*ṡųk-’o′tʻi* wolf lair;—*ṡųk-nu′ni* mustangs (lost horses);—*ṡųk-’o′naṡ’o* pacer

cʻa′pa beaver;—*cʻap-kʻu′wa* to hunt beaver;—*cʻap-’o′*(*wa*)*le* (I) search for beavers

cʻąte′ and *cʻąl* from *cʻąte′* heart;—*cʻąlwa′ṡte* happy (*waṡte′* good);—*cʻąlwą′kʻa* cowardly (of weak heart);—*cʻąta′g.le* to set one's heart on;—*cʻąte′hahala* to be sensitive;—*cʻąṡi′lya* sadly;—*cʻąto′yuze* thought;—*cʻąto′ġe* pericardium;—*cʻątki′ya* to love;—*cʻąze′* angry

cʻaże′ name;—*cʻaże′yata* to call a name;—*cʻaṡ-tʻų′* to name

cʻa′ġa ice;—*cʻaḣ-na′żużu* ice breaks up (in spring);—*cʻaḣ-wa′ksa* to cut ice;—*cʻaḣ-ka′zo* to skate;—*cʻa′ġa-tʻiˋpi* ice house

cʻe′ġa kettle;—*cʻeḣ-’o′cʻį*, *cʻeḣ-’o′lota* to borrow a kettle;—*cʻeḣ-m.na′yą* to collect kettles (for a feast);—*cʻeḣ-g.la′wapi* to count kettles (of food in preparation of feast)

nap Yankton *nam* hand, from *nape′*;—*napʻa′hųka* thumb (<*nap-tʻahųka*?);—*napo′ṡtą* thimble (fitting on hand);—*napo′kaṡke* wrist (*’oka′ṡke* place for tying);—*napo′ktą* bracelet (*ktą* bent around);—*napwi′ṡtąka* to have a skillful hand;—*napsu′kaza* fingers, metacarpals (*su* seed; *kaza′* to lie in parallel rows);— *napcʻo′ka* palm of hand (*cʻoka′* center);—*napkʻą′* wrist (*kʻą′* ligaments, sinews)

nų′ġe ear;—*nu′ḣ*(*ma*)*pą* (I have) a ringing in the ear;—*nųḣ-cʻą′* to be hard of hearing

kʻą′ta plum;—*kʻątʻo′tʻo* green (unripe) plums;—*kʻąl-ya′ṡki* to bite plums (so as to force out the pit for drying the meat);—*kʻątʻu′hu* plum bush;—*kʻąsu′* plum pit for game; *kʻąl-yu′ṡpi* to pick plums;—*kʻa′ta-ṡaṡa* red (ripe) plums;—*kʻąsu′-kʻuteˋpi* card games (they shoot plum seeds)

ḣupa′ wing;—*ḣupa′-hu* wing bone; *ḣupi′yų* by means of the wings (adv.);—*ḣupa′wakig.lakela* bat (*aki′g.lake* rawhide)

Nouns derived from noun and verb also form units.

wase′-’oyuˋze place to get red paint (place name);—*wąsa′k-’oyuˋkse* place to cut saplings for arrows (place name);—*wicʻa′g.naṡka-’ożuˋ* gooseberry patch (where full of);—*ṡųk-’i′c’į* harness (horse means of carrying on back);—*wicʻa′ṡa-’itʻoˋkṡu* passenger train (means of hauling people)

§ 70. VERB AND VERB

When two verbs are conceived as a unitary concept they are compounded.

’ų′ṡtįma-maˋni he is a sonambulist, walks in his sleep, *’ų′ṡtįma ma′ni* he walks while sleeping;—*makʻa′ ’ama′ni-ṡųk-’ole* land walking (i. e., on foot) he looked for his horses, *makʻa′ ’ama′ni ṡųk-’o′le* while he was walking about he looked for horses;—*nųwą′-’ihųˋnikiya* he causes his swimming (contest) to reach (its end), *nųwą′ ’ihų′ni* he reached there swimming;—*’ų′ṡtįma-’iya* he talks in his sleep (habitually);—*hąb.le′-cʻeya* he cries in his quest for a guardian spirit;—*’į′yąk-’ohi-wacʻįˋ psi′ca* trying to reach it by running he jumped;—*waya′zą-ḣpaya* he lies sick

’eya′ to say is always compounded with the following verb:

’eya′-’ayuˋpta he answered saying 77.3;—*’eya′-pą* he shouted saying 96.11;—*’ikto′ ’eya′-cʻażeˋyatapi* they name him Ikto 100.21

When the subordinate verb expresses an action that follows in time the finite verb as a purpose or intention (like our infinitives) the verbs are compounded. cvc verbs insofar as they can be contracted are contracted.

> *škal-'o′mani* he goes about in order to play;—*ha′ yus-cʻi′ši* I ordered you to take skin off 124.10;—*kos-'i′naȟni* he is in a hurry to wave it;—*waka′ȟ-wohiˋtika* he has energy to make things 51.2;—*'ową′yak-wašteˋ* it is good to look at 137.10

cv and cvcv verbs; when ending in changeable *a* change it to *e*.

> *k'e-'i′yaya* he went off to dig it;—*tke-'i′* she went to flesh (hide);—*heye′-'i* he arrived there to say that;—*t'e-ků′za* he pretends to be dead

Verbs with invariable ending enter into the complex unchanged.

> *špą-a′pʻe* he waited for it to cook 174.14;—*lową′-wayuˋpʻika* he is skilled to sing;—*manų′-wacʻįˋ* he tried to steal it;—*yaȟ'ą′-'oyaˋkihi* you are able to act 107.3;—*'oma′ni-yapi* they go to wander about 87.6;—*tuwe′ni he′cʻųšni-wasuˋųyąpi* that nobody should do this we have a rule 10.4

Neutral verbs are rarely used in such combinations. Generally they take adverbial form with the suffix *ya* and remain independent.

A considerable number of verbs occur only attached to other verbs. Most of these require loss of terminal *a* in cvc verbs and change of *a* to *e* in cv and cvcv verbs. (See p. 29.) It is rather the meaning of these verbs than any morphological trait that makes them appear as a distinct class. They are parallel to words like "to cease, to begin, to continue," all of which imply or require another verb to which they refer. The position of the pronoun is always as though they were independent verbs, the verb to which they refer being in subordinate form. A sharp line between these and other compounds cannot be drawn. Most of them might as well be considered as compounds with infinitive construction. Examples are:

> *cʻe′ye-(wa)kiˋnica* (I) am hardly able to restrain myself from weeping;—*ye-i′na(wa)ȟni* (I am) anxious to go

The only reason why some of them are included here is that they occur as independent verbs with modified meaning. Those changing terminal *a* of the verb to which they are attached are marked v., those leaving *a* unchanged iv.

v -*ya* to cause

v -*kʻiya* [92] to cause by immediate personal intervention, -*kʻiya* differs from -*ya* in that it expresses causation by personal force exerted upon someone or intentional interference; while *ya* expresses causation directed upon an object or a less direct causation, often unintentional;—*sap-ya′* he blackens it;—*sap-kʻi′ya* he causes another one's to be black (*sapki′ya* he blackens his own);—*sap-ye′-ya* he is the unintentional or indirect cause of another one's blackening it;—*sap-ye′-kʻiya* he makes him blacken it;—*hįȟpa′ye-ya* he lets it fall unintentionally;—*hįȟpa′ye-kʻiya* he makes it fall intentionally

Idiomatically we find: *'u-ya′* he sends it here, the wind blows from; *'u-kʻi′ya* he makes him come;—*g.licu′-ya* he starts him off returning home this way (*ku* to return);—*g.licu′-kʻiya* to help somebody come down, he induces him to come home;—*šuk-'į′yąk-kʻiya* to race horses (to make run) p. 73. For double use of *kʻiya* see p. 100.

iv -*kʻiya* it is (his) opinion that; *miye′ tʻe′hąt'u-(wa)kʻiya* in (my) opinion it is far;—*he′cʻetu-(wa)kʻiya* in (my) opinion it is so; I approve of it;—*cʻapʻa′-(wa)kʻiya* in (my) opinion he has stabbed it; but *cʻapʻe′(wa)kʻiya* (I) cause him to stab it;—*miye′ hą′ska-(wa)kʻiya* in my opinion he is tall

v -*kapį* to be reluctant to; *wae′kiye-(wa)kapįˋ* (I) am reluctant to advise him; *nųwe′-(wa)kapįˋ* (I) am too lazy to swim

v -*la*, -*laka* to consider, regard; *ši′cela, ši′celaka* he considers it bad

v -*kųza* to pretend to (independent, to forbode); *'ištį′me-kųzaˋ* he pretends to be asleep

v -*utʻa* [93] to try to (independent, to shoot a gun); [94] *eye′-'u(wa)tʻa* (I) tried to say it;—*kat'e′-'u(wa)tʻa* (I) tried to kill it; *tke-'u′(wa)tʻa* (I) weigh it (to try, heavy)

iv -*iyutʻa* to test, try (independent, to measure); *sku′ya-'ib.lutʻa* I tried its sweetness;—*apʻa′-'iyutʻa* he acts as though striking it v *-pʻica* it is tolerable to, advisable to, possible to; (independent, *pʻica′* it is rather good); *cʻopʻe′-pʻicaˋśni* it is not advisable, not possible to wade;—*'e′l ye-pʻi′caˋśni* it is hard to approach (go to) him;—*'ecʻų′-pʻica* it is the proper thing to do

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[92] Possibly -*kʻiya* may convey the same idea of contact, mutual relation as the prefix *kʻi*. (See pp. 80, 92.)

[93] This and the next have the same meaning. -*utʻa* is more formal than -*iyutʻa*.

[94] Compare *šu(wa′)tʻa* I miss shooting.

v *-wacʻį*[95] to intend (independent, *cʻį′* to want; *'awa′cʻį* to consider) *ta′keye-wacʻįˋ* he intended to say something;—*kʻig.le′-wacʻįˋ* he intended to get away;—*waa′pʻe-wacʻįˋ na′żį* trying to hit somebody he stood

v *-śi* to order; *yuśke′-śi* he ordered him to untie it;—*tʻak-śį′* he orders him to parch it

v *·apʻe* to invite someone to join in (independent, to wait); *nųwe′-'apʻeˋ* he invites him to swim with him;—*ye-'a′pʻe* he invites him to go along

v *-kʻo* to predict, prophesy; *tʻekʻo′* to foredoom, prophesy death of someone;—*'osni′kʻo* to portend cold weather

iv *-yawa* to judge as (perhaps *ya* with the mouth; *wa* to mark); *śi′ca-yawa* he judges him as bad (*śi′ca-b.lawa* I —);—*mi′ś he′ ȟo′ta-b.lawaśni* as for me, I do not judge that to be grey

iv *-aya* he competes with him (independent, to take something along[95a]); *waha′tka-'a(maˋ)ya* she competes with me dressing hides;—*wo′hitika-'ayaˋ* he competes with him in recklessness, greediness, with active pronouns for the challenger, with neutral pronouns for the one challenged

iv *-niya* only with *'eya′*, *cʻe′ya; 'eya′-niya* he uttered a faint cry;—*cʻe′ya-niya* he cried out

-g.la[96] to sense (independent, to loathe);—*'osni′-(wa)g.la* (I) feel too cold;—*maśte′-wag.la* I feel too hot (the weather);—*'okʻa′l-wag.la* I feel too warm;—*śiwa′g.la* I resent, mourn (from *si′ca* bad);—*cʻetʻų′-wag.la* I doubt it

iv *-hįg.la* suddenly; *'eya′-hįg.la* he said suddenly, he blurted out

The dependent verb *hįg.la* suddenly, differs from others insofar as it leaves the accent on the first verb.

pu′s-hįg.la it became dry suddenly

Verbs expressing arrival *'i′*, *hi′*, *kʻi′*, *g.li′* may be combined in the usual way with other verbs, when a purpose is to be expressed.

kte-wa′hi I arrived here in order to kill him.

The verbs expressing going and coming back to where one belongs (p. 92) do not express purpose but the return from an accomplished action.

wana′ wakte′ku we lo′ now he comes home from killing enemies 9.11;—*wakte′g.la* he is going home from . . .;—*wakte′kʻi* he arrives home from . . .;—*wayáwag.li* he came home from school

When the purpose is not so definitely implied the verbs expressing arrival with the prefix *a* precede in subordinate form. In all these forms *'ai′* is contracted to *'e′*.

'ahi′wakte I came and killed him;—*'e′wakte* I went and killed him;—*'ag.li′wakte* I came back and killed him;—*'akʻi′wakte* I went back and killed him

In the same way we have:[97]

'ahi′iyųġa, 'e′iyųġa, 'ag.li′iyųġa, 'akʻi′iyųġa to go, come and question;—*'ahi′wota, 'e′wota, 'ag.li′wota, 'akʻi′wota* to go, come and eat (*wol-hi′* he came to eat);—*'ahi′wokʻu* he came and gave him food (*wo′kʻu-hi* he came to give him food);—*'ahi′cʻeya* to come and cry (*cʻe′ye-hi* he came to cry);—*'ahi′wamayazą* I came and was ill;—*'ahi′awapʻa* I came and struck him;—*'ahi′miśtįma, e′miśtįma,* etc. I come, go and sleep

Without prefixed *a:*

wahi′napʻa or *wahi′nawapʻa* I come out;—*'ina′wapʻa* I go out;—*wag.li′napʻa* I come back out;—*wakʻi′napʻa* I go back out;—*ahi′napʻa, e′napʻa,* etc. he came, went and brought it out;—*'iwa′ȟpaya* I come and am taken down with an ailment;—*'e′iȟpaya* to go there and be taken down with an ailment;—*wakʻi′ȟpaya* I go back there and am taken down with an ailment;—*g.liȟpa′ya* a heavy object that is held up falls back to where it lay before;—*hįȟpa′ya* to fall down

kahį′iȟpeya to knock down by force, may belong to this group

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[95] Irregular verb, see p. 98.

[95a] Independent: *'a′ya* to become gradually (*śa′p 'a′ya* to become dark, to develop tuberculosis);—*'aya′*, first person *'ama′ya* to be destined to have a certain habit (as a girl who will retain the habit of industry, laziness, etc., that she has during her first menstrual period).

[96] No example has been found of *g.la* following a variable *a*.

[97] All these require *pi* for the plural; see p.95.

§§ 71–99. THE PRONOUN

§ 71. Subjective and Objective Forms

Dakota has pronouns only for I, thou, I and thou. The first person is designated by a labial sound, the second by a dental or palatal, the inclusive dual by a nasalized vowel.

Subjective pronouns designate activities for both, transitive and intransitive verbs; objective pronouns express the object of an action or the subject of a condition or state.

	Subject of active verbs	Object and subject of static verb
I	*wa*	*ma*
thou	*ya*	*ni*
I and thou	*'ų*	*'ų*

There is no pronoun of the third person (p. 78). The plural object for human and animate beings is expressed by *wicʻa'*. This is not a pronoun but signifies person, as is evidenced by the terms *wicʻa'* male, *wicʻa'ṡa* man.

Plurality is expressed by the suffix *pi* which pluralizes the whole phrase. (See p. 66.) Examples are:

> *watʻi'* I dwell, *yatʻi'* thou dwellest, *tʻi'* he dwells, *'ųtʻi'* thou and I dwell; *'ųtʻi'pi* he and I or several of us (more than two) dwell, *yatʻi'pi* ye dwell, *tʻi'pi* they dwell
>
> *maṡi'ca* I am bad, *niṡi'ca* thou art bad, *ṡi'ca* he is bad; *'ųṡi'ca* thou and I are bad, *'ųṡi'capi* he and I or several of us (more than two) are bad, *niṡi'capi* ye are bad; *ṡi'capi* they are bad

§ 72. Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs with pronominal subject and object form combined pronominal forms in which the object always precedes the subject, except in the form we-thee. It might also be said, that in true pronominal combinations the first person always precedes the second. Since the dual *'ų* has other peculiarities of position the formulation of order object-subject seems better. The object *wicʻa'* them, is always in first position. The combination I-thee is expressed by *cʻi* which cannot be reduced to other pronominal elements.

	I	thou	we
me	——	*maya*	——
thee	*cʻi*	——	*ųni* [1]—*pi*
us	——	*'ųya—pi*	——
them	*wicʻa'wa*	*wicʻa'ya*	*wicʻa'ų*([1]—*pi*)

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[1] Exclusive dual and plural.

> *cʻikte'* I kill thee, *maya'kte* thou killest me, *'ųya'ktepi* thou killest him and me (exclusive dual) or several of us, *wicʻa'wakte* I kill them, *wakte'* I kill him, *nikte'* he kills thee

As in static verbs the ending *pi* pluralizes the whole phrase.

§ 73. Verbs With Initial *y*.

These verbs form the first and second person subjects with *b.l* I, *l* thou. The dual has the usual prefix *'ų*.

> *b.luhį'ta, luhį'ta, yuhį'ta, 'ųyu'hįta* to rake
>
> *b.lapta', lapta', yapta', 'ųya'pta* to bite off

Verbs in *ya-* and *yu-* have in the second person subject, first person singular and plural object the normal subject *ya* in addition to the *la-* and *lu-* forms of the respective conjugations.

maya′lašig.la you hurt my feelings, *yaši′g.la* to hurt feelings by talking
’ama′yaluta you look at me, *’ayu′ta* to look at
maya′luta you eat me, *yu′ta* he eats it
’ama′yala you go taking me, *’a′ya* to take along, to go with something
’ųya′lušig.lapi you hurt our feelings by an act

This is not the case for the first person subject second person object.

’ųni′yuhapi we have you
c‘iyu′šig.la I hurt your feelings

§ 74. Verbs With Initial Vowel

Verbs beginning with a vowel have for the first person dual-plural the form *’ųk-* instead of *’ų;* those with initial nasalized vowel have *’ųk’-* provided the pronoun precedes the nasalized vowel.

’į′ to wear as a blanket, dual-plural *ųk’į′;—’į′yąka* to run, *’ųk’į′yąka;—’ų′* to be, to use, *’ųk’ų′;—’ų′yą* to lose, *’ųk’ų′yą;—’ų′pa* to lay down horizontally, to put up for the night *’ųk’ų′pa;—c‘ąnų′pa* to smoke a pipe, *c‘ąnų′ųk’ųpa* (second *ų* very brief, not preceded by a glottal break)

In all other cases, when the pronoun follows the nasalized vowel and stands before a consonant, the usual form *ų* is used.

’ų′macihišni I am lazy, dual-plural *’ų′ųcihišni;—’ų′macikpani* I am indolent, *’ų′ųcikpani;—’ų′mac’ųnica* I am paralyzed with fear, excitement, *’ų′ųc’ųnica;—’ų′mašika* I am poor, *’ų′ųšika;—’ų′ši′waȟ’ą* I act like one poor, *’ų′šių′ȟ’ą;—’ų′mat‘ų* I am hurt, *’ų′ųt‘ų;—’ų′wac‘a* I make fun of, ridicule, *’ų′ųc‘a;—’ų′wakce* I break wind, *’ų′ųkce;—’į′maskokeca* I am his size, he is my size, *’į′ųskokeca* you and I are his size.

’ųspe′ to know how to do something, has the first and second pronouns following the *’ų,* the dual-plural precedes it, but without glottalized *k.*

’ųma′spe I know how, dual-plural *’ųkų′spe*

§ 75. Intransitive Verbs With Objects

The eight verbs of going *’u′, ya′, ’i′, hi′, ku′, g.la′, k‘i′, g.li′* and their derivatives, also *’į′yąka* to run, are treated as transitive verbs, but require a locative adverb.

’e′l c‘iya′ I go to you (or *’ekta′ c‘iya′*)*;—’e′tkiya wic‘a′ya* towards there he went to them 40.4;—*’ekta′ maya′g.licu* or *ekta′ maya′g.liyaku* there you come back to me;—*kįyą′ ’e′l mau′* flying it came to me;—*’e′tkiya c‘ii′yąka* I run towards you

Verbs expressing position are treated in the same way, *’ų′, yąka′, yųka′, na′żį* and *hįȟpa′ya·* The last of these takes the locative *a*—instead of the adverbs; also the active verb *ȟpaya.*

’ac‘i′hįȟpaya I fall on you, (*ma*)*hį′ȟpaya* (I) fall down;—*’aką′l c‘iyą′ka* I sit on top of you;—*’isa′k‘ip mayą′ka* he sits next to me;—*’aką′l c‘iyų′ka* I lie on top of you;—*’aką′l nac‘i′żį* I stand on you;—*’isa′k‘ip c‘ių′* or *nisa′k‘ip waų′* I stay by you

§ 76. Neutral Verbs With Two Objects

In certain neutral verbs which imply comparison two objective pronouns may be combined, but only *-nima-* I thee, not conversely. Examples are:

’iyc′nimac‘eca I resemble you, *’iye′*(*ma*)*c‘eca* (I) resemble him, literally: I am thus to you, him;—*’i′nimaskokeca* I am as large as you;—*’i′nimaškola* I am as small as you;—*’iye′nimahąkeca* I am as tall as you, *i′yak‘iyehąkecapi* they are mutually as tall as each other;—*’iyo′nimakip‘i* I find you congenial, *’iyo′kip‘i* he finds him congenial, *’iyo′nicip‘i* you find him congenial (not he-you, instead *niyo′ȟ’ą*), *’iyo′kip‘i* he finds his acts congenial, *’iyo′kip‘ic‘iya* I please you;—*’i′yonimak‘ihe* I am next to you;—*’a′onimaptetu* I am less (shorter, etc.) than you;—*’iya′c‘į* to compare, to adopt (i. e., to liken someone to someone else, is active: *’ate′ ’ib.la′c‘į* I adopt [liken] him as my father, takes the form *’ini′mayac‘į* he compares me with you, but these are two objects of an active verb)
’i′tą to be proud of, has both forms, *i′nimatą* or *’i′c‘itą* I am proud of you

When the second person is subject, the first person object the dual with *k‘i* is used (see p. 79).

’a′k‘iyeųc‘ec‘eca or *’i′yak‘iyeųc‘eca*[98] you and I are both alike, *’a′k‘iyec‘elya ’ųk’ų′*;—*’a′k‘iųskokeca* you and I are of the same size;—*’a′k‘iyeųhąkeca* or *’i′yak‘i-eųhąkeca* we are equally tall; also *’a′k‘ilec‘eca*, *’a′kilec‘elya* resembling each other, *’a′kileųc‘eca* we two (cf. *s’e ye′c’eca*, *s’e le′c‘eca*)

wani′yetu ’a′k‘iyeųnakeca we are equal in years, lacks the form in *nima*.

§ 77. INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUN

The independent personal pronoun is derived from the objective pronouns contracted with *’i*, perhaps an old third person. It appears in three different series. One simply emphatic, another adversative emphatic, are derived from the objective pronoun and the indefinite demonstrative *e* connected by a glide, the second series being strengthened by the adversative suffix *ṡ* or *k’eṡ*.[98a] (See p. 146.) A second adversative series presupposes an antecedent and consists of the objective pronoun with *i* followed by the adversative *ṡ*. Examples are:

	Simple emphatic series	Absolute adversative series [1]	Adversative series following antecedent
I	*miye′*	*miye′ṡ*	*mi′ṡ*
thou	*niye′*	*niye′ṡ*	*ni′ṡ*
he, she, it	*’iye′*	*’iye′ṡ*	*’i′ṡ*
thou and I	*’ųki′ye*	*’ųki′yeṡ*	*’ųki′ṡ*
he and I, and we (more than two)	*’ųki′yepi*	*’ųki′yeṡ*	*’ųki′ṡ*
you	*niye′pi*	*niye′ṡ*	*ni′ṡ*
they	*’iye′pi*	*’iye′ṡ*	*’i′ṡ*

[1] Also unaccented: *miyeṡ-eya* I also;—*’iyeṡtuk‘a* lucky for him!

miye′ wai′ I arrived there (and no one else)
miye′ṡ m.nį′kta } I shall go (no matter what others may do)
miye′k’eṡ m.nį′kta }
t‘ib.lo′ wica′laṡni tk‘a mi′ṡ ’iyo′wįwaya my elder brother was unwilling but I was
t‘ib.lo′ mak‘a′ yub.lu′ ną mi′ṡ wo′ważu my elder brother ploughed and I planted

The adversative element may also be attached to the conjunction and in this case the simple emphatic forms are used:

t‘ib.lo′ wica′laṡni tk‘a′ṡ miye′ ’iyo′wįwaya (as above)

§§ 78–98. POSITION OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

§ 78. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

It is not possible to give absolutely consistent rules for the position of personal pronouns. All pronouns, subject, object, indirect objects and possessives are placed in the same positions, excepting the possessives of neutral verbs and of active verbs without object. (See p. 88.)

Monosyllabic stems of the type v, cv, cvc, or ccvc always prefix the pronoun. The two last-named groups have as terminal consonants *p*, *t*, *c*, *k*, *z*, *ż*, *ġ*, *w* or *y*. (See p. 11.)

§ 79. STEMS WITH INITIAL VOWEL

All verbs beginning with a vowel, except those consisting of a single vowel, and verbs of the type vc, have the pronoun following the vowel. The only exception is the first person dual-plural which precedes the vowel when the object is second or third person singular. When the object is third person plural, the single initial vowel remains in initial position. The initial vowels are probably all locative prefixes, *’a, ’i, ’o*.

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[98] This and the following are contracted from *i′yak‘i*.

[98a] Perhaps from *kį ’eṡ*.

’ali′ he steps on, climbs, *’ųka′li* we – him; *’awi′c‘aųli*[99] we – them
’iyu′t‘a he tries, measures, *’ųki′yut‘a* we – him; *’iwi′c‘aųyut‘a* we – them
’owa′ he paints, *’ųko′wa* we – it; *’owi′c‘ųwa* we – them
’ayu′pta he answers him, *’ab.lu′pta* I – him; *’ųka′yupta* we –; *’awi′c‘ųyupta* we – them

Apparent exceptions are *’ų′pa* to lay down, *waų′pa* I lay down, and *’o′ta* many, *mao′ta* I am many (said by a leader) which prefix the pronoun. Both of these belong to the class of cvc verbs and are, therefore, not bisyllabic words.

In bisyllabic stem complexes following the initial vowel the pronoun retains its proper position in the complex.

’ina′ȟni he hurries, *’ina′ųȟni* we –;—*’ona′ȟ’ų* he hears about it, *’ona′ųȟ’ų* we –, *’ona′wic‘ųȟ’ųpi* we – them;—*’iha′kta* he is loath to leave him, *’iha′ųkta* we –, *’iha′wic‘ųkta* we – them;—*’aho′p‘a* he pays respect to him, *’aho′ųp‘a;*—*’op‘a′ȟta* he ties it into a bundle, *’op‘a′ųȟta;*—*’oc‘e′t‘i* he builds a fire in it, *’oc‘e′ųt‘i;*—*’ok‘i′pat‘a* he pieces it together, *’ok‘i′ųpat‘a*

§ 80. STEMS WITH TWO INITIAL VOWELS

When the stem is preceded by a combination of two vowels (locative prefixes) these retain their initial position also when the subject is first person dual-plural, the object second or third person singular.

’ai′hąb.la he dreams of him, *’ai′ųhąb.la;*—*’ai′ṡikc‘į* he gets out of patience with him, *’ai′ųṡikc‘į;*—*’ai′capa* to hold mouth open for something, *’ai′ųcapa;*—*’ai′c‘aġa* it grows on him, he grows up on it, *’ai′ųc‘aġa;*—*’ao′kakį* he peers around at him, *’ao′ųkakį;*—*’ao′kiyapi* they confer, *’ao′ųkiya;*—*’ao′hom.ni* he goes around him, *’ao′ųhom.ni;*—*’iya′pehą* he wraps it around him, *’iya′ųpehą;*—*’iya′ųpa* he blames him *’iya′ųk’ųpa*

An exception is:

oi′hąke to be ended *’ųko′ihąke*

probably because it is derived from *’ihą′ke* end, and not directly from *hąke′* piece.

Locative prefixes are often contracted, either among themselves or with other elements. In these cases the accent is on the first syllable and the verbs are treated like those with uncontracted prefixes.

’i′p‘i to be satisfied with food, *’i′ųp‘i;*—*’i′m.na* he is surfeited, oversatisfied with it, *’i′ųm.na;*—*’i′m.naka* he is confident of another’s efficiency, competent, *’i′ųm.naka;*—*’i′yokteka* he scolds him, *’i′yoųkteka;*—*’o′p‘a* he joins, takes part in, *’o′ųp‘a*[1];—*’o′m.na* he smells of it, *’o′ųm.na;*—*’o′ġe* he covers him as with a sheet, *’o′ųġe;*—*’o′hi* he reaches, touches it as result of an effort, *’o′ųhi;*—*’o′kihą* he is (that much) younger than he, *’o′ųkihą;*—*’o′kiya* he assists him, *’o′ųkiya;*—*’o′k‘iżupi* they assemble, *’o′ųk‘iżupi;*—*’o′ska* she wraps porcupine quills around strips of raw hide, *’o′ųska*

Here belongs also:

’ų′c‘a he imitates him *’ų′ųc‘a*

Verbs with intial *’e′*, always derived from *ai* or *aki*, are treated in the same way.

’e′ktųża he forgot it, *’e′ųktųża;*—*’e′g.naka* he lays it by, *’e′ųg.naka*

§ 81. STEMS WITH PREFIX *k‘i*

The reciprocal in its widest sense expresses the mutual relations between two objects acted upon. It expresses not only the concept of actions which two or more individuals perform upon each other or one another but also those performed jointly and those in which two objects are brought into mutual relation. In this last sense it may express contact or separation.

It is formed from the obsolete stem *k‘i* which appears in adverbial form as *kic‘i′ca* to be with. (See p. 138.) The *k‘i* appears in unmodified form with the locatives *’a* and *’o*.

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[99] *wic‘aų* may be contracted in all cases to *wic‘ų′*.
[1] But *op‘a′* to go by way of *ųko′p‘a*.

We find the following forms:

The prefix *k‘i* into two parts. The position of the pronoun is the same as that found in locatives, except that the first person dual-plural follows the same rule as all other persons. The *k‘* does not change after pronominal *i*. (See p. 15.)

k‘ica′ksa he cuts it in two by striking; *ik‘i′nicaksa* he – thee; *k‘iụ′kaksa* we two – him; *k‘iwi′c‘ụkaksa* we two – them
k‘iwo′ksa he breaks it in two by hitting from a distance; *k‘iwo′ụksa* we two – it; *k‘iwo′wic‘ụksa* we two – them
’ok‘i′caslcca he splits it in two; *ok‘i′wakasleca* I – it

The prefix *k‘i* in contact. With this meaning *k‘i* is preceded by the pronoun, whenever the *k‘i* is not separable from the stem, or when the stem with *k‘i* has a special meaning. The *k‘* of *k‘i* changes after pronominal *i*. (See p. 15.)

wak‘i′kšą I wrestle with him; *nic‘i′kšą* he – with thee, (–)*kšą* to be bent, *kšą′kšą* to wriggle;—*wak‘i′škata* I challenge playfully;—*’owa′k‘iya* I court, address someone; *’oi′ya* to talk, grumble about;—*wak‘į′į* (for *k‘iį′*), I pelt him;—*wak‘i′za* I fight somebody;—*wak‘i′ġe* I scold somebody (Santee);—*wak‘i′pażį* I oppose someone and try to harm him, *’i′pażį* to resist an impulse, to force against;—*wak‘i′yuše* I bully someone, *’ik‘u′še* (n.) to be hindered;—*k‘iyu′ȟa* (animals) copulate, *yuȟa′* to be attracted by a person, drawn by affection to a person;—*k‘išle′*(*wa*)*ya* I commit rape (preceded by *wi* woman, or by nominal object);—*’iye′k‘iya* to send to, *’iye′ya* to send;— –*k‘ipaża* to fold, requires an instrumental prefix and the pronoun stands, according to the character of the prefix, but preceding *k‘i;*—*’o′k‘iżu* to come together in assembly, *’o′ụk‘iżupi* we assemble (intrans.)

When the stems occur without *k‘i* and the *k‘i* is preceded by a locative the pronoun follows *k‘i*.

’ok‘i′wapat‘a I piece together several things, *’ok‘i′ụpat‘a* we piece it together;—*’ak‘i′wakaška* I fasten together;—*’ak‘i′yuha* to carry jointly, *ak‘i′ụyuha* we carry jointly, *kic‘i′ ’ak‘i′b.luha* or *kic‘i′ ’awa′k‘iyuha* I – with him;—*’ak‘i′yuza* to hold jointly;—*’ak‘i′yutitą* to pull jointly (in opposite directions), *’ak‘i′patitą* to push jointly, compare *’ak‘i′ptą ’ec‘ụ′pi* they did it together; *’ak‘i′ptą ’ụka′kat‘api* we acting together pile soil on it; *kic‘i′-’awa`k‘iptą* with him I cooperated on it;—*’ak‘i′g.na* (adv.) a shot passed through;—*’it‘a′k‘ig.na* [2] piling bodies one on the other (adv.)

Here belong also the reciprocal forms of verbs expressing comparisons. (See p. 78.)

’a′k‘iyeục‘eca we two are alike;—*’a′k‘iụskokeca* we two are of the same size; *’a′k‘iyehąkecapi* they two are equally tall

§ 82. STEMS WITH INITIAL CONSONANT

The pronoun is prefixed in bisyllabic verbs with initial *b, p, p‘, p’; l, t, t’; s, s’, ṡ; g, k, k‘, k’; ġ, ȟ, ȟ’; h.*

Exceptions are few and in most cases it may be assumed that they are compounds.

In the labial series we have infixed pronouns in—

b.lo-ka′ska to hiccough (*b.lo* protuberance)
b.lok-yą′ka to stay in camp in summer (*b.lok-* summer)

both obviously compounds.

p‘a-ȟta′ [3] to tie up a bundle, is treated as though it were a compound of *p‘a* head; but is derived from the obsolete stem *p‘aġa* to be gathered in a bunch
šu-t‘a′ to miss aim, is probably derived from *šil-’ut‘a′* to hit badly, which would take the pronoun after initial *u*
slo′t’a to be a good worker (only used for women), a colloquial term, prefixes the pronoun, although it may possibly be derived from *sla′-ot‘a′* to be covered with grease (like a woman working meat); this may be a chance similarity

Exceptions in the *k* series all begin with *k‘o* and are presumably compounds.

k‘o-ška′ (S) to be a young man;—*hąk‘o′-kp‘a, hąk‘o′-kip‘a* he is afraid at night;—*k‘o′-ya* to include;—*k‘o-ya′ka* to wear an ornament, fine clothing;—*k‘og.li′* to be translucent, has no first and second persons, but would probably belong here;—*k‘o-ki′p‘a* to fear, is a verb in *p‘a* and has the pronoun and the obligatory dative *ki* preceding *p‘a*

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[2] Probably for *’it‘q′k‘ig.na;* compare *’it‘a′anụk* for *’it‘qanuk* on each side of body, *’it‘a′wokšą* for *’it‘q′wokšą* around body; also conversely a Santee proper name *t‘qwą′duta* for *t‘awą′duta* scarlet arrow.

[3] Compare *op‘a′*(*wa*)*ȟta* (1) take in a sight as a whole, Santee, Assiniboine.

The prefixed position of the pronoun before *k‘i* expressing mutuality or meeting; and its position following *k‘i* expressing separation have been discussed before.

k‘iį′yąka to run a race has the regular double pronoun of *įyą′ka, k‘iwa′įm.nąka* I run a race

A number of irregularities occur in verbs with initial *ħ* and *ħ’*.

ħta-ni′ to toil, *ħtawa′ni* I toil
wa-ħta′ni to sin, *waya′ħtani* you sin; contains undoubtedly the indefinite object *wa*
ħ’ų′-t’a to be exhausted and *ħ’ų′-kpani* to give out, be exhausted before completing a work, the former neutral, the latter active, may be contracted from *ħ’ą-ų-t’a* lit. to die by means of action, and *ħ’ą-ų-kpani* to be inferior to it by means of action (see *’a′okpani* it is less than it)
ħ’ąhi′ to be slow, tardy, a compound of *ħ’ą* to act, prefixes the pronoun

Exceptions in verbs with initial *h* are also presumably compounds.

haki′kta to look back *hawe′kta* I look back;—*iha′kta* to be held back by attraction *iha′wakta* I am –;—*hąb.le′* to fast for a vision *hąwa′b.le* I – (see *i-hą′b.la* to dream, probably contains *hą* night);—*ho-ħpa′* to cough (*ho* voice);—*hį-g.nu′* to singe (*hį* fur, feathers);—*he-pa′* to argue, fight against someone (*he* antlers, horns?)

§ 83. STEMS WITH INITIAL *m*

Some bisyllabic verbs with initial *m* prefix, others infix the pronoun. There are very few verbs beginning with *m*v. All beginning with *m.n* prefix the pronoun.
Infixing:

ma′-ni to walk, *ma-nų′* to steal

Prefixing:

mima′ to be circular, disk shaped (cf. *g.mig.ma′* to be spherical);—*mi(wa′)g.naka* (I) wear in belt, may be a compound of *mi-* knife;—*m.ni′(ųk)iciyapi* we are having a meeting, is contracted from *m.na-’i′c’i-yapi;*—*’a(ni′)maṡte* the weather is warm (for you), may have the pronoun prefixed on account of the preceding locative *a*

§ 84. STEMS WITH INITIAL *t‘*

Many verbs with initial *t‘* infix the pronoun; but all seem to be compounds.

t‘a-p‘a′ to follow in the path of (see p. 83, verbs in *p‘a);*—*t‘a-o′pi* to be wounded (*t‘ą* body, often heard as *t‘a;* they shoot the body);—*t‘a-ġo′ṡa, t‘a-ṡo′ṡa* to spit (*t‘aġe′* saliva; evidently formed from *t‘aġe′-ṡoṡa′* roily saliva);—*t‘a-kpe′* to meet as enemies, to fight (usually adverb) (perhaps, to puncture body?);—*t‘o-kṡu′* to haul to another place (*t‘ok* different, *kṡu* to pile);—*t‘o-ki′c’ų* to take revenge (*t‘ok* enemy, *kic’ų* to use one’s own);—*t‘e-ṡla′ka* to wear about the head (usually adverb);—*t‘o-ka′p‘a* to be the elder of two; also *mat‘o′kap‘a* (this does not belong to the verbs in *p‘a*, p. 83, all of which are active); also *mat‘o′kahe’* I stand first

The following prefix the pronoun:

t‘ąį′ it is apparent to sight or hearing, *mat‘ą′į* I am in sight;—*t‘ąni′* to be old, *mat‘ą′ni* I am old;—*t‘ak‘į′* to be out of vertical position, to slant (as a pole, tree), does not occur with first and second person pronouns

§ 85. STEMS WITH INITIAL *c, c‘, c’*

Usage in verb stems with initial *c, c‘, c’* is very uncertain.
Infixing:

c‘e-ų′pa to roast by fire (*c‘e*?; *ųpa′* to lay down);—*c‘e′-kiya* to pray to, entreat, address by kinship term;—*c‘e-t‘i′* to build a fire;—*c‘o-k’į′* to roast in ashes (*c‘o* kernel, corn);—*c‘o-kų′* to threaten the life of someone (*kų′* to covet);—*c‘a-p‘a′* to stab;—*c‘o-p‘a′* to wade

Prefixing:

(*wa*)*c‘e′ya* (I) weep;—(*ma*)*c‘u′wita* (I am) cold;—(*ma*)*co′nala* (I am) few (said by a leader on behalf of his followers);—(*ma*)*ci′k’ala* (I am) small;—(*ma*)*ci′scila* (I am) small

Prefixing or infixing:

cʻą(ma′)ksi or *(ma)cʻą′ksi* (I am) cranky (contains *cʻąl-* heart);—*cʻą(ma′)ze* or *(ma)cʻą′ze* (I am) angry (contains *cʻąl-*);—*(ma)cʻa′tka* or *cʻa(ma′)tka* (I am) left handed;—*(ma)cʻa′ske,* sometimes *cʻa(ma′)ske* to assume by mistake a position of honor (Y); (I am) an eldest son (Santee);—*(ma)cʻe′kpa,* rarely *cʻe(ma′)kpa* (I am) one of twins;—*sicʻo′(ma)kʻala* or *si(ma′)cʻokʻala* (I am) barefoot

§ 86. STEMS WITH INITIAL *w*

Very few bisyllabic stems begin with *w*. Most verbs beginning with *wa* have this syllable as a prefix which precedes the pronoun. To this group may belong *wa(ya′)cʻi* (you) dance. In a few cases this prefix seems to have become firmly united with a monosyllabic stem, so that it has lost its identity.

waśte′ good, *(ma)wa′śte* I am good. The stem *śte* appears in *maśte′* the weather is good, *huśte′* lame (peculiar in the legs); and in the related *waḣte′śni* not good

wakʻą′ wonderful, sacred *(ma)wa′kʻą* I am holy, may perhaps be interpreted in the same way

wążi′ to be one, *mawą′żi* I am one, prefixes the pronoun

Usage is variable in:

(ma)wą′kʻala (I am) fragile, in delicate health, but *cʻąlwą′(ma)kʻa* (I am) sensitive (*cʻąl-* heart);—*wa(ma′)śicu* (I am) a white man, cunning, a guardian spirit, *'i′* *(ma)wa′śicu* I am garrulous, talkative

§ 87. INSTRUMENTALS *wa, wo, na, na*

The instrumentals *wa, wo, na, na* are followed by the pronouns.

§ 88. INSTRUMENTALS *ka, pa, pu*

The instrumentals *ka, pa, pu* are preceded by the pronouns.

§ 89. STEMS WITH INITIAL *n*

Verbs beginning with *na* except those of the type cvc infix the pronoun. These cannot have the instrumental *na-* by an inner force, because they have the active pronoun.

na(wa′)wizi (I am) jealous;—*na(wa′)pca* (I) swallow it;—*na(wa′)p'į* (I) wear it around neck;—*na(wa′)tą* (I) charge in battle;—*na(ų′)sa* (we) go on a communal hunt;—*na(wa′)sų* (I am) with (my) feet in a certain direction (this contains *na-* with the feet);—*na(wa′)tʻaka* I lock a door, block the way;—*na′żį* (*nawa′żį*) to stand up;—*na(wa′)żica* (I) run away;—*na(wa′)m.ni* I turn about and return without reaching my objective;—*na(wa′)ḣ'ų* (I) hear it;—*na(wa′)ḣma* (I) hide it;—*'ina′(wa)ḣni* (I) hurry

The verb *'ina′piśkąyą* (*nape′* hand, *'i* by means of, *śką′* to move, *ya* to use for) is treated in the same way, so that the word *nape′* hand, is split; *ina′-piśkąyą.*

napį′ to have an oily taste does not occur with first or second person;—*na′ka* a muscle twitches (cvc verb) *mana′ka* my muscle twitches

Other verbs beginning with *n* prefix the pronoun.

(wa)ni′ya [4] (I) breathe; *cʻuwį′o(wa′)kiniya* (I) sigh deeply;—*i(ma′)nihą* (I am) scared (monosyllabic with continuative *hą*, see *nihį′[mi]ciya* I am in a state of panic);—*(ma)nį′yą* (I am) inflamed;—*(ma)ni′ca* (I) lack;—*(wa)nų′wą* (*niwą′* Santee) I swim on or under water;—*(wa)nu′ni* (I) lose (my) way (see *wanų* accidentally, *g.nu′ni* to lose one's own);—*(ma)nų′za* (I am feeling) soft (like an enlarged gland);—*(ma)nų′ża* I feel soft (like cartilage);—*(ma)nu′ġa* I have callus of bone (*nu′ġa* to be gnarled);—*nį′skokeca*<*le-įskokeca* to be this large forms *nima′skokeca*

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[4] *ni (wa′) ya* to save, does not belong here. It contains the stem *ni* to live; *ya* to cause.

§ 90. VERBS WITH TERMINAL *p‘a*

Verbs ending in *p‘a*, all active, infix the pronoun preceding *p‘a*. This ending is presumably a verb, but no meaning that fits all cases has been found.

ik‘o′-p‘a he fears lest (see *hąk‘o′-kp‘a, hąk‘o′-kip‘a* he is afraid at night; *k‘oki′p‘a* to fear someone);—*k‘a-p‘a′* to surpass, beat in a race;—*’a-p‘a′* to strike, *c‘ąti′-ya′map‘a* my heart beats (*c‘ąte′, iya′p‘a*);—*’o′-p‘a* to join;—*’o-p‘a′* to go by way of, *’ot‘a′-p‘a* to follow after (see *t‘a′t‘e* hunting deer), *’ot‘a′map‘a* following (me, my thoughts);—*wato′-p‘a* to row a boat (*wa′ta-op‘a′*);—*nap‘a′* to flee, to go out of sight temporarily[5];—*c‘o-p‘a′* to wade;—*c‘a-p‘a′* to stab;—*’aho′-p‘a* to treat with respect (see *’oho′la* to regard as deserving respect; *’o′hoka c‘a′* said of a questionable character, lit. being sort of deserving respect; *’oho′hola* a post, tooth, etc., is loose at its base);—*’it‘ų′-p‘a* to treat with care, to marvel at (see *’ų′(ma)t‘ų* I am injured);—also *’a-p‘e′* to wait for

Exceptions:

’a-k‘i′p‘a to meet, it befalls one (from *’ap‘a′*), *’i′tko-k‘ip‘a* to meet face to face, (*’itko′p* in the direction towards one who is approaching)

t‘o(*ma′*)*kap‘a* I am the eldest, is static and does not belong here

§ 91. VERBS WITH TERMINAL *k‘a*

Verbs ending in *k‘a* to be of a certain quality, prefix the pronoun, except those combined with demonstrative pronouns (see pp. 121 et seq.).

sa′k‘a it is raw, uncooked, *masa′k‘a;—wą′k‘ala* it is fragile, he is delicate, *mawą′k‘ala*, but *c‘ąl-wą′-k‘a* to be cowardly (*c‘ąl-wą′mak‘a* I am –);—*pšųk‘a′* it is roundish, *mapšų′k‘a* (*yupšų′pšų ’e′g.naka* he left it bundled up roundish there);—*g.lak‘a′* they are upright and sparse (trees, grass), *nig.la′k‘ela*(*pi*) you have thin(hair) (*yug.la′* to unravel strings);—*k‘ec‘a′* it is shaggy, *mak‘e′c‘a;—watu′k‘a* he is weary, *wama′tuk‘a* (see *’itu′ya* in vain *’itu′ȟ’ą* to act in vain);—*k‘uk‘a′* it disintegrates, *mak‘u′k‘a;—šok‘a′* to protrude (lips);—*’ob.le′c‘a* it is oblong, *’oma′b.lec‘a* (see *b.leȟ’a′* it widens downward);—*ȟ’ok‘a′* the singer who accompanies dances, *maȟ’o′k‘a* (see *a*[*wa*]*ki′ȟ’oka* I am skilfull in that, that is my specialty)

An exception is:

sic‘o′k‘ala he is barefooted (lit. his feet are without anything), *sic‘o′mak‘ala*, rarely *sima′c‘ok‘ala;—t‘ąc‘o′k‘ala* he is without a blanket, *t‘ąc‘o′mak‘ala*[6]

§ 92. VERBS WITH TERMINAL *k‘ą*

Verbs ending in *k‘ą* prefix the pronoun.

wak‘ą′ he is holy, *mawą′k‘ą* (*k‘ą* given by Walker as "mystery" is unknown to E. D.);—*yuk‘ą′* he has (there is to him), *mayu′k‘ą*

§ 93. VERBS WITH TERMINAL *t‘ų′* TO WEAR

Verbs with *t‘ų′* to wear, bring forth, insert the pronoun before *t‘ų*.

Active:

’i-t‘ų′ to speak the truth (*i* mouth?);—*’i-t‘ų′šni* to lie;—*’o-t‘ų′* to wear as leggings (to be inside of);—*wahį′yų-t‘ų* to dress skin (see *wahį′yų-wašte`pi* they are good for greasing skins 39.3; *’ių′* to apply oil);—*wac‘į′-t‘ųšni* to have no sense;—*wi′ši-t‘ų* (<*wa-’iši*) to offer a price to be paid for a service;—*ho-t‘ų′* to send forth voice (i. e., to utter one's own characteristic cry, such as animals);—*c‘aš-t‘ų′* to name;—*c‘eya′k-t‘ų* to build a bridge (*c‘eya′ka* beaver dam);—*’op‘e′-t‘ų* to purchase

Neutral:

’ų′-t‘ų to be injured (it injures me)

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[5] See *wi′ hina′p‘a* sunrise, sun comes into sight.

[6] *wica′*(*wa*)*k‘a* to mean what one says, does not belong here (*wica* right, *k‘a* to mean; see *wica′la* to consider right.)

§ 94. VERBS COMPOUNDED OF NOUN AND VERB

Verbs compounded of a noun and a verb leave the pronoun in the position where it belongs in relation to the verb.

pʻo′(wa)šį I wrinkle my nose (*pʻa-’o-šį*);—*pʻa(wa′)kahųka* I nod (*pʻa* head);—*pʻo′(wa)m.nam.na* I shake my head (*pʻa* head);—*’išto′(wa)g.muza* I blink with my eyes (*’išta′* eye);—*cʻąti′ya′(ma)pʻa* my heart beats (*cʻąte′* heart);—*cʻą(ma′)ze* I get angry (also *macʻą′ze*);—*sicʻo′(ma)kʻala* I am barefooted (*si* foot, *si*[*ma′*]*cʻola* bare);—*hu(ma′)šte* lame (*hu* leg);—*’ai′(wa)capa* I hold mouth open for (*’i* mouth);—*nap(ma′)zanišni* I am given to petty thievery (my hand is not healthy, *nape′* hand);—*tʻącʻo′(ma)kʻala* I am without wraps, outer clothing (*tʻą* body);—*ho(wa′)ȟpa* I cough;—*ho′(ma)tʻąį* my voice is audible;—*ho′(ma)bu* I have a low voice;—*cʻe(wa′)sli* defecate (*cʻe* a prefix for some body parts);—*wi(wa′)patʻa* I make a tipi cover (*wi* a prefix for tipi);—*cʻąwa′(ya)ksa* you saw wood (*cʻą* wood);—*cʻą(wa′)le* I provide firewood;—*cʻąnų′ųk’ųpa* we two smoke;—*lo(wa′)cʻį* I am hungry (lit. desire food *lo*);—*b.lo(wa′)kaska* I hiccough (*b.lo*?);—*hį(wa′)g.nų* I singe off hair or down (*hį* hair);—*tʻų(wa′)kašpa* I cough up slime;—*nų′ȟ(ma)pą* my ears ring (*nų′ġe* ear, *pą* to shout);—*cʻąksi′* he is cranky, *cʻą(ma′)ksi* I—(*cʻąte′* heart);—*cʻąlwą′kʻa* he is a coward, *cʻąlma′wąkʻa* I—(also *cʻalwą′makʻa*, *cʻąlwą′nikʻa*, probably on account of the lack of the combinations *ln*, *lm*)

To this group belong the demonstratives *’e′*, *le′*, *he′*, *ka′*, p. e.:

le(ma′)hąyela this finishes me;—*le(ma′)hąkcca* I am this tall;—*le(ma′)tąhą* I am from this place;—*’iye′-(mi)cicʻetu* it is suitable for (me);—*he(ma′)cʻa* (I) am that kind;—*le(ma′)cʻeca* I am like this;—*le-(ma′)cʻala* I am of recent times, young

§ 95. SUBORDINATE VERBS

Compounds consisting of two verbs insert the subject pronoun before the second verb, the first verb being treated like an adverb.

ška′l ’oma′wani I travel playing
škal-’o′mawani I go about to play

Compositions of this type occur particularly with verbs of motion and position.

heye′-i he went to say that, *heye′-wai* I –(not very idiomatic);—*cʻokʻa′-g.li*` he comes back without anything, *cʻokʻa′-wag.li* I –;—*wo′g.lak nawa′żį* I stood talking, *wo′g.lak-nawa*`*zį* I stood for the purpose of talking

Verbs of arriving, *’i′*, *hi′*, *kʻi′*, *g.li′* take also first position and are followed by the pronoun.

’akʻi′wab.lużaża on arriving home there, I washed things
’ag.li′waniyazą on arriving home here you became sick
’ahi′ųškatapi on arriving here we play
’e′ništįmapi on arriving there you fell asleep (*e′*>*ai*)

The forms and meanings of compositions have been treated at another place (pp. 67 et seq.; see also p. 157).

§ 96. COMPOUND VERBS

A few compound verbs use the subject pronoun with both verbs.

Some derivatives of *ya* to go, are used with double pronouns.

kaa′ya he takes it to him, *waka′ya* or *waka′b.la* I take it to him
ki′caya he takes another one's without his sanction, *we′caya* or *we′cab.la* I take his without his sanction
ki′cicaya he takes another one's with his sanction, *we′cicaya* or *we′cicab.la*, I take—
kae′yaya he starts taking another's, *waka′cyaya* and *waka′eb.lab.la*, I start—
kihi′yoya he goes after it for him, *waki′hiyoya* or *waki′hiyob.la*, I go—
ki′cihiyoya he goes after another one's with his sanction, *we′cihiyoya* or *we′cihiyob.la*, I go—

Other verbs using double pronouns are:

į′yąka he runs, *waį′m.nąka* I run, *yaį′nąka* you run, *ųk’į′yąka* you and I run

With the verbs *’i′*, *hi′*, *kʻi′*, *g.li′* expressing arrival preceding the finite verbs *yųka′*, to lie, *i′yotaka* to sit, *ȟpa′ya* to lie, *hą′* to stand (inanimate objects), *na′żį* to stand (animate beings), *yąka′* to fall to doing something, both verbs may take pronouns.

(wa)g.li′-naż̨į or *(wa)g.li″-na(wa)żį* (I) come back to where (I) belong and stop
(wa)k‘i′yotaka or *(wa)k‘i′(b.l)otaka* (I) arrive back where I belong and sit down
(wa)k‘i′-yųka or *(wa)k‘i′-(m)ųka* (I) arrive back where I belong and lie down
’e′-i(m)ųka (I) arrive there and lie down
g.li′yotaka [7] he returns here to where he belongs and sits down, *wag.li′yotaka* or *wag.li′b.lotaka* I return to where I belong and sit down
k‘i′yotaka he arrives going back to where he belongs and sits down, *wak‘i′b.lotaka* I –
ų′yą he loses it, *wąų′b.la* [8] I –, *yąų′la* you –, *c‘ių′yą* I – you, *maya′ųla* you – me

A doubling of pronouns without the obvious presence of two verbs occurs in a few cases, the dative forms being followed by a subjective pronoun.

oki′yaka he relates it to him, *owa′kib.daka* (Assiniboine, Teton generally *owa′kıyaka*), *owe′ciyaka* or *owe′cib.daka* I tell for him (Assiniboine)
wąya′ka he sees it, *wąwe′ciyaka* or *wąwe′cib.laka* I see for him
k‘oya′ka he wears an ornament, a standard, *k‘owe′ciyaka* or *k‘owe′cib.laka* I wear his honor-badges

§ 97. NOUNS

The following nouns insert the pronoun:

’Ihą′kt‘ųwą a Yankton, *’Ima′hąkt‘ųwą* (also idiomatic: *’Ihą′kt‘ųwą hema′c‘a;* better still *’Ihą′kt‘ųwą-wima`-’c‘aša,-wįma`yą);—’it‘ą′c‘ą* chief, lord, leader, *’ima′t‘ąc‘ą;—’Ikto′mi*, *’Ikto′* the trickster, *’Ima′ktomi* (also *Ikto′mi-wį`mayą*, etc. (woman), both forms used;*—waši′cu* guardian, medicine-bundle, white man, *wama′šicu* (see *waši′* to order one to work for);*—wakį′yą* thunder, *wama′kįyą* (also *wakį′yą-wima`c‘aša);—wak‘ą′hcża* child, *wama′k‘ąheża* (also *wama′k‘ąyeża);—wic‘a′ša* man, *wima′c‘aša;—wic‘a′ȟcala* old man, *wima′c‘aȟcala;—wic‘i′yela* Dakotas not using *l*, *wini′c‘iyela* [8a] you are —; — *winų′ȟcala* old woman, *wima′nųȟcala;—wį′yą* woman, *wįma′yą;—wic‘į′cala* girl, *wįma′c‘įcala;—ha′sapa* Negro, black skin, *ȟa′masapa* (or *ha′sapa-wįma`yą);—hokši′la* boy, *homa′kšila;—hokši′cala* baby, *homa′kšicala;—mat‘o′* bear, *mani′t‘o* (You're a shark at it!) or (You are fiercely angry);— *Lak‘o′ta* a Dakota, *lama′k‘ota* (also *mala′k‘ota*);*—k‘oška′laka* young man, *k‘oma′škalaka;—wik‘o′škalaka* young woman, *wima′k‘oškalaka—T‘i′t‘ųwą* a Teton, does not insert the pronoun, *mat‘i′t‘ųwą* (or *t‘i′t‘ųwą-wima`c‘aša*)

The following are verbal forms:

’aki′c‘ita camp police, *’ama′kic‘ita* (from *’a(wa′)k‘ita* I look around for);*—’oų′papila* infant in cradle (little one wrapped tightly in it), *’oma′ųpapıla*

Children playing might also use such terms as:

’ima′gmu I am a cat

The feeling for such nouns may be understood from the following cases:

’ale′tka a twig, *maa′letka* I am a twig (a younger member) of a great family, *’ama′letka* he is a twig on me (i. e., he is a young member of my family)
hcȟa′ka branched antlers, elk *mahe′ȟaka* I am a member of the elk society (but better *heȟa′ka ’o′wap‘a* I joined the elks), *hema′ȟaka* would be said by the animal elk, I am with branched antlers

§ 98. DOUBLE VERBS

In transitive compound verbs, expressing either synchronous or successive actions, both verbs having the same subject, the objective pronoun stands with the subordinate, the subject with the principal verb. This occurs most frequently with suffixed verbs. (See p. 74.)

wąma′yak-yahi`-na`żį you stopped (*na′żį*) on your way coming (*hi*) to see me;*—wąma′yak yahi′-na`żį* just as you arrived on your way coming you saw me;*—’ama′g.le-p‘ica* it is best to take me home [9];— *’ic′i′kte-waka`pį* I am reluctant to kill myself

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[7] *’i′yotaka* he sits. With *’i* "to arrive going" no compound verb is formed; *wai′ ną ’i′b.lotaka* I arrive there and sit down.

[8] Instead of the dual *wic‘ų′k‘ųyą* we lose them, the expression *to′k‘i iȟpe′wic‘ųyą* we left them somewhere, is preferred.

[8a] Literally talking man's language.

[9] Compare *ta′kuye-map‘icašni* to have for anything I am not good (I am useless).

When the subject is first person singular, the object second person, the combined pronoun stands with the subordinate verb and the subject is repeated with the principal verb.

> *’acʻi′pʻe-wakiˋnica* I could hardly restrain from striking you;—*wącʻi′yak-wacʻąmi* I hope to see you;—*cʻikte′-wakaˋpį* I am reluctant to kill you;—*cʻikte′-uwaˋtʻa* I tried to kill you;—*macʻi′nų-wahiˋ* I have come to steal you;—*’awa′macʻinų ’oma′wani* I went about stealing things from you;—*cʻici′pą ’oma′wani* I went about shouting for you;—*’ocʻi′le ’oma′wani* I walked searching for you

With verbs of motion and position the subordinate verb may also take adverbial form.

> *acʻi′pʻe-nawaˋžį* I stood to await you; *’acʻi′pʻe nawa′žį* or *’apʻe′-nacʻižį* I stand waiting for you;—*’icʻi′-yųȟ-wahiˋ* or *’iyų′ȟ-cʻihiˋ* I came to ask you

When the subject of the subordinate verb is the object of the finite verb both verbs have the subject and object pronouns.

> *’oi′ye nama′yaȟ’ųkta ’ųspe′cʻicʻiya* I teach you to listen to my word (the word/you will listen to me/I make you know)

When two objects are involved, the subject of the finite verb being the same as the object of the subordinate verb, the subject and object of the finite verb remain attached to it, the object of the subordinate verb stays with that verb.

> *’ama′pʻc-cʻicʻiya* I make thee strike me;—*mak’u′-cʻiši* I order you to give it to me; —*wani′c’u-mayašiˋ* you order me to give you something

When three persons are involved, so that subject and first object belong to the finite, the second object to the subordinate verb, the subject and first object stand with the finite verb, the object of the subordinate verb stays with that verb.

> *’ama′pʻe-nicʻiˋya* he makes thee strike me;—*’ani′pʻe-wakʻiˋya* I make him strike thee;—*’ani′cʻeye-wayaˋ* I cause him to cry for thee;—*nic’u′-wašiˋ* I order him to give it to you;—*nicˋu′-mašiˋ* he orders me to give it to you;—*ni′cʻo-mašiˋ* he orders me to invite you (*kʻicʻo* to invite);—*’ani′patitą mayu′za* he held me pushing against you;—*’awa′nicʻi-’amaˋpʻe* he invited me to join him dancing (trampling) on you;—*’e′l mau′-nišiˋ* he told you to come to me;—*’e′l niye′-mašiˋ* he told me to go to you;—*’e′l ye-cʻi′ši* I told you to go to him;—*’hetą′ ye-cʻi′ši* I told you to go from there

The last four examples agree in form with the preceding, but require the preceding *’e′l*, *’hetą′* because *’u′* and *ya′* are intransitive verbs. (See p. 77.)

A double object occurs in:

> *le′ ’e′l wicʻa′cʻic’u* I give you to this one in marriage, probably because *wicʻa′k’upi* she is given in marriage, is felt as a unit

§ 99. Possession of Object and Indirect Object

The possession of the object by the subject, and the indirect objects to, on behalf of, instead of, in place of, are expressed by the prefixes *ki* and *kici*. The latter may be by origin a doubled *ki*, the second *k* being transformed after *i* into a *c*. The form *ki-* (1st dative) implies action referring to an object belonging to a person different from the subject but without sanction or permission of the owner, for instance, "I take his own without his permission," in other words, an action that reflects in some way upon his interest but performed on the initiative of the subject. The form *kici-* (2d dative) expresses an action done with permission of the owner of an object, an action done on his initiative or in his place.

The use of these forms is very irregular. The personal forms of the three sets are as follows:

First dative, on behalf of, without sanction

	me	thee	him	thee and me	us	them
I	——	*c'ici'-*	*waki'-*	——	——	*wic'a'waki-*
thou	*maya'ki-*	——	*yaki'-*	——	*ųya'ki-pi*	*wic'a'yaki-*
he	*maki'-*	*nici'-*	*ki-'*	*ųki'-pi* [1]	*ųki'-pi*	*wic'a'ki-*
thou and I	——	——	*ųki'-*	——	——	*wic'a'ųki-*
we, plural [2]	——	*ųni'ci-pi*	*ųki'-pi*	——	——	*wic'a'ųki-pi*

Second dative, instead of, with sanction

	me	thee	him	thee and me	us	them
I	——	*c'i'ci-*	*we'ci-*	——	——	*wic'a'weci-*
thou	*miye'ci-*	——	*ye'ci-*	——	*ųye'ci-pi*	*wic'a'yeci-*
he	*mi'ci-*	*ni'ci-*	*ki'ci-*	*ųki'ci-pi* [1]	*ųki'ci-pi*	*wic'a'kici-*
thou and I	——	——	*ųki'ci-*	——	——	*wic'(a')ųkici-* [3]
we, plural [2]	——	*ųni'ci-pi*	*ųki'ci-pi*	——	——	*wic'a'ųkici-pi*

[1] Always with *pi*.

[2] Plural and exclusive dual, he and I.

[3] Both forms.

When these pronouns are in initial position the first dative has the accent on the second syllable, while in the second dative the initial syllables *we'*, *ye'*, *ki'*, *c'i'*, *ni'* bear the accent. The forms for I – thee, he – thee, of the two datives differ only in accent. The second datives are obviously formed by the contraction of *aki* to *e*; *iki* to *i*.

Possessive

we'- I—mine
ye'- you—yours
ki- he—his
ųki'- we—ours

§ 100. POSSESSION IN VERBS WITH INITIAL *p*, *ka*, *y*

Verbs with initial *p*, including the prefix *pa* "by pushing," take for the possessive forms of the first, second, third, and inclusive persons *wak*-, *yak*-, *k*-, *ųk*-.

> *pawi'yakpa* to polish, to make shine; possessive *wakpa'wiyakpa*, *yakpa'wiyakpa*, *kpawi'yakpa*, *ųkpa'wiyakpa;* 1st dative *waki'pawiyakpa;* 2d dative *we'cipawiyakpa;*—also: *pehą'* to fold up flat things, like blankets, goods;—*o-pe'm.ni* to wrap about;—*po'ġą* to blow on, to blow up;—*puske'pa* to strain a fluid

Verbs with initial *y* have for the possessive forms first, second, third, inclusive persons *wag.l*-, *yag.l*-, *g.l*-, *ųg.l*-. The first and second datives are as before.

> *yapsų'* to spill with mouth; possessive *wag.la'psų*, *yag.la'psų* *g.lapsų'* *ųg.la'psų;* 1st dative *waki'yapsų;* 2d dative *we'ciyapsų*
>
> *yum.na'* to rip as a seam; possessive *wag.lu'm.na*, *yag.lu'm.na*, *g.lum.na'*, *ųg.lu'm.na;* 1st dative *waki'yum.na;* 2d dative *we'ciyum.na*

Related to these forms are *g.lo'wį* to wear one's own (see p. 94) and *g.nu'ni* to lose one's own (*nu'ni* to lose one's way).

Verbs with initial instrumental prefix *ka*- have the possessive forms *wag.la'*-, *yag.la'*-, *g.la'*-, *ųg.la'*-.

Verbs with initial *k* of stem change it after *e* and *i* in the possessive, not in the first dative. (See p. 14.)

> *kic'u'wa* he pursues his own; *kik'u'wa* he pursues it for him; *ki'cic'uwa* 2d dative
> *kic'u'te* he shoots off his own (gun); *kik'u'te* he shoots it (a bow, etc., for him); *ki'cic'ute* 2d dative
> *kic'a'* he digs his own; *kik'a'* he digs it for him; *ki'cic'a* 2d dative

§ 101. THE USE OF *ki-* FOR BACK AGAIN

A peculiar use of *ki* is probably reducible to the dative *ki*. The possessive forms *iki'kcu* he takes his own, i. e., he takes it back 47.1, 48.8; *kic'u'* he gives his own, i. e., he gives it back; *op'e'kit'ų* he buys his own, i. e., he buys it back; *kic'a'* he asks for his own, i. e., he asks it back; *kikta'* to get up from a lying position, i. e., to be up again; all imply a return to a former state. The first person has the regular possessive form *we'*. The *k* does not change to *c* after *e* and *i*.

A number of other forms which render the idea of return to a previous state are expressed by forms corresponding to the first dative *ki*, with first person *waki*.

> (*wa*)*ki'ni* (I) revive (*ki'cikini* his revives);—*kiska'* to fade (to return to an original white color);—*kic'e'pa* to become fat again (*waki'c'epa-wi* June, moon of things getting fat again);—*kisa'pa* the grounds become black again after melting of snow

Nouns may be treated in the same way and thus become active verbs.

> (*wa*)*ki'wic'aśa* (I) become a man again (like a human who in a tale had appeared in animal shape);—*kit'a'ȟca* she became a deer again
> (*wa*)*ki'wįyą* (I) became a (respectable) woman again;—*kima'k'a* tilled land comes to lie fallow again
> *kiwa'k'ąheża* has a different meaning: to treat like a child, like something weak and fragile, to humor

§ 102. POSITION OF POSSESSIVE AND INDIRECT OBJECTS

The position of all these forms is the same as that of other pronouns. The possessive of neutral verbs and of active verbs without object is expressed by the forms *mi'ci- ni'ci- ki'ci-*, *ųki'ci*. These precede the locative prefixes and the neutral prefix *na-* by itself.

> *ni'cisni* your light goes out 39.12;—*mi'cisapa* mine is black;—*ųki'cinażįpi* ours stand;—*mi'cinag.la* mine unravels;—*mi'ciiyali* mine climbs going there;—*ki'ciot'eȟika* his is expensive;—*mi'ciakiȟ'ą* mine is starving;—*ni'ciakisni* yours is getting well (*'ani'cisni* you are getting well)

The second datives have the same forms but they follow the locatives and the neutral prefix *na-*.

> *mi'ciiyųka* mine goes to bed, *'iki'ciyųka* she goes to bed for him;—*mi'ciot'eȟika* mine is expensive, *wao'kicit'eȟika* he is stingy, lit. he holds something of his as of high value;—*mi'ciiyohi* my supply is sufficient, *'iyo'micihi* it is sufficient for my use 65.11;—*mi'ciwac'i* mine dances, *wami'cic'i* he dances for me, in my honor;—(*mi'ciwog.laka* mine makes a speech, correct, but unidiomatic), *wo'miciyaka* he tells me something pertinent to me, *wo'micig.laka* he makes a speech for me;—*mi'ciia* mine talks

In many cases it is more idiomatic to use the possessive pronoun with the noun, instead of the possessive verbal forms.

> *mit'a'śųke kį nap'e''* my horse has run away
> *micį'kśi waya'ząke'* my son is sick

§ 103. USE OF REGULAR FORMS

The use of the two forms *waki-* and *we'-* and the corresponding forms for second and third persons is exceedingly irregular. Some verbs use consistently *waki-* for the first dative, *we'-* for the possessive. Others use both *waki-* and *we'-* for the possessive and *waki-* alone for the first dative, the usage being individually and locally variable; others use only *waki-* for the possessive, or lack the possessive. Still others lack the forms in *waki-*. The second dative is regular throughout.

Many stems beginning with *gw, g.l, g.m, g.n, k, k', k'*, most of which require instrumental prefixes use regularly *we'-* for the possessive; *waki-* for the first dative, excepting, however, those with inseparable *ki*.

> *'ana'-g.waka* [10] to kick at;— *-g.mi* bald, bare;— *-g.mica* to pull hair;—(-)*g.mig.ma'* round;—**g.mu'ka* to trap;— *-g.mų* twisted;— *-g.la* unravelled;—**g.le'* to have standing by, ready;—(-)*g.le'pa* to vomit;—(-)*g.le'za* to mark with many fine marks;— *-g.nayą* to miss (aim);—**g.na'yą* to deceive;—**g.na'ka*

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[10] - stands for the position of the infixed pronoun. Where the symbols · and (-) stand before the stem they indicate, as usual, obligatory or admissible prefixes. *shows that the stem cannot take a prefix.

to have lying on hand, ready;—**hį-g.nų́* to singe off;—(-)*kįza* to squeak;—**kte´* to kill;—**kṡu´* to do beadwork, *tʽo-kṡu´* to haul goods, *akṡu´* to pile;—**kʽuwa´* to pursue, chase;—**kʽute´* to shoot at;—**k'a´* to dig;[10a] *-kʽą* to knock off small, loose objects (berries, wheat);—*o-k'u* to lend

Regular are also:

-b.leca to be shattered;—**napca´* to swallow (but *tʽaȟ-na´wakipca* I swallow my saliva);— *-pʽa* to be pulplike;—*atų́wą*[10b] to look around;— *-tʽaka* to be barred, locked;— *-zam.ni* to remove cover;— **sų́* to braid;— *-sleca* to be sliced;—**sli´pa* to lick, active;— *-sku* to pare;— *-s'o* to trim edges;— **ṡutʽa´* to miss;— *-ṡpu* to break off;— *-ṡna* to miss aim;— *-ceka* to stagger;—**cʽį́* to desire;— *-c'oc'o* to splash;—*ina´kpą* to grind into bits;—(-)*kʽukʽa* to be worn out (clothing);—**ȟa´* to bury;— *-ȟpa* to be down on ground (**ȟpa´* untidy);—**ȟmu´ġa* to bewitch;— *-ȟleca* to be torn;— *-ȟtaka* to touch with force

'alo´-ksohą to carry on or under arm;—*'acʽa´-kṡį* to step over;—*wo´-k'u* to feed (no 1st dative);—*'i-ȟ'ą´* to deal with, work with (not as: to cook, employs reflexive, see p. 90);—*pʽa-ȟta´* to tie a bundle;— **ų́cʽa* to imitate

Many active verbs that are not transitive take dative forms:

ma(we´ci)ni I walk in his stead;—*iwa´k(i)cʽi-wo`hąpi* they have a dance feast;—*we´cicʽeyayaȟca* I worry (cry) about him

§ 104–107. IRREGULAR USE OF FORMS

§ 104. Irregular Use of *we´*- and *waki*-

DOUBLE FORMS

1. In many cases *waki* and *we´*- are used indiscriminately for possessive forms. Examples are:

-psų to be spilled;—**nap'į́* to wear as a necklace;— *-m.na* to rip;—*ocʽe´-tʽi* to build a fire in something;— **u-tʽa´* to shoot off;—(-)*tʽąni* to wear out (clothing);— *-sli* to be squeezed;— *-żų* to uproot;— *i-g.ni´* to look for;— *-kʽapa* a roundish object moves swiftly through the air; *yukʽa´pa* to catch (a ball, etc.);— *-kʽįta* to be wiped;— *-kʽįca* to be scraped;— *-ȟica* to be awake;—(-)*ȟmi* to be out of shape;— *-ȟlaya* to be peeled off;—*na-ȟ'ų́* to hear (no 1st dative);—*na-ȟma´* to hide (*nawe´ȟma*, but *ite´-nawa`kiȟma* I hide my face)

FORMS LACKING *waki* FORMS

Verbs with inseparable *ki* lack the *waki*- forms:

aki´tʽo to be tattooed (active verb) *awe´tʽo*;—*kitʽų* to wear (clothing, see p. 102);—*tʽo-ki´c'ų* to retaliate;— *kicʽą´* to wail over someone (*we´cʽą*);—*kikcą´pta* to comfort;—*wa-ki´g.leca* to have feelings in body that foretell coming events (*wawe´g.leca*);—*kig.le´ġa* to overtake someone;—*kisų́* to braid hair;— *kicʽo´* to invite;—*kicʽu´* to give back one's own;—*kig.na´* to soothe;—*ha-ki´kta* to look back;— *kikta´* to get up;—*kiksu´ya* to remember (*wawe´ksuya*)

The following may be derived from inseparable *ki* with loss of vowel, although the *k* or *g* is retained after *we´*-. This is suggested by *ṡi-g.la* to feel resentful: *ṡi´ce-kila* he considers his own bad, >*ṡikila*>*sig.la; ṡiwe´g.la* I feel resentful about it. The shortening of *ṡi´ca* to *ṡi* is not rare, p. e. *ṡiȟtį́* very bad.

cʽet'ų́-g.la to doubt, disbelieve;—*iha´-kta* to feel pulled back, to wish to stay with someone or something;—*wa-kta´* to expect, depend on;—*i´yo-kteka* to scold sharply;—**kṡu´* to do beadwork

Also: **tka´* to flesh robe;—(-)*t'įza* to be solid, firm;—**so´so* to cut thongs in strips;—**ka´ġa* to make (see p. 101); **ȟa* to bury

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[10a] Possessive in Yankton *owa´kic'a*.

[10b] *awe´ktųwą* I look around for mine.

FORMS LACKING POSSESSIVES

Verbs with the forms *waki-*, *yaki-*, *ki-* for both possessives and first datives.

(*a*) Many monosyllabic verbs:

*'*o'* to hit by shooting;—**ba'* to blame, censure, *waki'ba* I blame my own (deeds);—(-)*bu* a deep noise;—(-)*b.lu* to be powdery;—**m.ni'* to spread out to dry (corn, berries, strips of squash; no possessive, because food is not personal property);—**kų'* to covet (*k* does not change);—**hi'* to arrive, *waki'hi* I arrive at my own, i. e., I reach maturity, fledglings begin to fly; also all other verbs of motion and position

(*b*) Verbs with terminal -*p'a*. (See p. 83.)

(*c*) Verbs with initial vowel not separable from the following stem complex, or with transitivizing locatives. (See p. 45.)

'ąų' to lay on fire;—*'ab.le'za* to notice;—*'ap'e'* to wait, *'iya'wakip'e* I wait for him; *'awe'cip'e* I wait for it for him;—*'ale'ża* to urinate on;—*'ali'* to step on;—*'alo'wą* to sing, *'awa'kilową* I sing or arrange song for my own, I sing for his; *we'cilową* I sing his praises at a dance;—*'ana'-tą* to charge, hurry to;—*'ana'-slata* to creep up to something;—*'ac'e'-sli* to defecate on;—*'as'a'* to jeer, shout at (1st dative missing);—*'ascu'* to be self-conscious in relation to opposite sex (datives missing);—*'ac'e'ya* to cry on account of;—*'ani'ya* to breathe on . . . ;—*'akta'śni* to reject, disregard something;—*'akśi'ża* to refuse to surrender something;—*'akśu'* to pile on;—*'ak'i'ta* to look for;—*awa'-ȟtani* to sin against (*ȟtawa'ni* I toil);—*aȟni'yąyą* to be aflutter with emotion (joy or anger)

'ių' to apply (as an ointment);—*'iȟa'* to ridicule, to laugh;—*'i'm.naka* [11] to admire

'owa' to write (possessive in S. W. Teton *owe'gwa*);—*'o(na')-ha* to force in (with foot);—*'ohą'* to wear on foot (=to stand in [not with meaning "to cook"]);—*'oho'm.ni* to circle around something;—*'o'm.na* to smell in;—*'ole'* to hunt;—*'olo'ta* to borrow;—*'ot'i'* to dwell in;—*'o'ska* to wind quills around strips of rawhide;—*'oc'o'za* to heat by . . .; *nao'wakic'oza* I heat my own; *nawa'kioc'oza* I heat for him;—*o'g.muza* to shut in; *nao'wakig.muza* I shut in my own; *nawa'kiog.muza* I shut it in for him;—*o'ġe* to cover with a sheet

When the stem following the locative prefix belongs to any of the classes discussed in §100, p. 87, it follows the rules of that class; for instance, *'ope'm.ni* to wrap around, has as possessive *owa'kpem.ni*, as under verbs with initial *p*.

(*d*) A considerable number of verbs that cannot be classified lack the *we'*- series and use *waki*- for both possessive and for 1st dative:

-*wįża* to bend down smooth (grasses, etc.) (*owį'ża* to use as bedding);— -*hom.ni* to be revolving;— -*hųhųza* to vibrate, shake (a flat, horizontal object [11a]);— -*b.laya* to be level, unfolded;— -*b.laza* to be rent, torn;—(-)*b.laska'* to be flat;— -*b.laġa* to be opened out all around (like an umbrella);—(-)*b.lcza* clear, sane;— -*b.leca* to be shattered;—(-)*psi'ca* to jump;—**la* to ask for;—**la* to esteem (dependent verb);— -*suza* to splinter, crack into small pieces;—*wa-śi'* to employ;—(-)*coco'* to be soft, like mud (but *ona'wecoco*);—(-)*kpa'* to puncture;— -*kśiża* to puncture;— -*ġapa* to be flayed;— -*ġą* to open (as a door) (**ġą'* to have untidy hair);— -*ġo* to mark up;— -*hpu* to be crumbled;— (-)*ȟlo'* to growl

iye'-ya to find;— -*ya* (dependent verb) to cause; *iye'wakiya* possessive; *iye'wak'iya* 1st dative;—*he-yų'* to pack;—*ma-nų'* to steal;—*p'a'ta* to butcher

VERBS USING REFLEXIVES INSTEAD OF POSSESSIVE

According to Dakota concepts certain objects, particularly natural objects and food, cannot be personal property. For this reason the possessive forms cannot be used and reflexives take their place. (See p. 103.)

'ożu' to plant, *'omi'c'iżu* I plant for myself;—*ważu'żu* to slaughter a buffalo, *wami'c'iżużu*;—*'iȟ'ą'* to cook, *'imi'c'iȟ'ą* (regular when used in its broader meaning "to handle");—*wasle'ca* to slice (bread), *wamic'isleca* I slice for myself;—*'ohą'* to cook, *'omi'c'ihą* I cook for myself (regular when used in its literal meaning "to stand in")

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[11] With ending *ka* differentiating it from *'i'(ma)m.na* I am surfeited.

[11a] *mic'i'hųhųza* I bestir myself.

Reflexives are also sometimes used parallel with possessive forms:

p'ahta' to tie a bundle, *p'awe'hta* I tie mine, *p'ami'c'ihta* I tie it for my own use

Possessives are also used for expressing indirect objects:

we'c'u I give to my own (not "I give my own")

§ 105. Verbs in *ka-* and *ki-* and Related Forms

A number of verbs have forms analogous to possessives which express I – thine, his; thou – mine, his; he – mine, yours.

	mine	thine	his	ours
I	——	*c'i'*	*we'*	——
thou	*miye'*	——	*ye'-*	*ųye'*
he	*mi'-*	*ni'-*	*ki-'*	*ųki'*
we	——	*ųni'*	*ųki'*	——

wic'a'miyec'u you give mine away to them, also 1st dative;—*wic'a'miyecic'u* 2d dative.

All verbs with the instrumental prefix *ka-* have these forms which take the place of the first dative.

miye'caksa you cut mine;—*c'i'caksa* I cut yours

The second dative is regular *we'ci-* etc.

Verbs with inseparable prefix *ki-* follow the same pattern, but the forms given above do not refer to an object possessed, but to a direct object. In all these the *waki-* form is missing; the second dative refers to the possessed object or expresses that the action is performed in place of another one who ought to have done it. The third person differs from the series given above in having the accent on the second syllable.

kic'o' he invites him, *we'c'o* I invite him, *we'cic'o* I invite his, I invite in his place, *mi'c'o* he invites me, *mi'cic'o* he invites mine or in my place

In the same way:

kic'ą' to wail;—*kikcą'pta* to condole;—*kig.le'ġa* to catch up with;—*kig.na'* to comfort

k'į' to carry on back, is treated in the same way: *we'c'į* I carry him on back, *k'į'* he carries it (inanimate) on the back. *kic'į'* he carries his own (animate) on his back; *ki'c'į* he carries him on his back; *wak'į'* a load

kte' to kill follows the same pattern as words with prefix *ka-*. The only difference is that there is no form *ki'kte* he kills his (another one's), but in its place *kikte'* he kills for him, he kills his own, and he kills another one's. The form *waki'kte* means I kill it, or I kill mine for him; *mi'ktepi* they killed mine 56.10

g.le' to set aside, *g.na'ka* to lay away have the series *wc'-*, etc., for the possessive and 1st dative. The forms of the pattern *waki-* are rarely used, but express I set, lay aside his, etc. The third person has the accent on the second syllable like *kte': kig.le'*, *kig.na'ka* he has his own set, laid away, or he has it set, laid away for him

Also *kic'i'ca* to be with; instead of *mi'c'ica* he is with me *mi'c'i 'ų'* is perferred; *ni'c'i wają'* I am with thee

Exceptions are *kiyu'k'ą* which forms only *waki'yuk'ą* I make room for him (perhaps from *kiyu'ok'ą*, cf. *wapa'ok'ą* to make room by pushing).

aki't'o to be tattooed;—*kini'* to come to life;—*(wa)kini'hą* to honor someone;—*nawa'kiwizi*[13] I am jealous of someone; have no datives and no possessives.

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[13] See *wına'wizi* cocklebur.

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In a number of cases the possessive form does not refer to an object owned by the subject, but to any object. These evidently contain the element *ki* as those of the preceding group:

> *'e'ktųża* he forgets it, *'e'wektųża* I forget it, *'e'wakiktųża* 1st dative, *'e'weciktųża* I forget his, forgive him;—*kiksu'ya* he remembers it, *we'ksuya* I remember it (*waki'ksuya* not used), *we'ciksuya* I remember for him;—*kig.le'ġa* he catches up to him, as to someone going ahead, *'e'weg.leġa*, or *'e'wakig.leġa* 1st dative, I catch up with him, *'e'wecig.leġa* 2d dative;—also *ko'za* to wave, *we'coza* I wave to him, no 1st dative, *we'cicoza* 2d dative.

§ 106. IRREGULAR FORMS OF VERBS IN *g.l*

Irregular forms in *we*. The possessive forms of verbs beginning with *y* are *g.l* (see p. 87) and take the pronouns *wa, ya*. *wąya'ka* to see, takes also the possessive form in *g.l* but uses *we* instead of *wa*, omits however the corresponding *ki* in the third person: *wąwe'g.laka, wąye'g.laka, wąg.la'ka, wąų'g.laka* to see one's own. The datives are regular *wąwa'kiyaka, wąwe'ciyaka;*—*iwe'g.lepa*, third person *ig.le'pa* to vomit follows the same rule.

A few verbs with initial *g.l* follow the same pattern but retain *ki* in the third person.

> *ṡig.la'* to resent, *ṡiwe'g.la* I resent my own, *ṡiki'g.la* he resents his own
> *wawe'g.leca, waki'g.leca* to feel signs of something evil approaching (like pains in body before bad weather, presentiment of bad news). This occurs only in possessive form
> By contrast compare *ip'i'yaka* to wear a belt, *ip'i'wag.laka* I wear my own belt; also *atų'wą* to look around for something, *awe'ktųwą* and *awa'ktųwą* I look for my own

§ 107. VERBS WITH INITIAL *k'i* EXPRESSING CONTACT[14]

When *k'i-* is preceded by the pronoun, the verb takes no possessive and no datives. These must be expressed by possessive pronouns accompanying the noun, or by making the verb subordinate to another verb which takes the dative forms.

> *mic'į'kši wak'i'za* I fight my son
> *mit'a'ṡųke ak'i'wic'awakaṡka* I hitch my horses together
> *k'i's wag.lo'ku* fighting him I brought mine along

§§ 108–115. VERBS OF GOING AND COMING

§ 108. SINGLE AND COMPOUND FORMS

Verbs of going and coming have peculiar forms expressing going and coming to a place where one belongs permanently or temporarily, clearly related to possessive forms, although differing from the more common forms. These are:

A	*B*
1. to be coming *'u'*	to be coming back to where one belongs *ku'*
2. to be going *ya'*	to be going back to where one belongs *g.la'*
3. to arrive going *'i'*	to arrive going back to where one belongs *k'i'*
4. to arrive coming *hi'*	to arrive coming back to where one belongs *g.li'*

and the compounds of these:

> (4 and 1) A to start coming *hiyu';* B to start coming back to where one belongs *g.licu'* (<*g.li-ku*)
> (3 and 2) A to start going *'iya'ya*[15]*; ib.la'b.la* 1st person; B to start going back to where one belongs *k'ig.la'*
> (4 and 2) A to pass by going *hiya'ya*[15]*;* B to pass by going back *g.lig.la'*

§ 109. CONNECTIVE *ya* IN COMPOUND FORMS

In the forms *g.licu'* and *k'ig.la'*, *ya* is inserted between the component parts. Miss Deloria considers the forms with *ya* as recent formations.

The use of these forms is, however, not regular. Some of the forms without *ya* seem to be going out of use.

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[14] See p. 80.

[15] Reduplicated.

They are used in the first and second persons; for instance,

(3 and 2) B *wak‘i′yag.la* I start returning to where I belong
yak‘i′yag.la you start returning to where you belong
'ųk‘i′yag.la we start returning to where we belong

With the prefix *a-* to carry along, and *g.lo* to carry along one's own (see p. 94), these forms occur in all persons. From *'a′ya* to go carrying along is formed *g.loa′ya*, while *'au′*,*'ai′* form *g.lou′*, *g.loi′*.

'awa′k‘iyag.la I start back taking it to where I belong
'aya′k‘iyag.la you start back taking it to where you belong
'ak‘i′yag.la he starts back taking it to where he belongs
'ųka′k‘iyag.la you and I start back taking it to where we belong
g.lok‘i′yag.la he starts back to where he belongs taking his own
g.log.li′yag.la he passes by going back to where he belongs carrying his own
g.log.li′yaku he starts back coming to where he belongs carrying his own

The connective *ya* is also used in all dative forms.

kak‘i′yag.la, ki′cak‘iyag.la, ki′cicak‘iyag.la (see pp. 94, 95)

In the forms with initial *hiyo-* (see p. 95) to go after, the inserted *ya* appears only in the first and second persons.

hiyo′g.licu to start back hither after something
hiyo′wag.liyaku I start back hither after something
Also *hiyo′k‘ig.la, hiyo′wak‘iyag.la; hiyo′g.lig.la, hiyo′wag.liyag.la*
Instead of *hiyo′g.licu* and *hiyo′k‘ig.la*, it is customary to say *he′ktakiya hiyo′iyaya* (towards where he came from he went after something, and *he′ktakiya hiyo′hiyu* (see p. 95)

§ 110. Dative Forms [16]

The simple forms as well as the possessives (expressing going or coming back) have second datives.

	Without the other's sanction	*With the other's sanction*
1A.	(*kiu′*)	*ki′ciu* he comes in his place, or: his comes
	(*waki′u*)	*we′ciu* I came in his place
	maki′u mine comes	
2A.	(*kiya′*)	*ki′ciya*
	(*waki′ya*)	*we′ciya, we′cib.la*
	maki′ya mine goes	*mi′ciya* mine goes
3A.	(*kii′*)	*ki′cii*
	(*waki′i*)	*we′cii*
	(*maki′i*)	*mi′cii*
4A.	*kihi′* chickens hatch	*ki′cihi* his arrives; he arrives instead of another
	(*waki′hi*)	*we′cihi* I arrive; I arrive in his stead
		mi′cihi mine has arrived
1B.	(*kiku′*)	*ki′ciku*
	(*waki′ku*)	*we′ciku*
	(*maki′ku*)	*mi′ciku*
2B.	(*kig.la′*)	*ki′cig.la*
	(*waki′g.la*)	*we′cig.la*
	maki′g.la	*mi′cig.la*
3B.	(*kik‘i′*)	*ki′cik‘i*
	(*waki′k‘i*)	*we′cik‘i*
	(*maki′k‘i*)	*mi′cik‘i*
4B.	(*kig.li′*)	*ki′cig.li*
	(*waki′g.li*)	*we′cig.li*
	maki′g.li	*mi′cig.li*

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[16] Forms in parentheses are not in use.

(4 and 1) A.	*kihi′yu* his has started coming	*ki′cihiyu*
		we′cihiyu
	maki′hiyu mine has started coming	*mi′cihiyu*
(4 and 1) B.	*kig.li′yaku, kig.li′cu* (see §109, p. 92)	*ki′cig.liyaku, ki′cig.licu*
	(*waki′g.liyaku*)	*we′cig.liyaku, we′cig.licu*
	maki′g.liyaku; maki′g.licu	*mi′cig.liyaku, mi′cig.licu*
(3 and 2) A.	*iki′iyaya* his has gone	*iki′ciyaya* he has gone in his stead with his sanction
	iwa′kiyaya I being his have gone	*iwe′ciyaya*
	ima′kiyaya mine has gone	*imi′ciyaya*
(3 and 2) B.	*kik‘i′g.la*	*ki′cik‘ig.la*
	(*waki′k‘ig.la*)	*we′cik‘ig.la*
	maki′k‘ig.la	*mi′cik‘ig.la*
(4 and 2) A.	*kihi′yaya*	*ki′cihiyaya*
	(*waki′hiyaya*)	*we′cihiyaya*
	maki′hiyaya mine goes by	*mi′cihiyaya*
(4 and 2) B.	(*kig.li′g.la*)	*ki′cig.lig.la*
	(*waki′g.lig.la*)	*we′cig.lig.la*
	maki′g.lig.la	*mi′cig.lig.la*

§ 111. FORMS IN *’a*

The verbs of going, coming, and arriving with the prefix *’a-* express to go, come, arrive carrying; also collective, to go, come, arrive in a group, evidently with the same meaning of bringing others along; with the prefix *g.lo* or *g.loa-* to go, come, arrive carrying one’s own.

’au′ to come bringing something *’awa′u*	*g.lou′* one’s own
’a′ya to go taking something there *’a′b.la*	*g.loa′ya*, 1st p. *wag.lo′aya* or *wag.lo′b.la*
’ai′ to arrive there carrying something *’awa′i*	*g.loi′*
’ahi′ to arrive here bringing something	*g.lohi′*
’aku′ to be coming back here bringing something	*g.loku′*
’ag.la′ to go back there carrying something	*g.log.la′*
’ak‘i′ to arrive back there carrying something	*g.lok‘i′*
’ag.li′ to arrive back here bringing something	*g.log.li′*
’ahi′yu to start coming bringing something	*g.lohi′yu*
’e′yaya to start from here taking something (1st p. *’e′b.lab.la*)	*g.loe′yaya*
’ahi′yaya to be passing by taking something there [17]	*g.lohi′yaya*
’ag.li′yaku to start coming back here bringing something	*g.log.li′yaku*
’ak‘i′yag.la to start back from here taking something	*g.lok‘i′yag.la*
’ag.li′yag.la to be passing by taking back there something	*g.log.li′yag.la*

Here belong also:

’ani′ca to withhold, refuse to give up;—*’ahi′yaya* to sing a song (= to go by carrying something) and *’į′* to wear about shoulders
wag.lo′nica I refuse to give up my own; 3d p. *g.loni′ca*
mig.lo′nica I balk, refuse to move; 3d p. *ig.lo′nica*
wag.lo′hiyaya I sing my own song
wag.lo′wį I wear my blanket; 3d p. *g.lowį′*

The datives of this series are as follows: (*a*) something to someone; (*b*) his without sanction, (*c*) his for him with his sanction.

1. (*a*) *kau′, waka′u, maka′u, maya′kau,* to bring something to some one
(*b*) *ki′cau, we′cau* I bring his without his sanction
(*c*) *ki′cicau, we′cicau* I bring his for him with his sanction

1B. (*a*) *kaku′, waka′ku, maka′ku*
(*b*) *ki′caku, we′caku*
(*c*) *ki′cicaku, we′cicaku*

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[17] Also: to sing a song (to carry a melody).

2A. (*a*) *kaa'ya*, *waka'ya*, or *waka'b.la*
(*b*) *ki'caya*, *we'caya*, or *we'cab.la*
(*c*) *ki'cicaya*; *we'cicaya* or *we'cicab.la*

2B. (*a*) *kag.la'* (like 1)

3A. (*a*) *kai'*, *waka'i*
(*b*) *ki'cai*, *we'cai*
(*c*) *ki'cicai*, *we'cicai*

3B. *kak‘i'* (like 1)
4A. *kahi'* (like 1)
4B. *kag.li'* (like 1)

(4 and 1) A. *kahi'yu* (like 1)
(4 and 1) B. *kag.li'yaku* (like 1)
(3 and 2) A. *kae'yaya*, *waka'cb.lab.la* or *waka'eyaya* (rest like 1, derived from these forms)
(3 and 2) B. *kak‘i'yag.la* (like 1)
(4 and 2) A. *kahi'yaya* (like 1)
(4 and 2) B. *kag.li'yag.la* (like 1)

§ 112. Compounds of Verbs of Arriving

The forms *'i'*, *hi'*, *k‘i'*, *g.li'* when combined with a following finite verb require the prefix ***a*** when expressing a contemporaneous action. The pronoun stands with the finite verb.

'ahi'-waṡkata I arrived here and played
'ahi'-ṡkatapi they arrived here and played

Exceptions are subordinate forms followed by *yųka'* to lie, *'i'yotaka* to sit, *ḣpa'ya* to lie, *hą'* to stand (inanimate objects), *na'żį* to stand (animate beings), *-yąka* to do something at once. These express plurality without *-pi* or they may take *-pi* and leave off *'a-*. The pronoun is prefixed to *'i'*, *hi'*, *k‘i'*, *g.li'* and may be repeated in the finite verb. (See p. 84.)

g.li-yų'ka he lay down
'ag.li'-yųka or *g.li-yų'kapi* they lay down } when coming back to where one belongs
wag.li' yųka or *wag.li'-mųka* I lay down
yag.li'-yųka or *yag.li'-nųka* you lay down
ṡka'l g.li-yą'ka the moment he arrived he began to play
ṡka'l ag.li'-yąka the moment they arrived they began to play
ųg.li'-na`żįpi we arrived and stopped
wag.li'-nażį or *wag.li'-nawa`żį* I arrived and stopped

When successive, the verbs of arriving are finite and are used without *'a* except in the third person plural. Instead of the prefix *'a* they may take the suffix *pi*. The former expresses an indefinite group arriving, the latter definite persons. The form with prefix *'a* may also mean "to arrive bringing."

ṡkal-hi' he arrived here to play;—*ṡkal-hi'pi* they arrived here to play (definite persons);—*ṡkal-'a'hi* they arrived here to play (indefinite persons);—*ṡkal-'a'yahi* you brought him here to play;—(*ṡkal-ya'hi* you arrived here to play)

In a number of verbs we find *hį* which may be modified *hi*.

hįhą' (rain, snow, hail) falls (*hą* to stand);—*hįḣpa'ya* to fall (*ḣpa* to lie; cf. *hiḣpe'(wa)ya* (I) cause to fall;—*ag.li'ḣpe(wa)ya* I bring here and leave

§ 113. To Go, Come, for a Purpose

The prefix *hiyo'* with verbs of motion expresses purpose. It is not used with the forms expressing going or coming back (the group *B*); instead *he'ktakiya* is used as adverb with the verbs of *u*, *ya*, *i*, *hi*.

hiyo'u he is coming for something, to get something
he'ktakiya hiyo'wai' I arrived back to get something

To go after one's own has the prefix *g.liyo'*. In all these forms the subject pronoun precedes the verb of motion, while the object pronoun may precede *hiyo'* or the verb of motion.

hiyo'-wau I am coming to get something
cʻihi'yo-wahi'yelo' I have come to get you 52.2, not so often *nihi'yo-wahi* or *hiyo'-cʻihi*
kihi'yoi ną g.li' he arrived going after it for him and arrived back here
hiyo'-mayahi or *mahi'yo-yahi* you come to get me

In the forms with *hiyo* the form *b* (see p. 94), without sanction, is missing throughout. In the following *a* is the possessive form, *c* the dative with sanction.

1. (*a*) *kihi'you, waki'hiyou* to come for him or his
   (*c*) *ki'cihiyou, we'cihiyou*
2. (*a*) *kihi'yoya* to go after, *waki'hiyoya* or *waki'hiyob.la* I —
   (*c*) *ki'cihiyoya, we'cihiyoya* or *we'cihiyob.la*
3. (*a*) *kihi'yoi, kihi'yowai* to arrive there, going after
   (*c*) *ki'cihiyoi, we'cihiyoi* or *ki'cihiyowai*
4. (*a*) *kihi'yohi, kihi'yowahi* to arrive here, coming after
   (*c*) *ki'cihiyohi, ki'cihiyowahi* or *we'cihiyohi*

(4 and 1). (*a*) *kihi'yohiyu, kihi'yowahiyu* or *waki'hiyohiyu*
(*c*) *ki'cihiyohiyu, ki'cihiyowahiyu* or rarely *we'cihiyohiyu*

(3 and 2). (*a*) *kihi'yoiyaya, waki'hiyoiyaya* or *kihi'yoib.lab.la*
(*c*) *ki'cihiyoiyaya, we'cihiyoiyaya* or *ki'cihiyoib.lab.la*

(4 and 2). (*a*) *kihi'yohiyaya, kihi'yowahiyaya*
(*c*) *ki'cihiyohiyaya, ki'cihiyowahiyaya*

The verbs expressing returning (1–4) *b* have no datives but are combined with the corresponding verbs of motion.

kihi'yoi ną ku' he arrived going after it for him and was coming back
kihi'yohi ną g.la' he arrived coming after it for him and was going back there

With *a* these forms express the 3d person collective plural.

hiyo'au they (in a group) come for it;—*hiyo'aya* they go for it;—*hiyo'ai* they arrive going for it;—*hiyo'ahiyu* they start coming for it;—*hiyo'eyaya* they start going for it;—(*hiyo'ahiyaya* not used)

§ 114. TO REACH

The verbs of arriving are compounded with *ihų'ni* to reach:[18]

'e'hųni, (1st p. *'e'wahųni*) he arrived going there with it; they arrived going there
'ahi'hųni, (1st p. *'awa'hihųni*) he arrived coming here with it; they arrived coming here
'akʻi'hųni, (1st p. *'awa'kʻihųni*) [19] he arrived there going back with it; they arrived there going back
'ag.li'hųni [19] (1st p. *'awa'g.lihųni*) he arrived here coming back with it; they arrived here coming back

Datives of these forms are avoided as in the preceding group.

§ 115. *'e'* AND *'ahi'*

Certain verbs express with the verbs of motion *'e'* and *'ahi'* the direction towards the speaker and away from the speaker. In all of these the actor is stationary. Examples are:

'atų'wą to look for (*'e'tųwą* to look thither, *'ahi'tųwą* to look hither);—*pazo'* to point (*'e'pazo* thither, *'ahi'pazo* hither);—*'awa'cʻį* to think about (*'e'wacʻį, 'ahi'wacʻį*);—*'ao'kas'į* to peep into (*'e'yokas'į, 'ahi'yokas'į* he peeps this way);—*'ao'kakį* to bend the body and look in (*'e'yokakį, 'ahi'yokakį; i'yokakįyą* in full view);—*pani'* to nudge;—*yutʻą'* to touch

With the forms *'ag.li'* and *'akʻi'* these verbs express motion *'ag.li'tųwą* upon reaching home he was able to see, or: he opened his eyes.

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[18] Without prefix *hųni' śni mąka'* I stay put.

[19] Also *yuha' kʻihų'ni, yuha' g.lihų'ni* having it he arrived.

In adverbial forms direction is expressed by the finite verb of motion.

kaḣ’o′l ’iye′ya he throws it thither (*’iye′ya* he causes it to arrive going)
kaḣ’o′l hiyu′ya he throws it hither (*hiyu′ya* he causes it to arrive coming)

§§ 116–136. IRREGULAR VERBS

§ 116. Neutral Verbs With Initial *’i*

Neutral verbs beginning with *i* elide the vowel of *ma-* and *ni-* and leave the accent on the second syllable.

miṡtį′ma, niṡtį′ma, ’iṡtį′ma, ’ųki′ṡtįma to sleep [20]

Reflexive verbs in *ic’i-* and *ig.l-* (forms of the verbs with initial *y*) belong to this class.

mic’i′ba, nic’i′ba, ’ic’i′ba, ’ųki′c’iba to blame one’s self
’ami′c’ip‘a, ’ani′c’ip‘a, ’ai′c’ip‘a, ’ųka′ic’ip‘a to strike one’s self
mig.lu′żaża, nig.lu′żaża, ’ig.lu′żaża, ’ųki′g.lużaża to wash one’s self

The independent pronouns are formed in the same way: *miye′, niye′, ’iye′; mi′ṡ, ni′ṡ, ’i′ṡ.*

§ 117. Verbs With Terminal *u*

Verbs ending in *u* insert *wa* before terminal *hą*. (See p. 62.)

psųwa′hą it has come to be spilled;—*pṡųwa′hą* it has become disjointed;—*ṡpuwa′hą* it has come off (as a button, knob, tassel);—*ḣpuwa′hą* it has fallen off (something that adheres, like a mud nest of swallows, scabs);—*żųwa′hą* its roots are loose in the ground;—*żużu′wahą* it has come apart so that it is in pieces;—*’og.mu′wahą* it has come to be in a gurgling condition inside (as a germinated egg)

§ 118. Verbs With Apparent Irregularities Due to Nasalization

ya′ to go

Before the future *kta* and the connective *ną, ya* takes the form *yį* and nasalizes its pronouns before the nasalized vowel; *mn<b.l; n<l*

m.nį′kta, nį′kta, ’ųyį′kta to go (future)

’į′yąka to run

The initial *b.l* of the first person becomes *m.n,* the initial *l* of the second person becomes *n* before the nasalized vowel of *yąka*. Besides this *wa-* and *ya* are prefixed.

waį′m.nąka, yaį′nąka, ’i′yąka, ’ųk’į′yąka to run
we′ciįyaka, ye′ciįyąka, ki′ciįyąka, ’ųki′ciįyąka to run instead of somebody or for somebody, with his sanction
yą′ka to weave (Santee; Riggs, p. 33); to be skillful in porcupine quill, bead work (Yankton) is treated like *’į′yąka; m.ną′ka, ną′ka, yą′ka, ’ųyą′ka*

The forms are regular, the apparent irregularities being due to phonetic laws. Initial *md* of the first person becomes *mn,* the initial *d* of the second person becomes *n* before the nasalized *ą* of the stem.

§ 119. Verbs in *yu-* (Santee)

In Santee the instrumental prefix *yu-* is generally omitted in the dual plural.

yustą′ to finish; *’ų′ṡtą* dual (Riggs Grammar; in Dictionary erroneously given as imperative only, p. 28)

In Teton and Yankton the dual is regular: *’ųyu′ṡtą.*

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[20] *ų′stįma* adverb, see p. 102.

§ 120. Verbs With Initial *’ų*

Verbs with initial *’ų* insert in possessive forms *c’* (<*k’* ?).

’ų′ to wear (clothing), to use: *we′c’ų, ye′c’ų, kic’ų′, ’ųki′c’ų*
wi′yų to paint (with loss of *y* glide): *wi′wec’ų*, or *wi′wakių*, 3d person *wi′kių*
’ų′pa to lay down (*ų>į*): *we′c’įpa, ye′c’įpa, kic’į′pa, ’ųki′c’įpa*
c‘eų′pa to roast (like the preceding): *c‘ewe′c’įpa, c‘eye′c’įpa, c‘eki′c’įpa*

§ 121. *’ų′* To Exist, *’ec‘ų′* To Do, *yak‘ų′* (Santee) To Be

’ų′ to exist

waų′	I exist	*mų′*	it exists for me, i. e., I use it, I wear it
yaų′	you exist	*nų′*	it exists for you
’ų′	he exists	*’ų′*	it exists for him
’ųk’ų′	we exist	*’ųk’ų′*	it exists for us

we′c’ų, ye′c’ų, kic’ų′ ’ųki′c’ų to use one’s own (see above)
we′cių, ye′cių, ki′cių, ’ųki′cių I use his with his sanction, *c‘i′cių* I use yours with your sanction
waki′ų, yaki′ų, kių′, ’ųki′ų I use his without his sanction, *c‘ici′ų* I use yours without your sanction

Examples:

wana′ he′l t‘e′hą waų′’ now I have been there a long time;—*e′na c‘i′ciųkte*[21] *k‘ohą′ g.liyo′ya′*! I’ll stay for you, so meanwhile go for it!;—*maya′ųkta oya′kihi huwo′* are you able to exist for me (i. e., are you able to have me work for you);—*he′ ’ų′* literally: using that; therefore;—*le′ ’ų′* on account of this;—*waki′ųųlaka* I lived after a fashion, poorly; *kių′ųpilaka* they—40.15

’ec‘ų′ to do

This is derived from *’ec‘a′* it is that kind, (stem *-k‘a*), and *’ų′*. The third person is contracted to *’ec‘ų′*; the dual assimilated to *’ec‘ų′ųk’ų* or *’ec‘ų·′k’ų′*. The word is also used for “to copulate.” In this case the third person remains *’ec‘a′ų*.

’ec‘a′mų, ’ec‘a′nų, ’ec‘ų′ (*’ec‘a′ų*), *’ec‘ų′ųk’ų* or (*’ec‘ų·′k’ų*) to do

All these forms may be combined with the demonstratives and have the accent on the first syllable: *le′c‘amų, he′c‘amų, ka′k‘amų, to′k‘amų.*

’ec‘a′wec’ų, ’ec‘a′yec’ų, ’ec‘a′kic’ų, ’ec‘ų′kic’ų to do one’s own work, to do to one’s own (see p. 103)
’ec‘a′wecų, ’ec‘a′yecų, ’ec‘a′kicų, ’ec‘a′ųkicų to do his without his sanction or to him
’ec‘a′wecicų, ’ec‘a′yecicų, ’ec‘a′kicicų, ’ec‘a′ųkicicų to do his with his sanction, or for him
(*wo′waši*) *’cc‘a′wecių, ’ec‘a′yecių, ’ec‘a′kicių, ’ec‘a′ųkicių* to work for someone (such as an employer)
’ec‘a′mic’ių or *’ec‘a′mic’ų, ’ec‘a′nic’ių. ’ec‘a′ic’ių, ’ec‘a′ųkic’ių* or *’cc‘a′ųkic’ų* to do for one’s self
Also with demonstrative *le′, he′*

Instead of the older form *to′k‘ų* in recent times *ta′ku to′k‘ų* is used; *to′k‘ų* alone is “to lose”.

yak‘ų′ (Santee) to be

The forms suggest that this defective verb is a combination of an active verb *yak‘a′* and the objective forms of *’ų*. The following forms were recorded by Riggs.

dak‘a′nų (*dak‘a′-nų*) thou art (also with *pi*)
yak‘ų′pi (*yak‘a′-’ų-pi*) they are
’ųya′kų(pi)[22] (*’ųyak‘a-’ųpi*) we are

§ 122. *’ec‘į′*[23] To Think Something

’ec‘ą′mi, ’ec‘ą′ni, ’ec‘į′, ’ųke′c‘į to think something
’ec‘ą′wakį,-’ec‘ą′yakį, ’ec‘ą′kį, ’ec‘ą′ųkį to think it, about someone, something
’ec‘ą′c‘icį I think it about you, *’ec‘ą′mayakį* you think it about me
’awa′c‘ąmi, ’awa′c‘ąni, ’awa′c‘į, ’awa′ųc‘į to think about something, someone

I think about you, cannot be formed with the last series.

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[21] *c‘i′ciųkta* means also I shall wear it for you.
[22] Probably more correctly *ųya′k’ų* ?
[23] From *’ec‘a′* and a stem *’į* (?).

Also with demonstratives *lecʻį′*, *hecʻį′*, *ke′cʻį′*, *ta′kecʻį* or *ta′kcʻį*

lecʻą′wakį, *hecʻą′wakį*, *ke′cʻą′wakį*, *ta′kecʻąwakį* I think this, that, something, about him
ecʻą′wakįšni I don't think much of him

Also as second verb in compound verbs: *wacʻį*.

’apʻe′wacʻąmi I am planning to strike him (*’apʻa′* to strike);—*’acʻi′pʻewacʻąmi* I try to strike thee (see p. 75)

§ 123. *’į′* To Wear About the Shoulders as a Blanket

hįmį′, *hįnį′*, *’į′ ’ųk’į′* to wear around shoulders (blanket, shawl)
wag.lo′wį, *yag.lo′wį*, *g.lo′wį*, *’ųg.lo′wį* to wear one's own [24]
waki′į, *yaki′į*, *kiį′*, *cʻici′į* 1st dative
we′cių, *ye′cių*, *ki′cių*, *’ųki′cių* to wear somebody's in his place; *cʻi′cių* I wear it in your place; no second dative.

§ 124. *’ų′pa* To Lay Down; To Smoke

’ų′pa to lay down, active, is regular, except that the possessive is contracted and the *c* before *į* glottalized.

we′c’įpa, *ye′c’įpa*, *kic’į′pa*, *’ųki′c’įpa* to lay down one's own

Datives:

we′ciųpa, *ye′ciųpa*, *ki′ciųpa*, *’ųki′ciųpa* to lay down in place of another with his sanction or knowledge
’e′mic’iųpa or *’e′mic’įpa*, *’e′nic’iųpa* or *e′nic’įpa*, *’e′ic’iųpa* or *’e′ic’įpa*, *’e′ųkic’iųpa* or *’e′ųkic’įpa* to lay one's self down
waki′ųpa, *yaki′ųpa*, *kių′pa*, *’ųki′ųpa* to lay down something, put up someone without the owner's sanction

’ų′pa to smoke, neutral

The pronouns are contracted in the same way as in *’ų*.

mų′pa, *nų′pa*, *’ų′pa*, *’ųk’ų′pa*

The possessive forms do not occur.

In the dative the neutral pronoun may be retained in the first person.

cʻąnų′pa, *we′ciųpa*, *ye′ciųpa*, *ki′ciųpa*, *’ųki′ciųpa* to smoke another one's pipe, to smoke in place of another one (not contracted like *’ų′pa* to lay down) always with object *cʻąli′* or *cʻąnų′pa*
waki′ųpa, *yaki′ųpa*, *kių′pa*, *’ųki′ųpa*, *cʻici′ųpa* to smoke another one's pipe without his sanction

§ 125. *yąka′* To Sit, *yųka′* To Lie, *’iyų′ġa* To Question About, *heyų′* To Tie a Bundle

In all these *may-* and *niy-* of the first and second persons are contracted before the following vowels to *m-* and *n-*, similar to the treatment of *ma-* and *ni-* in *’ų*. In the dual the initial *y* remains, except in *heyų′*.

The dative forms are active but may be combined with the neutral forms in the first and second persons.

mąka′, *nąka′*, *yąka′*, *’ųyą′ka* to sit
we′cimąka or *we′ciyąka*, *ye′cinąka* or *ye′ciyąka*, *ki′ciyąka*, *’ųki′ciyąka* to sit in place of someone else; *cʻi′ciyąka* I sit in your place
mųka′, *nųka′*, *yųka′*, *’ųyų′ka* to lie down (3d person *wąka′* in S Y)
we′cimųka or *we′ciyųka*, *ye′cinųka* or *ye′ciyųka*, *ki′ciyųka*, *’ųki′ciyųka* to lie down in place of someone; *cʻi′ciyųka* I lie in your place

’iyų′ġa to question about something, neutral.

’imų′ġa, *’inų′ġa*, *’iyų′ġa*, *’ųki′yųġa* (3d person *’iwą′ġa* in Santee).

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[24] See also p. 94.

From this transitive forms are derived:

’ic‘i′mųġa or *’ic‘i′yųġa* I question thee about it
’ima′yanųġa you question me about it
’ųki′niyųġapi we question thee about it
Also *’imi′c’iyųġa* I question myself about it
’iwe′cimųġa or *’iwe′ciyųġa, ’iye′cinųġa* or *’iye′ciyųġa, ’iki′ciyųġa, ’ųki′ciyųġa* to question about it in place of someone; *’ic‘i′ciyųġa* I ask about it on your behalf

heyų′ to tie a bundle

hemų′, henų′, heyų′, heų′yų (S; *heų′k’ų*? T)

§ 126. *yu′ta* To Eat

wa′ta, ya′ta, yu′ta, ’ųyu′ta to eat
c‘iyu′ta I eat thee, *niyu′ta* he eats thee, *’ųni′yuta,* we eat thee, *maya′luta* thou eatest me (double pronoun), *mayu′ta* he eats me, *’ųyu′ta* he eats us;—*wic‘a′wata, wic‘a′yata, wic‘a′yuta, wic‘ų′yuta* to eat several persons;—*g.lu′ta* he eats his own, *’ig.lu′ta* he eats himself

§ 127. Causative Verbs in *-ya* and *k‘iya*

CAUSATIVE VERBS IN *-ya*

This verb occurs only as a suffix. Instead of the forms *b.la* and *la* for the first and second persons, we find *waya* and *yaya.*

They aspirate the *ki* for the first dative. The second dative is divided into two forms. The form "instead of, in place of" inserts after *kici* another aspirate *c‘i* (<*k‘i*); the form "on his initiative" has the usual form. At present the 2d dative *b* is obsolescent. It seems likely that the 1st dative and the 2d dative (a) are derived from—*k‘iya,* not from—*ya* (see below)

	1st dative	2d dative		Possessive
		a in place of	*b* on one's own initiative	
1st person	*-wak‘iya*	*-wecic‘iya*	*-weciya*	*-wakiya*
2d person	*-yak‘iya*	*-yecic‘iya*	*-yeciya*	*-yakiya*
3d person	*-k‘iya*	*-kicic‘iya*	*-kiciya*	*-kiya*
Inclusive	*-ųk‘iya*	*-ųkicic‘iya*	*-ųkiciya*	*-ųkiya*

Examples:

’ina′żįwak‘iya I cause him to stand up; *’ina′żįwecic‘iya* I make it stand up in his place, with his sanction; *’ina′żįc‘icic‘iya* I — in your place, with your sanction, *((c‘i)* -thee; *-cic‘iya)*

CAUSATIVE VERBS IN *-k‘iya*

With neutral verbs and datives *-k‘iya* and *-ya* may be used in combination, and *-k‘iya* may appear twice in the same verb, the first part of which takes a subordinate form retaining the object:

sapma′k‘iya he causes mine to be black without my sanction
sapma′k‘iyewaya I am the unintentional cause of his causing mine to be black without my sanction
sapk‘i′yemayak‘iya you cause me to cause his to be black without his sanction
sapni′cic‘iyewak‘iya I cause him to cause yours to be black with your sanction
iki′ciyukcąmayak‘iya you made me think about it for him
ini′ciyukcąmak‘iya }
ic‘i′ciyųkcąmak‘iya } he made me think about it for you

’iye'ya to find

’iye'waya I find it
Possessive: *’iye'wakiya*
1st dative: *’iye'wak‘iya* I find it for him
2d dative *a: ’iye'wecic‘iya* I find it in his stead
2d dative *b: ’iye'weciya* I find his on my own initiative

Here belong also:

slolya' to know
slolki'ciya, he knows his (another one's) on his own initiative
slolki'cic‘iya he knows on his behalf

Verbs which have *-yą* instead of *-ya* (see p. 32) are treated in the same manner.

§ 128. *na'żį* To Stand

This verb reduplicates the first person entirely irregularly by including the first person in the reduplication.

na(wa')ṡ(wa)żįkį ną (wa)hi'yu (I) just stood about and came on

§ 129. *’eya'* To Say

’ep‘a', *’eha'*, *’eya'*, *’ųke'ya* to say
’ewa'kiya, *’eya'kiya*, *’eci'ya*, *’ųke'ciya* to say to another one; *’ec‘i'ciya* I say to you

Instead of the possessive, a reflexive is used: *emi'c’iya* I say on behalf of myself, lit. I say myself (obj.); 3d p. *ei'c’iya.*

’ewe'ciya, *’eye'ciya*, *’eki'ciya*, *’ųke'kiciya* to say in place of someone (also *’eki'cic‘iya*, etc.)

With demonstratives *leya'*, *heya'*, *ke'ya'*, *ta'keya.*

dual plural *leų'keya*, *heų'keya*, *ke'ų'keya*, *ta'keųkeya* to say to—; *lewa'kiya*, *leya'kiya*, *leci'ya*, *leų'kekiya* (more correctly, but not heard so often *leų'keciya*)

The other forms follow the same pattern. The dative has no demonstrative forms; instead *le'c‘el ewe'ciya* thus I said for him.

§ 130. *hiyu'* To Start To Come

Modern forms regular:

wahi'yu, *yahi'yu*, *hiyu'*, *’ųhi'yu*

Old forms, still in use about 1880:

hibu', *hilu'*, *hiyu'*, *ųhi'yu*

At present the form *hibu'* still occurs in old songs.

§ 131. *kų'za* To Decree, *ka'ġa* To Make

ka'ġa to make, lacks the series *waki-* and has instead *we'caġa* I make for him, *c‘i'caġa* I make it for you (without your sanction), *miye'caġa* you make it for me, etc.; and *c‘i'cicaġa* I make yours or I make it for you with your sanction (etc.). The possessive forms are irregular insofar as they aspirate the *c*, *we'c‘aġa* I make my own.

wakų'za to decree something, also lacks the series *waki-* and has instead *wawe'cųza* I decree something for him without his sanction and *wawe'cicųza* with his sanction, or in place of another one. The other forms follow the same pattern. As in *ka'ġa* the possessive has aspirate *c‘*, *we'c‘ųza* I decree something my own, *mic‘i'c‘ųza* for myself.

§ 132. Verbs in *t‘ų* and Others Inserting *ca*

Verbs in *t‘ų* to acquire, to wear, introduce *ca* in both datives. These forms are parallel to the verbs of motion with dative *ka* (see §111, p. 94).

hawe't‘ų I am dressed: *hawe'cat‘ų* 1st dative, *hawe'cicat‘ų* 2d dative
wap‘o'ṡtąwet‘ų I wear a hat: *wap‘o'ṡtawecat‘ų* 1st dative, *wap‘o'ṡtąwecicat‘ų* 2d dative

In the same way:

c'uwi'gnak-wet'ų I wear a dress;—*ip'i'yak-wet'ų* I wear a belt;—*'o'g.le-wet'ų* I wear a coat

In the first dative inserted *ca* is found in:

op'e't'ų to buy: *op'e'wecat'ų* I buy it for her without her sanction;—*op'c'wet'ų* I buy back my own, or *op'e'wakit'ų*;—*op'c'wecit'ų* I buy back his own with his (the same person's) sanction

c'et'i' to build a fire, is treated in the same way: *c'ewa'kit'i* I build a fire for a ceremony;—*c'ewe'cat'i* 1st dative, *c'ewe'cit'i* 2d dative;—*'oc'e'wakit'i* I build a fire in his (stove)

ką' to tell a tale: *we'caką* I tell it for him;—*we'cicaką* I tell in his place

§ 133. *'i-cu'* TO TAKE; *'a-tų'wą* TO LOOK AROUND FOR; *o-wa'* TO DRAW, WRITE

These insert *k* in the possessive:

iwe'kcu I take my own (i. e. take it back);—*awe'ktųwą* I look around for my own;—*o-we'gwa* I write my own (Western Ogalala)

§ 134. *ų'yą* TO LOSE

Possessive is another verb *wag.nu'ni* I lose my own:

1st dative *waki'ųyą* or rarely *waki'ųb.la*
2d dative *we'ciųyą* or rarely *we'ciųb.la*

§ 135. DEFECTIVE VERBS

yuk'ą' there is, exists

In T and Y only for indefinite collectives, like: he has horses, there are people; only 3d person singular.

According to Riggs this is a defective verb in Santee. The only forms he gives are:

yuk'ą' there exists;—*yuk'ą'pi* there exist;—*duk'ą'pi* you exist;—*'ųk'ą'(pi)* we (dual and plural) exist.

In Yankton this is used as continuative suffix in dual and plural, but without *pi*. In the first person dual and plural the pronoun precedes the verb that is made continuative (singular *yąka* unaccented).

'ųke'ya-yuk'ą we are saying (dual inclusive and plural; in Yankton the plural of the continuative has no *-pi*); *'eha'duk'ą* ye were saying; —*'ep'a'mąka* I am saying

Regular in Teton

mayu'k'ą there exists for me (I have) or *maki'yuk'ą*
niyu'k'ą there exists for thee (you have) or *nici'yuk'ą*
yuk'ą' there exists, *kiyu'k'ą*[25] they exist for him
yuk'ą'pi there exist for them, *'ųki'yuk'ą* there exist for us

'epca' I thought it[26]

No indefinite form with *to-*. No other persons.

'u'wa' come!

'u'wa yo' (man speaking), *'u'wa'* (woman speaking), *'u'wapo'* (man speaking), *'u'wapi'* (woman speaking), come! *'u' wo'* formal

§ 136. IRREGULAR ADVERBIAL FORMS

'ištį'ma to sleep, has the irregular adverbial form *'ų'štįma* 33.15, (<*'oi'štįma; 'oi'štįme* sleep, noun)

Analogous is S *'ų'ȟtata* (doubtful meaning; stem *-ȟtata* to be relaxed; lacking tension; *wayu'ȟtata* to offer sacrifice).[27] See also p. 60

'ų'h.daka (Santee) migrating; Teton: *'ig.la'ka* to migrate; *'oi'g.lake* migration

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[25] Homonym *kiyu'k'ą* he makes room for him, stem *k'ą*.

[26] With demonstratives *lepca', hepca', ke'pca'*.

[27] T *waų'yą*, Y *wo'šna*.

§ 137. RECIPROCAL [28]

The reciprocal expressing action of two or several without reference to a third is expressed by *kicʻi* which takes the position of personal pronouns. The first person is *we′cʻi*, the second *ye′cʻi*, the first person dual *’ųki′cʻi*.

> *’aki′cʻipʻapi* they struck each other;—*cʻaki′cʻipʻapʻapi* they stabbed each other 175.9;—*kicʻi′ktepi* they killed each other 175.10;—*kicʻi′zapi* they fought each other 175.9

When the first verb is in adverbial form *kicʻi* may stand with the active finite verb.

> *yu′s kicʻi′yąkahąpi* 194.11, or *kicʻi′yus yąka′pi* they were sitting holding each other

With other adverbial forms *kicʻi* is always attached to the finite verb.

> *’ehą′-kicʻi′ipi* then they came upon each other 175.6;—*hena′os ’e′l kicʻi′ipi s’a* the two always came to (visit) each other

These forms may also be subordinated: *’aki′cʻipʻa t’a′pi* they struck each other dead (striking each other they died).

A second reciprocal *’i′cʻi* has always initial position. It expresses fundamentally the idea that a third person handles objects in reference to each other, or that several persons handle each other in reference to something else.

> *kicʻi′caškapi* they tie up each other, *’i′cʻicaška* he ties them (inanimate) together;—*wąki′cʻiyakapi* they see each other; *’i′cʻiwąyaka* he sees them (comparing) the one to the other (inanimate), *’i′cʻiwąwicʻayaka* (animate);—*’ikʻo′yakicʻiyapi* they hold fast to each other (lit. they cause each other to be held fast to each other), *’i′cʻikʻoyakya* he causes them to hold fast to each other (inanimate).

With objective reference:

> *’ana′kicʻitąpi* they rush at each other, or at one another, *’i′cʻinatąpi* they rush (competing with each other) at something;—*’oki′cʻihom.nipi* they go around each other, *’i′cʻiohom.ni ku′pi* they come going (in regard to their coming) around each other. (The former would be a circular turning, the latter a foreward motion in which the one by a turn to the side avoids the other who is in his way);—*kʻaki′cʻipʻapi* they outdo each other, *’i′cʻikʻapeya* (adv.) outdoing each other in regard to;—*naki′cʻiwizipi* they are jealous of each other (without reference to the object of jealousy); *’i′cʻinawizipi* they are jealous of each other in reference to the object of jealousy;—*’i′cʻicakįzahą* it is making them squeak against each other

The forms in *’i′cʻi* appear generally in adverbial form.

> *’į′yą kį ’i′cʻiyapʻa ’ų′* the stones striking them against each other she used;—*kai′cʻiyopteya ’iwa′kazo* made into a cross, I draw them 4.2;—*’i′cʻicameya hą′* they stood making them rub against each other 21.14;—*’i′cʻipahaha hiyu′pi* they came out, by pushing tumbling over each other 195.2

§ 138. REFLEXIVE

The reflexive is formed by the element *ic’i* which follows the objective pronoun. *mic’i*, *nic’i*, *’ųki′c’i;* for instance, *cʻami′c’ipʻa*, *cʻani′c’ipʻa*, *cʻai′c’ipʻa*, *cʻaų′kic’ipʻa* to stab oneself.

In verbs with instrumental prefixes *ic’i* follows *wa*, *wo* and *na* (by cutting, by pushing from a distance, with the foot). In verbs with *pa* by pushing, it precedes the prefix.

> *wai′c’iksa* he cuts himself; *woi′c’iȟpa* he knocks himself over;—*nai′c’iȟtaka* he kicks himself;—*sap’i′c’iya* he blackens himself;—*zuzeca-’ic’i′cʻaǧa* he made himself into a snake 28.5;—*’į′yąk-’ic’i′cʻiya* he caused himself to run;—*nii′c’iya* he saved himself (caused himself to live) 30.1;—*waų′kaic’ilala* he regarded himself as a little important one (*wa-* indefinite; *’ų′* to be; *ka* kind of; *la* to consider; *la* diminutive) 49.7

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[28] See also p. 79.

Verbs with initial *y* (or *y* taking the pronouns *bl, l*) and those with the prefix *ka* have the reflexive forms *mig.l, nig.l, 'ig.l, 'ųkig.l* related to the possessive forms. (See p. 87.)

mig.lu'ha I support (have) myself;—*mig.lu'ska* I clean myself;—*ig.lu'ḣlaḣlata* he clawed himself repeatedly 40.3;—*mig.la'wašte* I praise myself;—*mig.la'hų* (*kahų'*) I gash myself;—*igla'itom.ni* he made himself dizzy 45.2

tʻig.la'ġa to pitch one's own tent is formed from *tʻi-ca'ġa* as though *ka* were an instrumental

The same reflexives are used for indirect objects: *wami'c'iksa* I cut myself or I cut for myself (for my own use).

Verbs in *ya-, yu-, ka-* may form double reflexives.

mig.la'šica I complain of bad treatment, *mic'i'g.lašica* I speak badly of myself;—*tąyą' ig.lu'za* he dresses well, *šica'ya ig.lu'za* he dresses badly, *ic'i'g.luza* he holds on to it for himself;—*mig.lu'štą* I am through, *mic'i'g.luštą* I finish it for myself;—*kasu'ta* to harden by striking, *ig.la'suta* he hardens himself, *ic'i'g.lasuta* he hardens it for himself

On the whole these double reflexives express indirect reflexives.

Reflexives in which *ic'i* changes to *ici'* after nasalized vowels:

ą-ic'i contracted to *įci: šką* to be active, *ški'ciya* to move, struggle, *šką'miciya* I struggle;—*m.nayą'* to collect, *m.nį'ciyapi* they assemble;—*nihį'ciya* (instead of *nihą'-ic'iya*) to be scared

'oic'i contracted to *ųci: 'ų'cihišni* to be lazy (instead of *'oi'c'ihišni* he is unable to help himself);—*'oki'kpani* to fail, *ų'cikpani* (instead of *'oi'c'ikpani*) to fail one's self, i. e., to be lazy

kte' regular, except one specialized form: *ic'i'kte* he kills himself (regular); *ici'kte* he kills himself by choking, hanging

§ 139. CONTINUATIVE

The continuative is expressed by the unaccented suffix *hą* (from *hą'* to stand) in Teton; by *yąka* to sit, in the singular, by *yukʻą* in dual and plural in Yankton.

p'e'ta kį 'ile'ya he'' the fire stands burning; *p'e'ta kį 'ile'he'* the fire continues to burn

'oma'ni-yahą škʻe'' it is said he was going about to travel 1.1;—*'eya'hąpi* they were saying 20.3;—*'išto'g.mus wacʻi'hąpi* with closed eyes they were dancing 21.5;—*'e'l wi'yukcą yąka'hą ške''* there cogitating he was sitting it is said (lit. sitting he stood!) 23.6

Yankton:

'ųke'yayukʻą we (dual inclusive and plural) were saying; *eha'dukʻą* you (plural) were saying; *eya'yukʻą* they were saying

Santee:

cʻe'ya-yąka she was crying R 145.8

Another form of the continuative which rather stresses the existence of an individual or object in a certain condition is formed from the contracted verb and the verb *'ų* to exist.

psi'l 'ų'pi they exist (are) jumping about 48.1 *ni' 'ų'* he is alive 15.8

'ų' to exist, is used for living beings; *'icʻa'ġa* to grow for plants, both to express permanent existence.

he'l 'ų'' there he lives, exists; or *he'l 'oų'ye* there he has his place of existence;—*makʻa' aką'l 'ų'pi k'ų* those who existed on the earth 2.14;—*tąyą' 'o'p 'ų' skʻe''* nicely with them she stayed 89.7

'ų is also used to express an activity that is continued persistently while one is occupied with other matters.

cʻe'ya 'ų'pi ke' it is said they were crying all the time (while attending to other things) 13.4;—*ma'niyą 'ų'* he is walking about (e. g. being distracted, roving)

'ų used for living beings may also take the continuative *hą*.

For inanimate objects *'ų* always implies that they are in a container, like seeds in a melon, clothing in a box, bag or any other container, but not within an enclosure, as within a stockade or corral.

wąži′ 'icu′, *'o′ta 'ų′ we* take one! there are many in it; but *wąži′ 'icu′*, *'o′ta ye* take one! there are many (not in a container);—*wi′yatke kį mahe′l m.ni′ 'ų′'* inside the container is water

NOTE.—The verb *'e′* is used only for identifying a particular individual.

le′ šų′ka' this is a dog, or fuller *le′ sų′ka 'eya′pi kį he′c'a'* this is what they call a dog, it is of that kind; but *le′ šų′ka kį 'e′'* this is the dog (we expected to see), or *le′ šų′ka k'ų 'e′'* this is the dog we were talking about;—*he′ 'ate′ 'e′'* that is my father;—*'ikto′mi he′ 'e′'* it was Iktomi 16.12;—*wahte′šni kį le′ e′* — the worthless one, this is the one (who —) 90.10

§ 140. FUTURE

The future is expressed by *kta* which changes preceding changeable *a* to *į*. The *a* of *kta* is changeable.

wąya′kį kta he will see him
t'į′ kte šni he is not going to die

The future expresses also the obligatory must. An urgent order is formed by adding *tako′m.ni* whatever may happen. A milder form is:

yį′kta iye′c'eca it is likely that he will go; *yį′kta-iye`c'eca* he ought to go

§ 141. NEGATIVE

The negative is expressed by *šni* which changes terminal *a* of verbs that admit change to *e*. It is so closely connected with the verb that the adverbial suffix *-ya* follows the negative.

šni expresses a special negation; when the negation is general, inclusive, the preceding indefinite pronoun, or numeral, has the suffix *ni* (in Yankton *na*).

tuwe′ kį wąb.la′kešni' I did not see who it was
tuwe′ni wąb.la′kešni' I did not see anyone

'ųma′ wąb.la′kcšni' I did not see the one (but the other one)
'ųma′ni wąb.lo′kešni' I saw neither the one nor the other

wį′yą tuwe′ni wąb.la′kešni' I did not see any woman among them

wąži′šni' it is not one (but another number)
wąži′nišni' it is not one (of that group)

to′k'i m.nį′ktešni' I am not going away, to some particular place
to′k'iyani m.nį′ktešni' I am not going anywhere at all

ta′ku wac'į′šni' I have no wants
ta′kuni wac'į′šni' I do not want anything at all

ta′k to′k'amųktešni' I am not going to do anything particular
ta′kuni ec'a′mųktešni' I am not going to do anything at all

The negative interrogative is also expressed by *šni* which however is not followed by a glottal stop.

kinaš 'ina′-t'oka`p'a kį kic'i′ le′šni in that case, how about my eldest mother's sister going along with you? 9.1
'oma′yanišni' you are not walking about
'oma′yanišni why don't you walk about?

Also with double negation intensifying the negation:

'oma′yanišni šni why don't you not walk about, i. e., why don't you stay at home? 9, note 2;—*kįš wala′wašni šni* why don't you not read? i. e., why don't you stop reading;—*'iyo′k'išni šni* why did he not forbid him?;—*waya′tešni šni* why do you not not eat, i. e., *do* eat!;—*ehą′ni 'eša′š b.le′šni šni* I wish (now) I had not gone;—*wąca′k 'e′š ųg.le′šni šni* why not simply not go home, you and I;—*he′c'ųšni šni* he ought not to do that

Intensification of the negative by repetition of *šni* occurs particularly in adverbs.

'ec'į′šnišniyą; 'ekta′šnišniyą wrongly, adversely;—*'it'ų′šnišniyą* falsely (*'i′* mouth;—*t'ų* to have);—*'ista′ kį nat'ą′įšnišniyą* with eyes not showing 239.1;—*niya′šnišni* all out of breath (adv.) 272.17

Verbs which include *ṡni* in the theme form a negation by the usual process of suffixing *ṡni*.

'iye'ṡni to be dumb;—*ma'niṡni* to be lame;—*ṡi'ceṡni* not to be spoiled;—*ḣpeca'ṡni* to be lively (*ḣpa* lying down);—*ṡpu'keṡni* to be a nuisance

Double negative also expresses repetition.

wica'laṡniṡnike c'e'yaṡ 'e'yayapi although he frequently demurred they took him along;—*'ecʻį'ṡniṡniyą 'e'tųwe'* he looked away repeatedly (*ecʻį'* to want, *ecʻį'keṡni* to be disinclined)

Also with indefinite pronouns: *taku'ṡniṡni* trifles; *tuwe'ṡniṡni* anyone whoever it may be. *tase'—ka* a strong negation:

tase'm.nį'kte ca I am not going to go (an absolute refusal);—*tase' he'cʻetu ka* that is not the way!;—*tase' he'cʻel wacʻį'ka* I do not want it like that!

Men preface *tase'* often by the exclamation *oḣ* or *hoḣ*, women by *hiya* no. In a simple answer *hiya'* is accented.

§ 142. *ṡna* USUALLY

ṡna is used adverbially. It does not change terminal *a* to *e*. *waa'pʻaṡna oma'ni* he goes about striking people. It is more idiomatic to attach it to adverbs, particularly those derived from demonstratives or indefinite adverbs.

'eya'ṡna waa'pʻa 'oma'ni' well, he always goes about striking people;—*ta'ku wacʻį' cʻąṡna wala''* whenever I want anything, it being so always I ask for it;—*tohą'l ku' cʻą'ṡna 'utʻe''* when he comes home that being so always he shoots (whenever he comes home he shoots);—*le'cʻeṡna 'ecʻa'mų s'a* in this manner I usually do it;—*he'lṡna wau''* there I usually stay;—*tukte'lṡna waya'ta he?* where as a rule do you eat?

The following series are all idomatic and the *ṡna* merely emphasizes various aspects:

le'cʻiyatąhąṡna 'ece' tʻoke'ya pusya' 'iye'waye' on this side regularly exclusively first I dry it; *le'cʻiyatąhą 'ece'ṡna tʻoke'ya pusya' 'iye'waye'* on this side exclusively regularly first I dry it; *le'cʻiyatąhą 'ece' tʻoke'yaṡna pusya' 'iye'waye'* on this side exclusively first regularly I dry it; *le'cʻiyatąhą 'ece' tʻoke'ya pusya'ṡna 'iye'waye'* on this side exclusively first I dry it regularly

In other words *ṡna* adds the idea of regular action to the word it immediately follows.

§ 143. *s'a* REGULARLY, HABITUALLY

s'a changes terminal *a* of the verb to which it is attached, when changeable, to *e*. The *a* of *s'a* is not changeable (*ece'* Y *ece'* or *ce'* S do not change terminal *a*)

he'cʻų s'a he did that regularly 145.3, 277.1
he'cʻi tʻe'hąhą 'ų' s'a there he used to stay a long time 232.12
'o'we hą'hąpila s'a they make jokes regularly 27.5
'oya'kapi s'a they tell it habitually 216.17

§ 144. QUOTATIVE

1. Statements known by hearsay are indicated by *ṡkʻa'*, terminally *ṡkʻe''*. (For *ṡkʻa* although, see p. 175, note 93.)

'eya' ṡkʻe'' he said, it is said 1.6
'ini'laḣcį hi'yotaka ṡkʻe'' very quietly she came and sat down, it is said 64.7

Sometimes *ke''*, probably derived from *ke'ya'* "thus he said," is used instead of *ṡkʻe''*.

cʻį'ṡni ke'' he would not, it is said 9.2
'eya' ke'' he said, it is said 65.13

2. When the statement or thought of a definite person is quoted, the quotation may end with *lo* (*le*), *ye*, *cʻe* or *k'ų*. The first is used for the present or future; the second for an obligatory future; the third for the past. The glottal stop is not used at the end of the quotation. *cʻe*

is also used in formal speeches when the future is determinate; it also designates something unescapable on account of supernatural sanctions.

> *yį′kta c‘e ’eye′*, “he shall go,” he said;—*wic‘a′ṡa kį le′ zuya′ yį′kta c‘e, ’eye′* “this man shall go to war,” he said;—*c‘ųkṡ, le′ nų′kta c‘e, ’ate′ ’eyį′ ną ṡina′ wą waṡte′ maka′g.li′* “daughter, you shall wear this,” father said and brought for me a beautiful blanket;—*m.nį′kteṡni c‘e ’ep‘e′ cį* I say, “I am not going” (so why do you pester me, see p. 158);—*hį′hąna kįhą hųka′yapi t‘isya′ hiyo′take cįhą, t‘ąka′n ’ina′-wap‘įkta c‘e, ’eya′* “tomorrow when the sun (ceremonial term) when it firmly arrives sitting down, outside I shall step,” he said (Santee).

k’ų expresses the past. It is the past article. (See p. 133.)

> *’ehą′ni ’iya′ye c’ų, ’eye′* “long ago he started,” he said;—*’iya′ye c’ų, ’eye′* “he has gone,” he said;—*nawa′te kį he′l mi′ṡ mawą′k‘ala k’ų, ’eye′* “my temples there I have (always) been weak” 26.7;—*’iyu′kcą waku′ k’ų, ’eye′* “thinking of it I came,” he said;—*le′ e′ k’ų ’eye′* “this is he,” she said;—*ka′k‘i m.nį′kte c’ų, eya′* “I am or was about to go there,” he said

’ec‘į′ to think, may be used with the same forms, but the sentences in *c‘e* must be determinate.

> *’ehą′ni ’iya′ye c’ų, ’ec‘į′* “long ago he started,” he thought;—*yewi′c‘awayį′kta c‘e ’ec‘į′* “I shall make them go” he thought; but not *wic‘a′ṡa kį zuya′ yį′kta c‘e, ’ec‘į′* “the man shall go to war,” he thought, (because it might happen that he refuses). On the other hand *m.nį′kta c‘e, ’ec‘į′* “I’ll go,” he thought, is possible

In other verbs that might be used with a quotative *’eya′* is always used, p. e., *wic‘a′ṡa kį lena′ zuya′ ’a′yįkta c‘e, ’eya′-yustą′* “these men shall go to war,” he said finished, i.e., “he decided.”

3. When expressing one’s own thoughts, in remarks not requiring an answer, or in a remark expressing thoughts in soliloquy the terminal particle *ke* is used.

> (*’it‘o′*) *ka′ki b.la′ ke* (*’ec‘ą′mi*) (well,) there I’ll go (I think).
> *’it‘o′ wo′wak’u ke, ’ec‘į′pi* well, I’ll give him food, they thought

When *’ec‘į′* is not used, the *e* of *ke* is lengthened with falling tone.

§ 145. *ki* TAKE CARE LEST! (S *kį, nųce′*)

> *he′c‘ų s’a ke c’ų niya′ye ci lo′* she always does somewhat that way, take care lest you let her live (*niya′* to cause to live) 145.3
> *wani′c’ihų ki lo′* take care lest you cut yourself!
> *niya′ȟtakc ci lo′* take care lest he bite you!

Compare:

> *ayu′ṡtą yo′! wani′c’ihųktc* stop! you will cut yourself!
> *mi′la kį he′ ’iya′cu hą′tąhąṡ wani′c’ihųkte se′ce lo′* if you take the knife you will cut yourself it is probable

§ 146. *ke′* RIDICULING

> *’eya′ ke′* that is what *you* say! lit. that is what he says
> *he′c‘ų ke′* that is what *you* do! (lit. 3d person)

This may be contracted from *ke′ya′* he said that.

§ 147. *s’e* AS THOUGH

s’e is used adverbially. It changes terminal *a* of the verb to which it is attached, when changeable, to *e*.

> *c‘ą′ yusna′pi s’e ’iha′kap hina′p‘e′* as though rustling trees were following him he ran out 276.16
> *mi′yog.las’į hiyu′yapi s’e* like flashes being sent 209.17
> *c‘ąg.le′ṡka s’e ’iyų′ka ke′* like a hoop he lay, it is said 215.15
> *t‘at‘ą′ka s’e le′c‘eca* like a buffalo bull this was 217.6
> *sįte′ nak‘a′p yeki′ye s’e ’iya′ya* the tail as though kicking her own she started off 189.5
> *he′l tąyą′ s’e le′c‘eca* there as though it was good this was 194.1

§ 148. ADVERSATIVE *ṡ*

The terminal *ṡ* is primarily an adversative element, often only with emphatic meaning. It occurs with pronouns and many adverbial and conjunctival elements. With personal pronouns, it always requires a precedent, the opposite of what is to be emphasized.

With pronouns:

mi′ṡ-’eya′ I also 2.9, 236.10
’i′ṡ-’eya′ he also 43.2
ho′, ni′ṡ nitu′we huwo′? well, now you, who are you? 29.1
ho′ ikto`, ni′ṡ hehą′tu we lo′ well, Ikto, you are next! 34.5
mi′ṡ miye′ kį mak‘i′li ye lo′ but I, the one who is I, am all right 40.1
miye′ṡ I at least, synonym of *miye′k’eṡ* (*mi-e′k’eṡ*) 29.10
ig.la′tąhe lo′; miye′ka ye′ṡ hep‘e′ṡni kį he is boasting; even I do not say that!

With adverbs and conjunctions:

wana′ṡ now indeed 27.15;—*’ak‘e′ṡ* again indeed 25.1;—*le′ṡ* here indeed 27.2;—*to′k‘eniṡ* in no wise 29.13;—*’a′tayaṡ* at all indeed 51.9;—*nąṡ* and indeed 186.11, 187.1;—*tok‘a′ṡ* perhaps (it being indeed somehow) 26.5; *hąb.le′b.leṡ* extraordinarily (from *hąb.le′* to seek a vision)
niya′te t’a′ c‘aṡ wana′ huhu′ ’oka′b.lelya yųke′ cį your father is dead, so indeed now his bones being scattered he lies 16.9 (see also 27.8)
’i′ṡe′ lehą′l ni′ ’ų′ yų′k‘ą′ṡ ’ani′lowąpi k‘o′kta tk‘a′ ye′ really up to now alive (if) he existed, then, indeed, they would even sing over you 15.8 (see § 165, p. 147)
he′hą′niṡ mat’į′kta tk‘a′ k’e′yaṡ wak‘ą′yela lehą′ wahi′’ at that time indeed I should have died, but miraculously up to this time I arrived (live)
wana′ nake′ṡ ’iya′ya now certainly indeed he went away 22.13

’e′ṡ literally: but it is it; giving emphasis to the contrast between an expected event and an actual occurrence; therefore often "instead" (see p. 159):

le′c‘el-yaų`ke cį ’e′ṡ taku′ȟcį k‘oya′kip‘e se′ce lo′ you the one who exists this way (contrary to expectation), you probably fear something 3.8;—*’e′ṡ to′k* how about it? (unexpectedly what?) 26.5;—*’e′ṡ wana′ niya′te tąyą′ ’a′ya he?* (although hardly to be expected) is your father now getting well?;—*he′ ’e′ṡ wąb.la′ke’* that much I saw;—*he′ṡ k‘ola′waye se′ce ’ų′* but he seemed to be my friend!—*t‘ąka′l ’e′ṡ ṡka′ta′* instead (of indoors) play out-of-doors!;—*he′c‘el ’e′ṡ* instead of being thus 22.16;—*itu′ka ye′ṡ* anyway instead 66.19;—*mat‘a′peȟ’ą ye′ṡ k‘o′ ahi′hųni* even toads also arrived 73.2;—*wo′yute ye′ṡ to′k‘a-iwa`g.niṡni* I cannot even get food 34.16

’e′ṡ ’e′ṡ anyway:

’e′ṡ ’e′ṡ wo′ważażakta-iye`hątu c‘a e′na k‘eṡ makį′kte anyway it is time for me to wash, it being so I'll just stay home;—*tok‘į′ṡ-’eṡ ’e′ṡ heya′ c‘a ’ec‘a′mųkte* according to my wish he said it and so I'll do it [1]

Unaccented *’eṡ* expresses a weak emphasis, like German "doch"

’ec‘e′l (*’eṡ*) *’e′wic‘aktųżapi* so they forgot them 9.10;—*he′c‘el* (*’eṡ*) *c‘į′ṡni s’a k’ų* that way she did not want 46.5;—*he′c‘el* (*’eṡ*) *wo′teṡni-* this he did not eat 22.16;—*t‘i ma′hcl* (*’eṡ*) *k‘igle′’* he went back into the house
he′c‘el ’eṡ is often contracted to *he′c‘eṡ* 1.1; 30.1; 77.6;—with plural *pi-’eṡ>peṡ: ’awi′c‘ap‘apeṡ* even when they struck them;—*’i′ṡ-’eṡ-’ekel-’eṡ* by the way

Various uses:

c‘e′ṡ at end of a statement, though 22.10; who knows! *to′k‘i nį′kte ca c‘e′ṡ* where you will go, who knows!
t‘o′wa′ṡ le′ wag.lu′ṡtąkta tk‘a′ I really wanted to finish this first
’e′ṡ to′k, misų` tok‘a′ṡ tukte′l niwą′k‘ala se′ce how about it, little brother, in some way indeed somewhere you may be weak 26.5
ta′ku waṡte′ k‘eṡ ihą′kyapi kį something good but regularly they destroy it 23.8
lec‘a′ṡ just a moment ago (see § 155, no. 29, p. 121)
lec‘a′laṡ t’e′ c’ų having died just now 13.7
’eyaṡ t‘a′ȟca p‘a′ kį li′la kap’o′żela as is well known indeed, a deer's head is very light 28.12
hą′tąhąṡ if that should happen, then 12.6, 8
’eha′ṡ to′k‘el ec‘ų′kta t‘ąį′ṡni’ that was too much! how he would act was not clear 23.4
kinaṡ ina′-t‘oka`p‘a kį kic‘i′ le′ṡni? In that case, with my eldest mother's sister, will you not go along? 9.1

---

[1] *tok‘į′ṡ*, see optative, p. 111.

> *he′c‘eṡ* a general introductory particle used in tales 30.1
> *tk‘a′ṡ wona′ wac‘o′k’į ną wapa′sną k’ų hena′ iyu′ha hena′lo ṡk‘e’* but now the roastings in ashes and those on spits were all gone 22.15
> *naį′ṡ* or, else (see § 165, p. 144)

’aka′ṡ no wonder 2.8.

For *k’e′yaṡ* see p. 145.

The meanings of the pronouns, demonstratives, adverbs and conjunctions which are emphasized by *-ṡ* will be found discussed under their proper headings.

A number of modifiers which follow verbs begin with *ṡ*. These are *ṡna* usually (p. 106), *ṡni* negation (p. 105), and *ṡehą′*. Notwithstanding its apparent initial position it may be identical with the adversative *ṡ*. *ṡna* may possibly contain the unaccented ending *-na* (p. 120) used with demonstratives; *ṡni* may be based on the negative *ni*. *ṡehą′* by this (or that) time (Y. *hehą′*) is evidently derived from *’ehą′* (p. 117); also *ṡehą′ ṡtuk‘a* this time without fail 185.10; *ṡehą′l ’e’* (Y. *hehą′n ’e’*) now (is the time to do something that previously was inappropriate)

§ 149. DECLARATIVE PARTICLES AND END OF SENTENCE

1. The end of a declarative statement of a commonly known fact, or the mere statement of a fact previously not known to the hearer and without expression of an opinion regarding it is expressed by the terminal glottal stop, both by men and women. Changeable terminal *a* becomes *e;* all other vowels take the glottal stop without any change.

> *hehą′yela ’owi′hąke’* there it ends 5.11;—*’awą′yak k‘uwa’* watching him she followed him 8.4;—*leye’* she said as follows 8.4;—*hį′hąna c‘ąke′ heye’* next morning then he said that what follows 176.12;—*slolye′ṡni’* he did not know 176.16;—*wana′ ’į′yąkapi’* now they ran 177.2;—*mağa′żu’* it is raining;—*lak‘o′ta’* he is a Dakota

2. The particle *ye* is attached to stems ending in unchangeable *a* or *ą*, or in *e, i, į*, With changeable *a* or *ą* it is contracted to *e;* after *o, u, ų* it takes the form *we*. (See p. 29.) With the plural *pi* it forms *pe*. In various types of sentences it appears accented and unaccented.

Exclamatory sentences, i. e., sentences calling attention to immediately present states or actions, generally introduced by an unaccented demonstrative (see p. 115) close with unaccented *ye*, man or woman speaking.

> *le na′żį ye* here he stands!—*he yąke′* there he is (sits)! (accented, because contracted from *yąka′ ye*);—*he′c‘iyatąhą le wau′ we* (see here!) from there I am coming!;—*he ’oma′niyope* there they are going on a trip!

When an intention is expressed in soliloquy or in a remark not directed at any one in particular (which can be only in the first person singular) men and women use the unaccented future *kte<ktaye*.

> *’it‘o′ wog.nį′kte* suppose I go home! (synonym *’it‘o′ wag.la′kê*);—*’it‘o′ ’oma′ni-mnįkte* suppose I go walking! 109.7

Energetic statements followed by an imperative that has an inner relation to the statement also use the form in unaccented *ye*, man or woman speaking.

> *’iṡtį′me ’ini′la yąka′ po′* (synonym *’iṡtį′ma, c‘e ’ini′la yąka′ po′*) he is asleep! be quiet!;—*’osni′ye t‘ima′ g.la′ yo′* (synonym *’osni′ c‘e t‘ima′ g.la′ yo′*) it is cold! go in!;—*takų′l ’iwa′hoųniyąpikte ’ina′ȟni yo′* some message we will send by you! hurry! 236.13;—*waho′ṡi-wahi ye naȟ’ų′ po′* (synonym *c‘e* for *ye* 4.7) I come bringing a message! listen!;—*le′c‘ų we wąya′ko po′* (synonym *c‘e* for *we*) see him doing this! (*le′c‘ų kį wąya′ka po′* would mean: watch the doing of this!)

The synonym forms in *c‘e* are presumably derived from *c‘a ye*. (See p. 146.)

Direct quotations of statements which, when not quoted would end with a glottal stop end in unaccented *ye, c‘e* or *k’ų*. (See p. 106.) These are followed by *’eya′* he said, or *’ec‘į′* he thought.

'ec'a he'ktatąhą nakį'kte, 'eya'pi' "then you will sit behind," they said 91.10;—*c'ą' 'au'yewaye, 'eya'-ho`uya ke''* "I caused him to grow on a tree," she said sending out her voice, it is said, 178.10;—*mit'ą' hįg.na'kula kį li'la wag.la'ȟce, 'eye''* "my younger sister's miserable husband I abhor very much," said she 202.9;—*to'k'a-'ib.lab.lešni ye', 'cye''*" I cannot go further," said she 217.18;—*'ece'ṡ li'la c'e'ye s'a ye, 'eya'pi'* "he is crying too much," they said 268.6;—*'awi'c'a-wag.li ye, 'eye''* "I brought them home," he said 53.12;—*'it'o' we'caġįkte, 'ec'į''* she thought, "I'll make it for him" 198.11;—*tų'hįniṡ hi'šni k'ų, 'cye''* "the one who never came before," said she 174.2;—*he' wo't'eȟi-wakila k'ų̂, 'eye''* "I consider that hard on me," said she 178.14;—*tuwe'ni 'o' 'oki'hišni k'ų, 'eye''* "nobody is able to hit it," she said 110.9;—*'ina' 'u'pikte c'ų, 'eye''* or *'ina' 'u'pikte, 'eye''* "my parents will come," he said

Sometimes the *k'ų* would be used also, if the statement were not in quotation. In those cases it expresses an emotional attitude. (See p. 158.)

sak'i'p 'ųt'i'kte se'ce 'ų (for *k'ų*) I supposed we would camp together (disappointment) 254.1

NOTE.—In a number of cases quotations end in *kį* (after changed *a*, *cį*). These refer always to emotional attitudes. (See p. 158.)

niye'ṡ 'ik'i'yela nųke' cį you are nearby (so why don't you do it) 196.3

The quotation *lak'o'ta-wįyą kį* 269.9 is merely a nominal exclamation.

The particles *lo*, man speaking, *le*, woman speaking are employed following *ye*. The use of these forms by men and women is somewhat distinct. *ye lo* is used for any declarative statement intended to interest the hearer or as a remark not addressed to any particular person. It always implies a personal opinion of the speaker. When used to close a sentence expressing a well-known fact or one previously not known to the hearer it can be applied only by persons of authority.

'ekta' wic'a'b.le lo' thither to them I go 2.7;—*k'ica'kse lo'* he has broken it in two 10.4;—*waȟté'malašni ye lo'* she does not consider me very good (she hates me) 97.13;—*mama'kinų we lo'* he steals it from me 97.17

In soliloquy or addressing no one in particular men use the same *ye lo* as in statements including an opinion, rarely *ye* alone; women use *ye le* with accent varying according to emotional state.

Man speaking:

lekši' wic'a'kte se'ce lô maybe he killed my uncles 90.11;—*hųhųhê, le' li'la mapa'żipe lô* well, well! this one is certainly stinging me 131.16;—*ta'ku lu'ta iye'c'ecašni ye lo'* nothing is red like it 137.12;—also without *lo: hį'sko-t'ąka 'ų' maka't'įkte se'ce* maybe she will kill me with the one so large 173.16

Woman speaking:

'iye' 'eha' makte' ye lê that he should kill me! 173.18;—*to'k'ešk'e ta'ku 'iyo'kip'išni se'ce le'* something must not be pleasing to him 272.1;—*'oi'yokišice lê* it is saddening 16.3

Women, in addressing particular persons are not expected to express an opinion. For this reason they do not use *le*, but merely the accented *ye'*.

hena' 'ec'e'l 'ec'ų'k'ųpikte' those accordingly we shall do 14.1;—*'ima'ġaġaic'iya ho'hotela we'c'ų wac'į' ye'* amusing myself to use swinging I desire 167.7;—*wic'a'yute'* he eats them 55.1;—*'oka'lalaya he'* (<*hą'*) scattered they (inanimate) stand 14.5;—*hehą'yą 'owa'kihišni ye'* I am no longer able 52.8;—*lena' 'au'maši ye'* he ordered me to bring these 200.13; *'awa'u we'* I bring it 199.18

The *ye lo'* used by man, and the *ye'* and *ye le'* used by women do not change to unaccented forms in quotations.

In indirect discourse the particle *ye* is not used.

'ųci' nįkte'kta ke'ye' lo' grandmother says that she will kill you 188.3;—*'u'kta ke'ye''* he says that he will come 206.13

When shouting the glottal stop is omitted. It is not used with the imperative, interrogative, optative, and negative sentences in *tase' — ka*. Exclamatory statements are similar to the permissive imperative used by women, except that in stems ending in changeable *a* the ending *aye* is contracted to *e*.

Doubtful statements ending in *se′ce, hųṡe`, nac‘e′ce* have no glottal stop. It is also absent in the future *kte* (<*ktaye*) that does not imply the certainty of the future action.

§ 150. OPTATIVE

tok‘i (or *t‘ųkį*) — *ni* expresses probability of fulfilment of wish. In Santee *nųwe′* is used instead of *ni*.

> *tok‘i he′c‘etu ni′* I wish it were so!—*t‘ųkį t‘e′hą-wani ni′* would that I live long!—*t‘ųkį wani′yetu mao′taṡnihąni mat’a′ni′* would that ere I had not too many years, I die!—*tok‘i mat’a′ ni′*—*tok‘i mi′ṡ ’eya′* wish that I might die!—Would that I too! (imitation of the calls of certain birds to each other)

’eṡa′ — *ṡni*, expresses improbability of fulfilment (S. *eṡta′*)

> *’eṡa′ le′-’ąpe`tu kį wa′map‘i ṡni*! oh, if I would fare well today!—*’eṡa′ le′-b.loke`tu kį wawi′c‘aġe ṡni!* oh, if things would grow this summer!—*’eṡa′ hi′ ną wana′ nihų′ ’aki′sni ke′ye′ ṡni!* oh, if he would come and say that your mother is well now!—*’ehą′ni ’eṡa′ he′c‘amų ṡni!* oh, if I had done that first!
>
> *’eṡa′* alone means "even" 35.2; "at least" 20.7

When the optative expresses a wish that cannot be fulfilled *k’eṡ* is used.

> *ka ’u′ kį he′ ’ate′ ’e′ k’eṡ* oh! if the one coming yonder had been my father; compare the hypothetical statement *ka ’u′ kį he′ ’ate′ ’e′ yų′k‘ą′ṡ m.nį′kta tk‘a*" if that one coming had been my father I should have gone (see p. 112)

§ 151. INTERROGATIVE

he used by both sexes in formal speech.

so (Yankton *se*) used by both sexes in conversation; changes terminal *a* of verbs that admit of change to *e*

huwo′ used by men;—*huwô* a rhetorical question.

huwe′ used by women as a rhetorical question.

> *to′k‘eṡk‘e c‘iye′ ’oho′walaṡni ’iye′c‘el wac′c‘amųkta he* how can I do what will disgrace my elder brother? 181.4
>
> *to′k‘a he* what is the matter? 8.4
>
> *ta′ku yac‘į′ he* what do you want?
>
> *hena′ ta′ku c‘a yak’į′ huwo′* what are those you carry on your back? 20.4
>
> *hųhųhe′, tok‘e misų′kala le′ ’e′la so*, oh, is it my little brother? 25.3
>
> *ta′ku to′k‘anų so* what are you doing?
>
> *to′k‘a c‘a heya′ huwô* why does he say that? (soliloquy, 176.8)
>
> *mic‘į′kṡi to′kel k‘a′ huwô* what does my son mean? 176.13
>
> *to′k‘eṡk‘e le′ ’oma′yani huwo′* how (does it happen that) you travel this way? (expecting an answer) 241.2

§ 152. IMPERATIVE

The imperative is expressed by postpositional particles which differ according to the sex of the speaker.

	Woman speaking	*Man speaking*
Command	*na* (often omitted)	sing. *yo′, wo′*; plur. *po′*
Permission	sing. *ye′ we′*, plur. *pe′*	
Mild request (please)	sing. *ye′*	plur. *pi ye′* (Santee *mi ye′*)

All these are accented, except *na*. When *na* is omitted the terminal syllable of the verb is accented. It seems probable that the plurals *po′* and *pe′* have originated by contraction from *pi-yo′* and *pi-ye′*. The *ye′* remains unchanged in the form for a mild request while the permissive *ye′* w. sp. and *yo′* m. sp. change to *we′* and *wo′* after *u, ų, o*.

The form for mild request requires change of the terminal *a* of verbs into *i*. Those verbs that retain terminal stem *a* in the future also retain it in the imperative.

Examples are:

kaṡka′ yo′, *kaṡka′ po′* tie it (singular, plural, man ordering or permitting)
kaṡka′ na or *kaṡka′* tie it! (singular and plural, woman ordering)
kaṡka′ ye′, *kaṡka′ pe′* tie it! (singular, plural, woman permitting)
kaṡki′ye′, *kaṡka′pi ye′* please tie it (singular, plural, man or woman requesting)

Man speaking:

c‘c yui′naȟni po′ so make haste! 4.10;—*c‘e naȟ’ų′ po′* so listen! 4.7;—*ho po′* attention! 4.7; 20.10;—*wic‘a′kte po′* kill them! 10.1;—*ṡųȟpa′la kį le′ wążi′ tąye′ȟcį lolo′pyį ną yuha′ ’e′maųpa yo′* this one (of the puppies) well cook and having it lay me out! 12.11.

Woman speaking:

c‘e′ġa ’olo′l-ya na go and get a kettle! 81.1;—*hina′p‘a na* come out! 144.2;—*wic‘a′yuta′* eat them' 172.13;—*kikta′* get up! 132.8;—*mayu′żużu′* unwrap me! 228.5;—*li′la k‘ig.la′pi′* start ye for home! 55.3;—*ho′we′ ’iya′yape′* all right! you may go!

Man or woman speaking:

nit‘ų′ṡkala ki′c’į ’oma′ni ye′ carrying your nephew go about, w. sp. 168.10;—*k‘oyą′ ku′ ye′* come along! m. sp. 129.13;—*misų` he′c‘ųpilaṡni ye′* younger brothers, don’t do that, little ones! 21.15;—*’ak‘o′ g.la′pi ye′* please, go away (pl.);—*k‘ig.li′ye′* (from *k‘ig.la′*) go on home!;—*kila′ ye′* ask him for it! (*a* of *la* not changeable);—*mak’u′ye′* please, give it to me

ho is a defective verb. It is used independently, without accent, in calling attention of someone. It may be followed by a term of address, by an imperative, or by a statement of fact. It takes all imperative endings, except that women use *ho′we′* for both singular and plural.

ho po′, *waho′ṡi-wahi c‘e naȟ’ų′po′* now then ye! I have arrived to bring news, so listen! m. sp. 4.7;—*ho′ wo′*, *hąka`* now then, sister-in-law m. sp. 160.15;—*ho′ye* now then! very well! m. sp. 9.7;—*ho′na* very well ! w. sp.

The negative imperative is formed from the ending *ṡni* by use of the same endings as the positive imperative.

Instead of the exhortative the accented future is used, or the exhortative is expressed by *ho′ye*, *hoye′* or *hoye* m. sp.; *ho′na* w. sp. followed by the unaccented future

’ųyį′kte lo′ m. sp. *’ųyį′kte* w. sp. let us go;—(*wą*)*’ųyį ′kte lo′* (*wą*) or *ho`ye ’ųyį′kte lo′* m. sp.; *ho′na ’ųyį′kte* w. sp. let us go;—*yį′kte′* let him go!

For the first person exhortative the simple future is used.

Note.—*yį′kta-’iye`c‘eca’* he ought to go (lit. that he will go is proper).

§ 153. *tk‘a′*

tk‘a′ (often, *k‘a′* Western Ogalala, *tuk‘a′* Santee), at end of sentence followed by glottal stop or one of the particles closing a sentence, makes the statement contrary to fact.

t‘epwi′c‘ayahįkta tk‘a′ ṡk‘e′’ he would continue to cause them to be consumed, it is said (he would be devouring them) 5.7;—*’ehą′ni ’ama′kisnikta-’iye`c‘etu tk‘a′ ye′* long ago I might have been well 226.16;—*he′c‘anųkta tk‘a′’* you should have done that;—*wac‘į′ka yų′k‘ą′ṡ ’ehą′niȟcį c‘ac‘i′p‘ap‘akta tk‘a′ ye lo′* if I had really wished it, then long ago I might have stabbed you 71.2, 3

With the past it often expresses “almost” as something contrary to fact.

lehą′yela mat’a′ tk‘a′’ I almost died;—*’ųṡi`ka mic‘į′kṡi to′hįni ’oṡo′tamakit’apila tk‘a′ ye le′* my poor children, by smoke they almost died (woman speaking) 196.16;—*he′hą′ waṡi′cu-iya`pi ųma′speṡni tk‘a′’* I should not have known English at the time (if I had not gone to school); or: I could not talk English then (but now I can)

When *tk‘a′* appears at the end of the sentence without glottal stop, the sentence is interrupted and the *tk‘a′* expresses annoyance.

waṡi′c‘u-’iya`pi ’ųma′speṡni tk‘a′ (*leya′he*) I cannot talk English but (he says this);—*t‘o′wa′ṡ le′ wag.lu′ṡtąkta tk‘a′* first I was going to finish this, but (you interrupted me)

When not final *tk‘a′* means "except that, only."

> *'ųk'ų′kta c‘a 'ų′; (ho) tk‘a′ 'o′hįni 'ų′šiųkic‘ilakte′* we shall live together, it being so it is; only always we shall be kind to each other 229.16–230.1;—*kic‘i′ 'ųma′šipe′; tk‘a′ wo′wasukiye wążi′la 'aho′ųp‘apikte′* with him they ordered me to live; only one rule we must observe 231.12;—*pte′ kį wic‘a′wao we lo′; tk‘a′ wašte′ya wic‘a′o b.luštą′ c‘ą′ṡna . . . 'a′taya 'e′yayc lo′* buffaloes I shoot; only well shooting them I finish, then always . . . all he takes 114.20;—*wana′ yag.nį′ktc lo′; tk‘a′ nit‘ų′kašila li′klila loc‘į′pi c‘aṡ slolya′ye lo′* now you will go home, only that your grandfathers are often very hungry, you know 183.8;—*le′l 'u′kta tk‘a′ he′ mic‘ų′kši yu′zįkta c‘į′* here he will be coming, only (for) that my daughter he will want to marry 12.2;—*miye′ tk‘a′ le′ 'ąpe′tu tukte′ mit‘a′wakta t‘ąį′ṡniyą wąų′we lo′* I, except for this, which day will be mine it not being apparent I live (except that I do not know when I am going to die) 12.4;—*t'i′l nį′kta tk‘a′ wakta′ yo′* you will go in (there is nothing to hinder you); only take care! 57.14;—*'ų′mašika tk‘a′ 'e′l maya′hipi* I am poor except that you come here to me, i. e., your coming makes my state more tolerable. (This is not what is meant. It should read *k'e′yaṡ* instead of *tk‘a′:* although I am poor you come here to me, 195.4)

Often *tk‘a′* is used with *k'e′yaṡ*.

> *le′l hi′s'a tk‘a′ k'e′yaṡ wana′ 'oki′hišni* he used to come here, but now he is unable

-ka nų tk‘a′ lit. as it were almost but; 'to be at a loss (what to do):

> *ta′keyeca nų tk‘a′'* what to say he was at a loss, he all but said something;—*tukte′l e′tųweca nų tk‘a′'* which way to look he was at a loss;—*to′k‘i ya′pika nų tk‘a′'* where to go they were at a loss 211.8

§ 154. NUMERALS

All cardinal numbers are neutral verbs and like these may be used as adjectives by subordination under the noun. The count is expressed by the verbal forms.

		Reduplicated forms
1	*wą′ci* (as adjective *wążi′*)	*wążi′kżi*
2	*nų′pa* (as noun or adjective *nųp*)	*nų′pnųp* or *nų′mnųm*
3	*ya′m.ni*	*ya′m.nim.ni*
4	*to′pa* (as noun or adjective *top*)	*to′ptop*
5	*za′ptą*	*za′ptąptą*
6	*ṡa′kpe*	*ṡa′kpekpe*
7	*ṡako′wį* (*iyu′ṡna* [29] Assiniboine)	*ṡako′wįwį*
8	*ṡag.lo′ġą*	*ṡag.lo′ġąġą*
9	*napci′yųka* (*napci′wąka* Y S) (as noun or adjective *napci′yųk*)	*napci′yųkyųk*
10	*wikce′m.na*	*wikce′m.nam.na*
11	*'ake′-wążiˋ*	*'ake′wążi′kżi*
12	*'ake′-nųpa* (as adjective *ake′ nųp*)	
20	*wikce′m.na nų′pa* (*wikce′m.na-nųp*) [30]	*wikc‘e′m.na nų′mnųm*
21	*wikce′m.na nų′p sa′m* (or *ake′*) *wążi′*(*ca*)	
22	*wikce′m.na nų′p sa′m* (or *wikce′m.na nųp 'ake′*) *nų′pa* (as adjective *nų′p*)	
100	*'opa′wįġe*	*'opa′wįġcġe*
1000	*k‘ekto′pawįġe* or *k‘okto′pawįġe* or *k‘ekta′opawįġe*	

Although it is easily recognized that the higher numerals are derived from verbal stems, analysis is not easy. Clearest is *nap-ci-yųka* finger little lies; *'opa′wįġe* one hundred, is parallel to *'oka′wįġa* to go round and round, with *pa* by pushing, instead of *ka* by striking.

Ordinals.—The ordinals except *t‘oka′he* the first, are formed from the cardinals by the prefix *'i* or *'ici′*, in Y and S by *'i*.

> *'inų′pa* or *'ici′nųpa* the second, as adjective without accent
> *'iya′ke-wążiˋ* the eleventh
> *'iwi′kcem.na nų′pa* the twentieth

The adverbial forms are formed in the same way, except *t‘oka′* the first time.

> *'inų′pa* the second time (always accented)

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[29] Taken from gambling with seven counters, the seventh is *iyu′śna* the one one misses.

[30] Also if objects counted are understood.

Numeral adverbs are identical with the cardinals, except *wą'ca* once. These are compounded with the following verb which loses its accent.

nų'pa-hi' he arrived twice
'o'ta-hi' he came often
to'nakel-hi' he came several times

The numeral adverbs with "only" added take the regular diminutive, or rather limiting suffix *la*.

wą'cala only once

A few take the double suffix *lala*.

nųb.la'la only twice; only two
to'b.lala only four times; only four
napci'yųg.lala only nine times; only nine
co'nala a few times

§ 155. DEMONSTRATIVES, INDEFINITE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

There are three demonstrative forms:

le' this near me
he' that at a distance, that referred to before
ka' that at a distance, but visible and pointed out

Besides these there is a very general demonstrative *'e'*

The indefinite and interrogative are identical and are treated in the same way as the demonstratives:

to' something; what?
tuwe' someone; who? (predicative); *tuwa'* nominal 149.11; 150.11
tukte' which one?
ta'ku what, something 148.6; 149.7

Examples:

le' wic'a'ša c'a 'u' hą'tąhąš- if this should be a human being coming 265.10
'u' ną le' nų'ġe 'oka'ȟ'ol 'iye'ya' come and throw this one into your ear 268.5
he' tuwe'ni wąya'kešni nobody saw that one 268.7
he' 'ų' lc' 'iwa'hoc'iyc lo' on account of that this warning I give you 12.7
yų'k'ą' ka t'ica'ġe c'ų he'c'iyatąhą ho'uyį ną and then that yonder tipi-building aforesaid, from that place called and 254.3
tukte'-p'ežu'ta c'a nų' so? what kind of medicine do you use? 139.16
he' tuwe' kį that somebody 133.13
takų'l, tahu'h'ci any little thing, anything

In many cases the demonstrative is used independently like a noun:

he' wica'k'e' that one spoke the truth, 129.2;—*hena' he'c'a'* those were of that kind;—*le' pte''* this is a buffalo;—*le' waka'ȟniġe'* I chose this one;—*he' t'ąke'yapikta ke'ya'pi'* that one they would have for their sister, they said 89.4

When referring to a noun with emphasis on both, the accented pronoun may precede or follow the noun, both being independent. The noun must be followed by one of the definite articles, *kį* or *k'ų*.

he' wic'a'ša kį ksa'pe' or *wic'a'ša kį he' ksa'pe'* that man is wise. The first form seems to lay a little more stress on the demonstrative;—*le' pte' kį 'e''* [31] or *pte' kį le' 'e''* this is the buffalo (the particular one, or the buffalo in contrast to other animals; also *pte' kį le' he' 'e';* plural *lena' pte' kį 'e'pi'*;—*pte' k'e'ya wic'ų'yuhapi tk'a' k'ų hena' lena' 'e'pi* some cattle those we had, these are the ones;—*he' wį'yą kį li'la wašte''* that woman is very good 89.7;—*t'ac'u'pa kį hena' kaksį' ną*—those marrow bones she broke and — 242.9

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[31] Contracted from *'e' 'e''*; in Yankton uncontracted.

The demonstrative is often treated as a noun qualified by the noun to which it refers.

> *tuktena′-šųkakʻą cʻa nicʼu′ he?* Which horses (out of a herd) did he give you?—*he′-wicʻaša kį ksa′pe’* that particular man is wise;—*le′-wicʻaša kį he′ ’e′ cʻa wąb.la′ke* this particular man it is that one, he being so I see him (for *cʻa* see p. 146);—*he′-’ąpe`tu kį matʼį′kte lo′* on that day I shall die 12.6;—*he′-wani`yctu kį li′la wicʻa′akiȟ’ą* or *wani′yetu kį he′ li′la wicʻa′akiȟ’ą* that winter there was starvation 198.3 (according to emphasis on "that" or "winter")

These demonstratives are also used with adverbial function. In initial position, before nouns or nominalized phrases they have no accent. Since they never take the plural in *-na* when the following noun is plural, they must refer to the general content of the following sentence, like other initial adverbs. (See p. 155.) The noun or nominalized phrase must be followed by the article and the corresponding accented demonstrative or *he′* (which, however, colloquially may be omitted) followed by the predicate.

> *ka wicʻa′ša kį ka′ wąb.la′ke’* (there) the man that one I see;—*le ta′ku ecʻa′mųhe cį* (<*-hą kį*) *le′ li′la wašte′waloke’* (here) the thing I am doing this very much I like;—*le tʻi′pi k’eya′ he′ cį lena′ mitʻa′wa* (here) the tents standing these are mine;—*he′ le wicʻa′ša wą kʻapʻe′ cʼų he′ tʻa′wa* that one in this case a certain man's who had passed by, that was his 107.15;—*’ikto′ le cʻoka′p tʻi′ kį (le′) ’e′l ya′ yo′* to Ikto′ on this occasion in the center of the camp dwelling go! 112.6

In exclamatory sentences, i. e., those direct statements which express an observation to which attention is called and which do not admit the glottal stop as closure of the sentence (as simple statements of fact do, see p. 109), when referring to a definite place require the use of unaccented demonstratives.

> *he yąke′* there he is (sits)! but *he′l yąke’’* he is sitting there (a simple statement);—*le na′żįye* here he stands! but *le′l na′żį’* he is (or was) standing here;—*pte′ wą cʻe′peȟca cʻa he g.le′* a fat buffalo, it being such there it goes! 199.4, also *he pte′ wą cʻe′peȟca cʻa g.le′!;—’akʻe′ wana′ he hiya′ye′* again now there he goes! 110.10
>
> Compare *he′cʻiyatąhą le′ wau′ cʻa sakʻi′p ’ųg.nį′kte lo′* from there I come to this, it being so we will go together to where we belong 102.14; and the same with unaccented *le* which might be translated as "see (look) here! I came from there," etc.; also *he′cʻiyatąhą le wau′ we* (look here!) from there I come; i. e., the *le* refers to the present situation

In indirect discourse:

> *wicʻa′ša wą ka′l na′żį ke′pe’’* that a certain man stands yonder, that I said; and *wicʻa′ša wą ka (ka′l) na′żį kc′pʻe′ (cʻe epʻe′) cʼų he′ wana′ ’iya′ye’* a certain man (of whom) I said that he stands yonder, that one has gone now;—*he yąka′pi kʻe′pʻe′ cų’ hena′ wana′ ’iya′yapi’* those (of whom) I said that there they stand there have gone now;—*pte′ kį|he′ wicʻa′ša wą|ka cʻąkpe′škamakʻag.le na′żį|ke′pʻe′|cʼų|hetą′hą . . . na′żį|škʻe’’* the buffalo|that one a certain man|(whom) that he kneeling stands|I said so|the one|away from that one (the man) . . . it stands|it is said 99.12, i. e., the buffalo stood away from that man of whom I had said that he had been kneeling

In all sentences that do not close with the exclamatory *ye* the demonstrative is accented.

> *to′ki le′ la′pi he?* or *le′ to′ki la′pi he?* (look here!) where are ye going? but *lena′ to′kʻi la′pi he?* where are these ye going?—*(le′) maȟpi′ya ną makʻa′ kį hena′ (le′) miye′ (le′) waka′ġe lo′* (look here!) sky and earth those I myself made 2.2 (the *le′* may stand at any one of the three positions indicated)

Dakota uses a superabundance of demonstrative forms which emphasize location and time. These are formed by the demonstratives alone or by combining them with verbal stems and various types of postpositions. (See pp. 116 et seq.).

The derivatives of the pronouns are used with highly specialized meaning.

First of all a list of the principal forms will be given: (a.) means used as an adverb; (v.) used as a verb; (a., v.) used as both verb and adverb; brackets indicate rare usage.

Summary of compound demonstratives[1]

	e	le	he	ka	tukte′
1. *–e*	*ee*	*lee*	*hee*	*kae*	*tuktee*
2. *–ya*	*eyaṡ* (a.)	*leya, leyaṡ* (a.)			
3. *–yalaka*		*leyalaka* (a.)			
4. *-hą′*	*ehą′* (a.)	*lehą′* (a.)	*hehą′* (a.)	*kahą′* (a.)	*tohą′* (a.)
5. *–hąyą*	*iye′hąyą* (a., v.)	*lehą′yą* (a., v.)	*hehą′yą* (a., v.)	*kahą′yą* (a., v.)	*tohą′yą* (a.)
6 *–hąyela*	(*iye′hąyela*) (a., v.)	*lehą′yela* (a., v.)	*hehą′yela* (a., v.)	*kahą′yela* (a., v.)	*tohą′yela* (a.)
7. *–hąhųniyą*		*lehą′hųniyą* (a., v.)	*hehą′hųniyą* (a. [v.])	*kahą′hųniyą* (a. [v.])	*tohą′hųniyą* (a.)
8. *–hąl*	*iye′hąl* (a.), *ȟcehą′l* (a.)	*lehą′l* (a.)	*hehą′l* (a.)	*kahą′l* (a.)	*tohą′l* (a.)
9. *–hątą*	*ehą′tą* (a.)		*hehą′tą* (a.)	*kahą′tą* (a.)	*tohą′tą* (a.)
10. *–hą′tąhą*	*ehą′tąhą* (a., v.)	?	*hehą′tąhą* (a., v.)	*kahą′tąhą* (a., v.)	*tohą′tąhą* (a.)
11. *–hą′tu*	*iye′hątu* (v.)	*lehą′tu* (v.)	*hehą′tu* (v.)	*kahą′tu* (v.)	*tohą′tu* (v.), *tukti′ye′hątu*
12. *–hątuya* (a.)	*iye′hątuya* (a.)	*lehą′tuya* (a.)	*hehą′tuya* (a.)	*kahą′tuya* (a.)	*tohą′tuya* (a.)
13. *–hąkeca, –hąkca*	(*iye′hąkeca*) (v.)	*lehą′keca* (v.)	*hehą′keca* (v.)	*kahą′keca* (v.)	*tohą′keca* (a.)
14. *–l*	*e′l* (a.)	*le′l* (a.)	*he′l* (a.)	*ka′l* (a.)	*tukte′l* (a.)
15. *–tą*	*etą′* (a.)	*letą′* (a.)	*hetą′* (a.)	*katą′* (a.)	*tuktetą′* (a.) (*totą′*, S.)
16. *–tąhą*	*etą′hą* (a., v.)	*letą′hą* (a., v.)	*hetą′hą* (a., v.)	*katą′hą* (a., v.)	*tukte′tąhą* (a.) (*totą′hą*, S.)
17. *–tu*	*e′tu* (v.)	*le′tu* (v.)	*he′tu* (v.)	*ka′tu* (v.)	*tukte′tu* (v.)
18. *–tkiya*	*e′tkiya* (a.)	*le′tkiya* (a., v.)	*he′tkiya* (a., v.)	*ka′tkiya* (a., v.)	*to′kʻetkiya* (a., v.)
19. *–cela*	*ece′la* (a., v.)	*lece′la* (a., v.)	*hece′la* (a., v.)	*kace′la* (a., v.)	
20. *–cʻąl*	*ecʻą′l* (*icʻą′l*) (a.)				
21. *–cʻątu*	*ecʻą′tu*(*la*)*ȟcį*				
22. *–na*	(*iye′na*) (a.)	*lena′* (a.)	*hena′* (a.)	*kana′* (a.)	*tuktena′* (a.)
23. *–na*	*e′na* (a.), *ena′na* (a.)	*le′na* (a.)	*he′na* (a.)	*ka′na* (a.)	*tukte′na* (a.)
24. *–nala*	(*iye′nala*)	*lena′la* (a., v.)	*hena′la* (a., v.)	*kana′la* (a., v.)	*tona′la* (a.) (rare)
25. *nakeca*	*iye′nakeca* (a., v.)	*lena′keca* (a., v.)	*hena′keca* (a., v.)	*kana′keca* (a., v.)	*tona′keca* (a.)
26. *kįhą*			*he′cįhą* (a.)		
27. *–kta*	*ekta′* (a.)		*he′kta* (a.)		
28. *–ktakiya* (*–ktatąhą*)	*ekta′kiya* (a.)		*he′ktakiya* (a.) *he′ktatąhą* (a.)		
29. *–kʻa*	*ecʻa′*	*le′cʻa* (a., v.)	*he′cʻa* (a., v.)	*ka′kʻa* (a., v.)	*to′kʻa* (a., v.)
30. *–cʻala*	*ecʻa′la* (a., v.)	*lecʻa′la* (a., v.) *lecʻa′*			(*tokša′*)
31. *–kʻe*		*le′cʻe* (a.)	*he′cʻe*		*tokʻe* (no accent)
32. *–kʻeya*		*le′cʻeya′* (a.)	*he′cʻeya′* (a.)		
33. *–k'el*	*ecʻe′l* (a.)	*le′cʻel* (a.)	*he′cʻel* (a.)	*ka′kʻel* (a.)	*to′kʻel* (a.)
34. *–kʻelya*	*ecʻe′lya* (a.)	*le′cʻelya* (a.)	*he′cʻelya* (a.)	*ka′kʻelya* (a.)	*to′kʻelya*(*kel*)
35. *–kʻetu*	*ecʻe′tu* (v.) (*iye′cʻetu*) (v.)	*le′cʻetu* (v.)	*he′cʻetu* (v.)	*ka′kʻetu* (v.)	*to′kʻetu* (v.)
36. *–kʻetuya* (a.)	*iye′cʻetuya* (a.)	*le′cʻetuya* (a.)	*he′cʻetuya* (a.)	*ka′kʻetuya* (a.)	*ta′kʻetuya* (a.)
37. *–kʻetkiya*	*ecʻe′tkiya* (a.)	*le′cʻetkiya* (a., v.)	*he′cʻetkiya* (a., v.)	*ka′kʻetkiya* (a., v.)	*to′kʻetkiya* (a.)
38. *–kʻeca*	*ecʻe′ca* (v.), *iye′cʻeca*	*le′cʻeca* (v.)	*he′cʻeca* (v.)	*ka′kʻeca* (v.)	*to′kʻeca* (v.)
39. *–kʻena*	(*ecʻe′na*)	*le′cʻena* (a.)	*he′cʻena* (a., v.)	*ka′kʻena* (a.)	*to′kelyakel*
40. *–kʻi*		*le′cʻi* (a.)	*he′cʻi* (a.)	*ka′kʻi* (a.)	*to′kʻi* (a.)
41. *–kʻiya*		*le′cʻiya* (a. [v.])	*he′cʻiya* (a., v.)	*ka′kʻiya* (a. [v.])	*to′kʻiya* (a.)
42. *–kʻiyatą*	*ecʻi′yatą* (a.)	*le′cʻiyatą* (a.)	*he′cʻiyatą* (a.)	*ka′kʻiyatą* (a.)	*to′kʻiyatą* (a.)
43. *–kʻiyatąhą*	*ecʻi′yatąhą* (a., v.)	*le′cʻiyatąhą* (a., v.)	*he′cʻiyatąhą* (a., v.)	*ka′kʻiyatąhą* (a., v.)	*to′kʻiyatąhą* (a.)
44. *–kʻiyotʻą*	*ecʻi′yotʻą* (a., v.)	*lecʻi′yotʻą* (a., v.)	*hecʻi′yotʻą* (a., v.)	*kakʻi′yotʻą* (a., v.)	*tokʻi′yotą* (a.)

It will be noticed that the forms in *-l*, *-tą*, *-(t)kiya*, *-kta*, *-tuya* are adverbs, while those in *-tu* are verbs or nouns. (See p. 58.) A number of others, particularly those in *hą* following an adverbial ending, *-la*, *-ka*, *-keca*, *-kʻa* are both adverbs and verbs. They are primarily verbs which enter into combination with following verbs and assume adverbial character.

On account of the idiomatic use of these forms it is necessary to discuss them in detail.

1. *'e' 'e'* idiomatic: instead:

> *he' 'ayu'štą ną 'e' 'e' ška'ta yo'* leave off doing that and instead play!—*'e' 'e' he'ktakiya 'a'yapi* instead they took it back 262.7;—*he' 'e' mak'u' wo'* give me that instead!;—*ka' 'e' 'ag.la' yo'* take that home instead (*ka' 'ag.la' yo'* take that home);—*he' 'e' wo'wicake'* that instead (of another statement) is the truth;—*tukte' 'e' 'iwa'cukta he?* which one shall I take instead (of some other one);—*miye' 'e' wahte' malašni'* he dislikes me (in contrast to another one whom he likes)[32]

When followed by *cʻa* it being so, the forms with *le'*, *he'* express "that is the one":

> *he' 'e' cʻa pą'-ho-uya ke'* that is the one who sent out his voice aloud 263.2 (*he' 'e cʻa* would mean: THAT is the one —);—*he' 'e' eʻa wąka'l 'iya'kaška 'ų'papi'* that was the one whom they had laid up there tied up 134.14

2. *leya, leyaš* (adv.) contrary to expectation; lit. it being this way:

> *yų'kʻą' leya tʻakʻo'laku* . . . then unexpectedly it was his friend 134.13;—*leyaš cʻą-wą'kal yąke''* meanwhile (contrary to what he thought) he was sitting on a tree
>
> *'eya'* often introduces speeches
>
> *'eya'š* (accented) sufficient: *'eya'š wana' hena'keca'* that is enough now;—*'eya'š hą'skeya ka'ǧapi'* it is made long enough
>
> *'eyaš* (unaccented) as you know, with terminal *k'ų*: *'eyaš wama'loteteka cʻaš slolya'ye c'ų* as you know I am fond of food 12.12; *eyaš he'cʻctu k'ų* you know it was thus

3. *leya`laka* more emphatic than *leya;* synonyms *'ehą'k'ų, 'ehą'ke c'ų:*

> *leya`laka he' tʻoka'pʻa kį kʻa'pi ną* in reality they meant the eldest one 203.4;—*kʻoška'laka k'ų 'i'š leya`laka hchą'hųniyą otʻi'wota kį 'e'l 'ų'* the aforesaid youth, he on his part as a matter of fact all the while up to that time in the deserted camp stayed there 227.13;—*yų'kʻą' leya`laka, he' wakį'yąwieʻa`ša* and then actually, that was a Thunder Man 179.11

Nos. 4–13 of the preceding list (p. 116) are derived from *hą*, originally "to stand," but used in Teton also to express the continuative (see p. 104). For this reason they designate primarily time, although in many cases the usage has come to be uncertain. A few derivatives are employed to express extent in space.

As continuative we have (see p. 104):

> *'į'še' ka'kʻiya wąka'ta zitka'la wą 'okį'yąhą* just yonder away from you above a bird is flying in there, 146.10;—*he'eʻeš sakʻi'p ya'hąpi* so together they were going 147.3

4. *'ehą':*

> *'eya' mahpi'ya ną makʻa' kį lena' tʻoka'-kaǧapi k'ų he' 'ehą' matʻų'pe lo'* well, the sky and earth these were first made, that during that period I was born 1.12-2.1;—*'chą'* occurs without preceding demonstratives in such forms as *'ehą'k'ų* (synonym of No. 3 *leya`laka*), *'ehą'k'ehą'* (<*ehą'-k'ų-ehą'*) in olden times, erstwhile

The demonstratives are either independent or contracted with *hą* which does not change to *he* (see p. 32)

With *'ehą': le' 'ehą'* or *le'hą'* at this time
he' 'ehą' or *he'hą'* at that time
ka' 'ehą' at that time
to'hą at some time past, when? once upon a time

> *li'la 'ehą'ni k'ų he'hą'* very long ago, it was at that time 156.16;—*makʻa' 'aką'l 'ų'pi k'ų he'hą'* on the earth they existed, at that time it was 2.14;—*'i'ya le'cʻel kte'pišni k'ų he'hą' li'la 'oya'te 'o'ta tʻepwi'eʻaya skʻe''* Iya in this manner they had not killed at that time very many people he had swallowed (i. e., before they had killed Iya he had swallowed many people) 105.19

le'hą apparently used for space, has been found in one phrase:

> *wi· le'hąhcį* my! how tall (you have grown)! (w. sp.)

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[32] See the customary greeting: *toke'he' niye' so?* is it you?

With *hą: lehą′* up to this time; after all this time
tohą′ . . . hehą′ as long as — that long

lehą′-g.lišni’ up to this time he has not returned 134.3;—*to′hųweni mat’į′ktešni, tohą′ p‘e′ta ’ų′pišni*[33] *kį hehą′* never I shall die as long as they do not use fire, so long 105.5 (at end of sentence *hehą* does not change);—*tohą′-g.lišni kį hehą′-’awa`p‘ekte*’ as long as he does not come back, that long I shall wait for him;—*kahą′ṡ* expresses "no sooner" (lit. indeed at that time, pointed out), *kahą′ṡ hą′pa wążi′ b.luštą′ k‘eṡ wi′yop‘eya ’iye′ye*! as soon as I finish a pair of moccasins he always sells it

5. *-hąyą:*

lehą′yą this far (generally for space) *wac‘į′-lema`hąyą*—my mind (patience) is only this long;—*lehą′yą ’ahi′ȟpemayį ną k‘ig.le′*’ this far he accompanied me and then went home;—*’iṡpa′ kį hehą′yą pao′ȟlat‘e ’iye′ya* his elbows that far he pushed them under it 152.3;—*hehą′yą ’owa′kihišni ye′* I am no longer able (lit. that far I am not able) 52.8;—*hehą′yą b.la′ ’owa′kihišni*’ I cannot go that far;—*c‘ą-i′hąke kį hehą′yą wai′*’ as far as the edge of the wood I went;—*hehą′hąya* that long in each case;—*kahą′yą yug.la′* unwind it that far (indicating the point);—*tohą′yą yac‘į′ kį* (*hehą′yą*) *’icu′* the indefinite distance you want (that distance) take! (*hehą′yą* is always understood although it may be omitted);—*tohą′yą nic’u′ he?* how long a piece did he give you?—*tohą′yą he′l ȟpa′yahį ną* some time there he lay and 277.11;—*’o′tohąyą ’ini′la ya′pi*’ for some time silently they went 149.9

6. *hąyela* only (this) far, more definitely limited than *hąyą* (5).

lehą′yela ’iwa′cu’ I am taking only this much;—*hehą′yela ’owi′hąke*’ only that far it goes 205.2;—*hehą′yela ’i′yakic‘ųni*’ only then he gave up 150.6;—*hema′hąyela* that finished me (lit. I was only that long);—*kahą′yela* only that long (time or space);—*tohą′yela’i*’’ he went part way, some distance (no interrogative because *la* limits the distance)

7. *-hąhųniyą* (from [*i*] *hų′ni* he arrives there):

’oya′te kį lehą′hųniyą t‘epwi′c‘ayahįkta tk‘a′ ṡk‘e’’ the people always up to this time he would be eating up, it is said 5.6;—*hehą′hųniyą k’į′ ’ahi*’’ all that time (distance) carrying it on his back he brought it;—*k‘oṡka′laka k’ų ’i′ṡ leya`laka hehą′hųniyą ’ot‘i′wota ’e′l ’ų*’’ the youth referred to, he evidently all that time at the campsite stayed 227.13;—*kahą′hųniyą psi′l g.le*’’ all that way he went hopping on his way home;—*tohą′hųniyą kį he′waȟte′malašni*’ it being from sometime (from I don’t know when) that he disliked me

In questions *tohą′yą* would be preferred to *tohą′hųniyą.*

8. *hą′l* primarily time. The demonstrative derivatives often loosely used for space.

hihų′nikta hą′l when he was about to arrive 51.11;—*naȟ’ų′ yąka′ hą′l heya′* while he sat hearing she said 65.13;—*c‘op‘a′pikta hą′l ’ec‘ą′l* when they were about to ford it, just then 67.14 (or *c‘op‘a′pikte cį ’ec‘ą′l* or *c‘op‘a′pikte ȟcehą′l*). *ȟcehą′l* expresses a welcome event; *’ec‘ą′l* one unwelcome (see No 21) *ȟcehą′l* 51.6 64.4

lehą′l during the present period 5.8, 79.4
hehą′l during the period; after that; next 149.9; 150.7; 151.4

yų′k‘ą′ hehą′l wį′yą k’ų — g.luṡkį′ ną then, after that the woman previously referred to — untied hers and 65.15;—*yų′k‘ą′ hehą′l heya′ ke*’’ and then, after that she said that, it is said 67.17

An idiomatic phrase: *’i’, ’i’, kahą′l ’eṡ tukte′eṡni* see! I told you so! literally *’i’, ’i’*, after that yonder it is not anything.

Colloquially, although rarely, *he′l* is used in place of *hehą′l* for time.

tohą′l mit‘a′k‘ola kį ’ai′yapi c‘ą′he′l (instead of *hehą′l*) *’oma′hitike lo′* at any time when they slander my friend, that is when (instead of at that time) I get wild;—*he′ ’ų′ tohą′l k‘oṡka′laka kį wa′g.li g.li′* therefore, whenever the young man brought something home 275.9;—*tohą′lṡna* at certain times

9. *-hątą;* 10. *hątąhą* from a time on:

’ehą′tą-slolwa`yc lo′ already I know it 149.5 (already at that moment);—*’ehą′tą wo′ksape yuha*’’ already he had wisdom;—*’ehą′tąhą wic‘a′ṡa wążi′kżi ’i′ṡ’eya′ wo′ksape yuha′pi*’ ever since the beginning of time continuously some men they also had wisdom;—*’osni′ ’ahi′ kį hehą′tą ’oma′nišni*’ the cold coming since that time he did not walk about;—*tohą′tą ’ima′c‘aġe cį hehą′tą tų′weni he′c‘a wa′tešni*’ since I was born (grew up) I never ate that kind;—*’ehą′ni t‘ąma′opi yų′k‘ą′ hehą′tąhą lehą′hųniyą ima′kakiże* long ago my body was hit and then ever since that time up to now I am

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[33] Or *p‘e′ta tohą′-ųpišni.*

suffering by it;—*kahą′tą hema′c‘eca’* since that time (to be defined later) I am that way (not continuously);—*kahą′tąhą he′c‘el mit‘a′wac‘į’* since that indefinite time thus was my mind (here must follow a statement as to the time referred to);—*tohą′tą hi′ kį wo′waši ’ec‘ų′* ever since he arrived he works (not continuously);—*tohą′tąhą šce′p‘ąwaye cį tų′wena c‘ąze′ slolwa′yešni’* ever since she has been my sister-in-law I have never known her to be angry

11. *hą′tu:*

wo′tahąpi hą′tu c‘ąke′ . . . heya′ they were eating, it was just then, and so . . . he said that 64.4;—*li′la ’anų′k‘atąhą ’i′c‘iyokip‘ipi hą′tu šk‘e’’* very from each side they loved each other, it was just then, it is said 225.10;—*wo′tapi-’iye′hątu* it is mealtime;—*wana′ ’iye′hątu* now in due time 226.11;—*’iye′mahątu* it is the right time or place for me; it suits me; *’iye′micihątu* my time has come;—*lehą′tu kį lehą′l he′ le′l ’ų′ c‘a wo′niciyakapikte lo′* it being at this time, at this time that one is here (and) will address you;—*hąhe′pi c‘ą′ hehą′tu c‘a wac‘i′pi’* it is night time, then it is at that time such they dance;—*hema′hątuke’* that is just the right time for me (slang);—*kahą′tu* it is right there (pointed out); this form is loosely used for space, although it is felt to be improper;—*kahą′tu kįhą wai′kte do′* at that time I will get there (Yankton); perhaps pointed out by place of sun or watch;—*tohą′tu* it is at some time, often used colloquially for *tukte′tu* at some place, *’i′tohątu* after some time 228.8;—*tohą′tu yų′k‘ą′ wana′ Lak‘o′ta wą t‘i′ c‘a ’e′l ’i′pi ke’* after some time then now a Dakota lived it being so there they arrived, it is said 152.10;—*tohą′tu kį lc′ b.latkį′kta he?* at what time shall I drink this?—colloquially: *tohą′tu c‘a ksu′yeniyą he?* at what place is it that you are injured?

12. *–hątuya*, usually with *s’e* as it were:

lehą′tuya s’e hiyu′ye’ he sent it (throwing), approximately here;—*hehą′tuya, kahą′tuya* thereabouts, about that time; also *hehą′tuya s’e* or *wahehątuya*, cf. *le′l tukte′l hįȟpa′ye’* it might be here somewhere that it fell;—*hąc‘o′kaya-wahe′hątuya wag.li′* about midnight I got home;—*wale′hątuya* about this time

13. *–hąkeca* (i. v.) it is of that length (<*hą-ka-ca*); used only for space (cf. *hąska′* long).

wana′š lehą′keca now, indeed, he is as tall as this, *lema′hąkeca* I am as tall as this;—*lehą′keca wąži′ waksa′* cut one that is this long;—*t‘ošu′ kį hehą′keca wą maki′la’* one that is as long as that tipi pole he asked me for;—*wana′ mi′cihąske’*; *’i′š ’eya′š kahą′kcake s’e le′l* (<*ka-hąkeca-ka s’e le′c‘eca*) now he is tall to me (i. e. mine is tall); he also is about as tall as that one yonder;—*tohą′keca nic’u′ he?* how much in length did he give you?—*toma′hąkeca he* how tall am I?—*tohą′kecaka c‘c′l* who knows how long it is? (*c‘e′l*<*nac‘eca* who knows?)—*’iye′mahąkeca* I am as tall as he is, *’a′k‘iyehąkecapi* they are of the same height, *’a′k‘iycųhąkeca* we two are of the same height, *’a′k‘iyeųhąkeca* or *’iye′nimahąkeca* I am as tall as you

14. *-l* at, always a place nearby, not requiring the covering of a distance to be reached.

’eha′ke le′l ’iyo′micihišni’ still here it reaches not for me (i. e., this is insufficient) 65.11;—*he′l ’ena′na ’u′ta li′la ’o′ta hiye′ye’* there, here and there, very many acorns lay about 77.13;—*yų′k‘ą′ ka′l ’it‘u′hu-c‘ą wą t‘ą′ka hą′* and then yonder a large oak tree stood 77.12;—*ka′l c‘ąȟlo′ǧu-ožužu wą ’e′g.na c‘ąku′yapi* yonder through a place full of weeds they took their way 77.16;—*ka′l* with the meaning yonder is accompanied by a pointing gesture of hand or lips, or at least such gesture is implied; when this is not the case it means "aside, off from the main line; at another place"; —*hehą′l ta′kula wą ka′l yupšų′ pšų ’iȟpe′waye c’ų* at that time some little thing aside bundled up I threw it 2.4;—*ka′l ’i′š yup‘i′ycla t‘ap-ka′psicapi* at another place they on their part nicely doing made the ball jump by striking 3.1;—*tukte′l naya′ žį c‘a ’a′taya wąc‘i′yakešni’* at what place you stood it being so at all I did not see you;—*tukte′l he′ lehą′l ’ų′ kį slolwa′yešni’* the place where that one at present stays I do not know;—*to′k‘iya tukte′l ’ų′ šk‘e’’* somewhere (away from here) in some place he stays, it is said (i. e., he lives somewhere else; he is still living)

Also with nouns *t‘i′l t‘ima′hel* in the house

15. *–tą* from, out of (without emphasis on motion):

mak‘a′ kį ’a′taya ’etą′ hina′p‘a from the whole land appeared (knives) 67.8;—following a noun *’etą′* means "some," *m.ni′ ’etą′ mak’u′* give me some water, *’etą′tą* some of each group; but *m.ni′ kį ’etą′hą b.latke’’* I drank some of the water, I drank water from it (see No. 16);—*c‘ą′ ’etą′ ’owa′kic‘į’* I asked him for some wood;—*letą′ ’ina′p‘a′* go out of here!—*hetą′ ’iya′yapi’* from there they went on 77.15 (compare 77.12 *he′c‘eš za′ptąla hetą′hą ’iya′yapi’* so five only continuing from there they went on);—*c‘ąke′ hetą′ kic‘i′ ’iya′ye’* and so from there he went with him 157.9;—*katą′ t‘ate′ hiyu′* from yonder the wind comes in;—*tuktetą′ he′ ’iya′cu he?* whence did you take it?—*m.ni′ hiyo′wai k’e′yaš ’o′huta kį wąką′tuya c‘ąke′ tuktetą′ ’iwa′cukta t‘ąį′šni’* I went to get water but the bank being high and so whence I should take it was not apparent (the Santee use *totą′* instead of *tuktetą′*)

16. *–tąhą* from out of, implying continued motion:

> *’etą′hą ta′ku k’eya′ g.mig.ma′g.ma ’icu′* from out of it he took some round things;—*wicʻe′ṡkoȟloka kį ’etą′hą kįyą′ tʻima′hcl hiyu’’* from the air vent flying he came into the tipi (see 65.8 which would be better *’ctą′* because the boy stayed on the air vent);—*’ema′tąhą* I am from such and such a place or tribe 123.2;—*’Og.la′la tʻi′pi kį hetą′hą-wįmaˋyą* I am a woman from out of the Ogalala tribe

The difference between *’etą′* and *’etą′hą* appears clearly in some of the following examples:

> *tʻi′pi kį ’etą′ ’ahi′yokas’į’* he peered out of the tent, *tʻi′pi kį ’ctą′hą u’’* he came out of the tent;—*ną hetą′hą ’akʻc′ to′kʻcl ’iya′yeca cʻc′l* and from there again which way he kind of went who knows? 5.11, also 17.3;—*he′cʻeṡ hetą′hą sakʻi′p zuya′ ya′pi* then from there together to war they went 71.4;—*katą′hą wau’’* I come from over yonder (pointed out), *kama′tąhą* I belong there (pointed out), *tukte′tąhą yahi′ he?* where do you come from? (*totą′hą* Santee);—*tukte′tąhą wase′ kį lena′ ’aya′hi he?* whence did you bring this red paint? (compare *wase′ kį tuktetą′ ’icu′pi s’a he* where do they always get red paint?)
>
> *’etą′hąṡ he′ wakʻa′heża kį* anyway that one is a little child;—*’etą′ṡ to′k(ʻa)* what of it!—*’etą′hąhą* several times from

17. *–tu*; *’e′tu* it is at the place referred to:

> *tukte′l niya′zą he? le′tu’* where does it hurt you? it is here (cf. *tų′wcl niya′zą he? lehą′tu* when did it hurt you? it is now; *tų′wel<to′hųwel*);—*le′tu* it is here;—*he′tu* it is there 181.16; 261.11;—*ka′tu* it is over yonder;—*tukte′tu* it is somewhere, where is it?—*to′hųwetu kįhą yau′ktu he?* when is it when you will come? *to′hųwetuka wą ’e′l mahi′* some time he came to me, or *to′hųwel c′l mahi′;*—*to′hųwetuka cʻe′ṡ* but when!

18. *–tkiya* towards, i. e., in a direction without movement, towards that direction. (The relation between *-tkiya* and *-kta′kiya* is comparable to that between *l* and *kta.*)

> *tʻate′ kį ’e′tkiya kaho′m.ni’* it turns to the wind;—*le′tkiya ’ahi′wacʻį’* his thoughts turned in this direction (instead of S *to′tkiya to′kʻetkiya* No. 37 is used)

19. *’ece′la* (*’ece* always that only kind; *’e* it is; *la* diminutive, limiting the sense):

> *ka′kʻiya ka wążi′ ’u′ k’ų he′cʻi ’ece′la ’e′wacʻį’* towards yonder that one coming (away from here) alone she thought of 51.9;—*he′cʻa ’ece′la kʻowa′kipʻe c’ų* that kind only I fear 78.16;—*’a′eccla hi′’* he came alone (without anything);—*lece′la tʻewa′ȟila’* I prize only this one highly;—*hece′la napʻe′ṡni’* that one alone did not run away 121.18;—*kace′la wana′ b.luha’’* only that yonder I have left now;—(*tokʻe′cela* the end of which is evidently identical with the present means "barely") (see No. 38);—*tokʻe′cela sak-ye′kitʻų ’iya′hą ke’’* barely using a staff himself he came to the top, they say 172.3 (see also 67.14)

20. *’e′cʻąl* just then:

> *’ecʻą′l wi′kʻą kį kapsa′kahą* just then the rope kept breaking 66.15;—*hą′l ’ecʻą′l winų′ȟcala wą tokʻe′cela-maˋnila cʻa . . . hiyu′* when just then an old woman barely walking, such . . . came 67.14;—*yų′kʻą′ ’ecʻą′l g.lina′pʻa* lo and behold! just then he emerged 79.2;—(*’ecʻą′l* always expresses an unexpected, unwelcome interruption);—a welcome incident is introduced by *ȟcehą′l* (see No. 8)

21. *-cʻątu* a verb form but not used without suffixes:

> *’ecʻą′tulaȟcį* just at that very moment

22. *lena′*, *hena′*, *kana′*, *tuktena′* or *tona′*. Plurals of demonstratives, animate and inanimate:

> *hena′la* only those 72.8; *hena′la’* that is all;—*tona′* whichever ones, those who;—*to′na* as many as, how many?—*tona′ ’a′m.nįkta he?* which ones shall I take?—*tona′ ’u′pikta he?* which ones (among them) are coming?—*to′na yacʻį′ he?* how many do you want?—*to′na mak’u′ke c’e′yaṡ ’iyu′ha ’iwa′cukte’* as many as he gives me, still I will take them all;—*to′nakel* several, 229.1;—*hena′ṡ* but those, 78.13;—*lena′yos, hena′yos, kana′yos* those two, etc. (Western Ogala′la); *hena′yoza* those two are the ones; *hena′yosyos* those by twos;—*hcna′os*, etc. Eastern Dakota;—older form *heni′yus, heni′yos*, etc. (from *yu′za* to hold?)

23. *-na.* *’e′na* right there at the place referred to:

> *’e′l nąka′ huwo′?*—*’e′na mąkį′kte’* are you home?—there I shall stay;—*le′na yąka′ yo′* stay right here! 4.1;—*he′na yąke′ṡi po′, to′kṡa′ hiyo′m.nįkte’* tell him to stay there, I'll go to get him;—*ka′na ina′żį ną na′żįhe’* at yonder place he stopped and continued to stand (there);—*tukte′na — ṡni* no place where: *tukte′na b.le′ṡni’* I have no place to go to; *le′ tukte′na ’e′wag.nakeṡni’* this I have no place where to put it down (also *tukte′ni* instead of *tukte′na*);—*’ena′na* here and there: *’ųma′ kį ’ena′na*

’apʻe′ ḣpa′yapi others here and there waiting lay about 51.5;—*he′l ’ena′na ’u′ta li′la ’o′ta hiye′ya ke′’* there here and there very many acorns lay about, they say 77.13;—*etą′na* right from there;—*letą′na* right from here without going any farther;—*’ekta′na* there at the place where it is;—*’ekta′na wacʻe′ųpahąpi* right there where they were roasting meat 273.8 (see also no. 39)

24. *-nala:*

’išna′, mišna′, nišna he, I, you alone (generally with-*la*); *tʻąšna′* unmarried (body alone) presumably with adversative *š*

lcna′la, hena′la, kana′la, co′nala only this, that many (*lece′la* sing.);—Santee *to′nana*, Teton *co′nala* few, a little;—*to′nala wicʻa′kicʻo* he invited a certain few

25. *-nakeca* plurals:

’iye′nakeca, lena′keca, hena′keca, kana′keca, to′nakeca hena′ųkecapi that many, of us;—*ho hena′keca le′l ’awi′cʻaku po′* now, that number bring here 182.5;—*ho, hena′keca waya′su-’iyotakapi’* now, that number judging sat 182.9

26. *kįhą* if—then, always referring to future (see p. 148):

waų′šiyalapi he′cįhą he′ slolwa′yįkta` whether you have compassion I shall know 67.18;—*’u′kta he′cįhą ’iwa′homayįkte’* if he will come, then he will warn me

27. *’ekta′* at a place, at rest; always at a distance from the location where the speaker is.

’ekta′kiya ye′ c’ų wana′ ’ekta′ ’ihų′ni’ the one who was going to that place has now arrived there;—*wana′ ’ekta′ ’ų′* he is now there where he intended to go (cf. *wana′ ’e′l ’ų′* he is now there, near by);—*hena′ ’ekta′ wicʻa′b.le’* I go (to be) at the place where those are 2.9;—*he′ ’ekta′ ’i′’* he arrived at a place away from here where that was 129.9;—*’ekta′kta* reduplicated, *’ekta′kta ’e′tųwe’* he looked around there;—*cʻąke′ ’ekta′ktani ’ot’a′pi* and so here and there they died in there 127.12;—*’ekta′šniyą* adversely;—*’ekta′wapʻaya* a little more towards there 135.10;—*he′kta* towards the rear: *he′kta b.loke′tu k’ų he′hą′ wąb.la′ke’* last summer it was when I saw him;—*hą′pa he′ktakikiya oki′hą po′* put on (your) moccasins backward;—*he′ktatąhą* from the rear, from behind: *he′ktatąhą ho′uye’* he shouted from behind; *’ig.la′ka ųyą′pi yų′kʻą′ he′ktatąhą tųwe′ya kį waho′ši-g.lipi’* we went moving and then from the rear those who were looking out came back bringing word (information)

28. *-ktakiya:*

wakpa′ kį ’ekta′kiya ’ųg.la′pi’ towards the river we were going homeward;—*he′ktakiya g.li′* he was on his return trip 65.7; more explicitly *he′ktakiya kawį′ḣ g.li′’* backwards turning sharply about (*kawį′ġa*) he arrived back, without reaching his goal;—*he′ktakiya wi′b.lukcą’* I think in retrospect

The forms 29–39 seem to be derived from *kʻa* which expresses a quality. (See p. 83.) *’ecʻa′* it is its quality, used as a prefix *’ecʻa′-hušte* he is lame congenitally; *’ecʻa′-’ošteka* he has a peculiar disposition.

29. *-kʻa* iv.:

’ecʻa wana′ ’ecʻų′ye′ it being so do it now 148.12;—*’ecʻa makʻa`-nų`ġeya ’ųka′ya po′* it being so, Earth-as-Ear-Haver, take us along! 149.8;—*’ecʻa′* by nature, on purpose; *’ecʻa* (unaccented) in that case;—*ta′ku ’oya′le k’ų he′ le′cʻa he*? something you were seeking that was it this kind? (is this the kind you wanted?);—*lecʻa′ to′kša′* [34]—*wąš* before you are aware of it (so and so) will happen;—*cʻą′ k’eya′ cʻoġį′ šaša′ k’ų he′cʻa ’ece′ ’aku′ wo′* wood some pith all red, that kind only bring home! 66.9;—*he′cʻa ’ecé′la kʻowa′kipʻe c’ų* it is that kind only I fear 78.16 (see also 188.7);—*ptecʻį′cala-żi`la kį he′cʻa ’ece′ ’e′wicʻag.lepi* the yellowish buffalo calves of that sort only they stood them up;—*hema′cʻa* I am of that kind;—*ka′kʻa ’etą′ mak’u′* gives me of that kind yonder;—*to′kʻa* does not mean “what kind,” and does not permit the corresponding demonstrative answer *le′cʻa, he′cʻa, ka′kʻa;* it means “what is the matter?”;—*to′makʻa* something happens to me; [34a] what is the matter with me?—*to′kʻa he*? what is the trouble?—*he′l ta′ku to′kʻakta škʻe′’* they say something is going to happen there;—*to′kʻa* with negative verb; cannot; *to′kʻa-wo`tešni* he cannot eat;—*to′kʻa-’iki`-kcušni’* he could not take his back 27.4

The interrogative and indefinite form corresponding to *le′cʻa* etc. is *ta′ku.*

hena′ ta′ku he? hena′ le′cʻa’ what are those? Those are of this kind;—*ta′ku cʻa ’ų′ he′cʻanų he? le′cʻa cʻa mų′* what kind of thing did you use to do that? It was this kind of thing I used

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[34] *to′kša′<to′kʻa-’eša′* surely, a promise to comply with a request.

[34a] Euphemistic for “I am going to die.”

Examples of *toʹkʻa:*

ną taʹku toʹkʻa hąʹtąhąš ’oyaʹka yoʹ and if anything is in any way, tell! 65.6;—*toʹkʻa cʻa leʹ niyaʹte leʹcʻel ȟpaʹya huwoʹ?* why is it (what is of such a kind) that your father lies in this way? 133.14

Duplicated *’ecʻaʹcʻa, ’ecʻaʹcʻaš* unquestionably, without specific purpose.

’ecʻaʹcʻa-’ištį`me’* he is unquestionably asleep;—*’ecʻaʹcʻa ’ištįʹmešni’* he is entirely of the kind that he does not sleep (i. e., he cannot sleep);—*tokʻcʹ ’ccʻaʹcʻa-’omaʹnihą*[35] he is walking about without specific purpose 19.1;—*tokʻeʹ ’ecʻaʹcʻa-lową`kta[35] for diversion he would sing 26.12;—*tokʻeʹ ’ecʻaʹcʻa* in an easy manner, nonchalantly (in some manner as it ought to be) or *tokʻeʹcʻocʻa* (see p. 139);—*tokʻe* unaccented introduces a rhetorical question

30. *-kʻala, ’ecʻaʹla* adverb and verb:

wanaʹecʻaʹlakte’ now it will be soon; it will not be long;—*maleʹcʻala’* I am of recent times;—*lecʻaʹla kʻig.leʹ’* he left just a little while ago;—*lecʻaʹš* just a minute ago

31. *kʻe:*

yųʹkʻąʹ leʹcʻe lo and behold, thus! *leʹcʻe* thus; often used instead of, or with *yųʹkʻaʹ* lo and behold!—*’iʹš heʹcʻe* in his own way 64.1;—*heʹcʻeȟci* in that very way 5.6;—*hcʹcʻcš* used in narratives with very weak meaning "and now," or "now" at the beginning of a tale 77.6, 77.12, 151.12

32. *-kʻeya* really:

wašteʹ ’ecʻeʹya-wašte`’ she is as good as she is beautiful;—*leʹcʻeyaʹ wamaʹyazą’* I am actually sick now (although you may not believe it);—*heʹcʻeyaʹ toʹkʻaȟʹą škʻeʹ’* he was really lost somewhere 133.7;—*wįʹyą kʻų heʹcʻeyaʹ locʻįʹ kį* the aforesaid woman who was really hungry 171.11;—*heʹcʻel yąkaʹhe cʻu heʹcʻeyaʹ liʹla ’iyoʹkišica ’ųʹ tʻekiʹnica škʻeʹ’* the one who was sitting there actually with really great sadness he was almost dead, it is said 225.17—*heʹcʻeyaʹ-heya he?* did he really say (and mean) it? (also *ecʻaʹkʻel-heya he?*)

Also with the meaning "just now":

leʹl yąkaʹhąpi ną leʹcʻeyaʹ-kʻig.la`pi’* they had been sitting about here and just now they left;—*heʹcʻeyaʹ-hina`žį hąʹl ’eʹl wakʻiʹ’ he had just arrived and stopped when I got home there

33. *-kʻeʹl, ’ecʻeʹl* accordingly, properly (adv.), see *’ecʻeʹca* (verb):

heʹcʻena ’istoʹ kʻų heʹ ’ecʻeʹl ’oʹkicištąpi’ continuing that way the aforesaid arm that properly they put into place 135.17;—*nihąʹšni yąkaʹhą ’ecʻeʹl tʻoʹka kį kakʻiʹyotʻą ’eʹyaya* paying no attention he was sitting till the enemy somewhere went 71.15;—*toʹkʻeškʻe cʻiyeʹ ’ohoʹwalašni ’iyeʹcʻcl waeʹcʻamųkta he?* how can I (as if) dishonoring my brother thus I shall do? 181.4;—*tkʻaʹ ’akʻeʹ wicʻaʹša ’iyeʹcʻel ’oyaʹya niyuʹkʻe* but also a man in that way limbs are to you (you have) 214.3;—*’iʹš-’eyaʹ wicʻaʹša ’iyeʹcʻel cʻažeʹyal woʹyuha yuhaʹkʻiyapi’* it also a human being (as if) in that way in its name property they caused to have 274.7 (as though it [a doll] were a man, they give property in its name);—*hakeʹla leʹcʻel ’eciʹyapi’* thus they said to Hakela 65.4;—*toʹkʻa cʻa leʹ niyaʹte leʹcʻel ȟpaʹya huwoʹ?* why this your father thus lies? 133.14;—*leʹcʻel ’eyaʹ* indeed it being so, i. e., to be sure;—*heʹcʻel ’ecʻųʹ* thus she did 66.3;—*heʹcʻel m.nicʻoʹkaya kʻinaʹžįpi* thus in the middle of the water they stop 70.14;—*ną kaʹkʻel cʻiyeʹku g.liʹpi* and the instant his elder brothers returned 65.14;—*tokʻi tʻakoʹža kaʹkʻel ną kaʹkʻel yuhaʹ niʹ* would that my grandson had such and such 122.15;—*’iʹya toʹkʻel g.naʹyįkta heʹcįhą heʹ ’iyuʹkcą* Iya how he would trap him that he thought about 3.7;—*ną hetąʹhą ’akʻeʹ toʹkʻel ’iyaʹyeca cʻeʹl* and from there again which way he went, who knows? 5.11;—*toʹkʻel-’oki`hika pʻąpʻąʹla keʹ’* they say it was somehow extremely breakable 66.8;—reduplicated *’ecʻeʹkcʻe* 180.12

34. *’ecʻeʹlya* implying sufficiently, suitably, in a proper way:

cʻeyįʹkta ’iyeʹcʻelya ksuʹyeye šąʹ cʻeʹyešni’ so as to cry sufficiently he was hurt but he did not cry;—*’ecʻeʹlya s’e ’ų-waʹcʻįʹ* try to live in that way, as it were;—*heʹcʻelya s’e* in that manner, as it were; somewhat in that manner;—*kaʹkʻelya s’e ’eʹg.le* he set it in that way, as it were;—*’iʹpʻikta ’iyeʹcʻelya wak’uʹ’* what would be good for him in that way (sufficiently) I gave him, i. e., I gave him what should have been enough for him; *toʹkʻelyakel* in a way, after a fashion

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[35] Correct *’ecʻaʹca* in text to *’ecʻaʹcʻa.*

35. *’ecʻe´tu* it is right, it is as it should be, it has come true

’ema´cʻetušni I do not feel just right;—*wacʻį´ kį ’ecʻe´tu cʻąke´ li´la wi´b.luškį’* what I want has come true, and so I very much rejoice;—*tokʻi tʻako´ża ka´kʻel ną ka´kʻel yuha´ ni´; ’eya´ cʻą´ ’iye´cʻetu* I wish that my grandson had such and such! she said and everytime it so happened 122.15;—*he´cʻe ’ehą´ni ’ama´kisnikta-’iye`cʻetu tkʻa´ ye´* in that way long ago I might have been well it would have come true according to it 226.16;—*wi´hąb.la yų´kʻą´ ’iye´cʻetu ke´ye’* he had a dream, and lo! it came true, he said;—*’iye´micicʻetu* it has come true for me (compare *’iye´mahątu* it is suitable for me, it has the same length as I have; *iye´micihątu* it is timely for me, my time has come; all these are colloquial);—*le´cʻetu ke´ye’* he said it happened in this way; *wahe´macʻetu* I was about in that way, i. e., this size or age;—*’ob.la´ke cį le´cʻetu ke´ye’* what I told in this way it happened, he said;—*tukte´ni ’okʻą´ wani´ce cį he´ he´cʻctu* everywhere open space lacking that it happened that way 5.8;—*he´cʻetu he´cįhą* if it is that way 152.13;—*ho, wana´ ’eya´ṡ he´cʻetu we lo´* oh! now it is enough 227.8 (*’eya´ṡ* implies satisfaction; that will do! *’eya´* in that manner; well! indeed!);—*ka´kʻctu we lo´, ’eyį´ ną ’ecʻe´l ’oma´kiyake’* in that way it happened, he said and in that way he told me;—*to´kʻetu he?* how is he? what is happening? *to´kʻctu* he is some way;—*toni´kʻetu he* what is your state? i. e., how are you?—contracted: *to´ktuka cʻc´l-’eṡ* or *to´ktuka cʻe´ṡ* I don’t know; who knows? (how, i. e., in what manner is expressed by *tukte´ og.na´*)

36. *-kʻetuya:*

’iye´cʻetuya suitably;—*tąyą´ wama´k’u cʻa mi´ṡ-’eya´ ’iye´cʻctuya wawa´k’ukte’* well he has given me it being so I for my part correspondingly I shall give to him;—*he´cʻetuya mitʻa´wacʻį’* I am disposed in accordance with that;—*ka´kʻetuya, le´cʻetuya;—to´kʻetuya ’owa´ȟąktc cį naȟą´ȟcį slol-wa´yešni’* I do not yet know in what suitable manner I shall act;—*wahe´cʻetuya, wale´cʻetuya, waka´kʻetuya* about like this, that

37. *-kʻetkiya.* The difference between these forms and those in *-tkiya* (No. 18) is not very clear and it seems they are not used consistently. It has been remarked under *-tkiya* that instead of the form *to´tkiya* the Teton use *to´kʻetkiya.*

le´cʻctkiya ’au´pi’ they are bringing it this way;—*he´cʻetkiya ’iya´ye’* he went that way, in the direction from which you came;—*he´tkiya ’iya´ye’* he went to your place;—*ka´kʻe´tkiya ya´he’* he was going along in yonder direction;—*ka´tkiya ’iya´ye’* he went that way yonder

38. *-kʻeca* <*kʻa-ka* iv:

’ecʻe´ca it is that way;—*wana´ ’ema´cʻeca* now I am that way (i. e., sick);—*’ite´ kį sapye´la ’ecʻe´ca* his face is black as is natural for him (a favorite slam);—*wana´ ’ecʻe´ca* now it is the way it should be;—*’ecʻe´cahą* it kept on happening 21.16;—*maġa´żukta ke´he´ c’ų wana´ ’ecʻe´ca’* you said it would rain and now it does;—*ka´tu s’e le´cʻeca* it was like this place 19.3;—*’iye´macʻeca* I resemble him;—*le´cʻeca* it is like this 1.3, 185.5;—*lema´cʻeca* I am like this;—*he´cʻeca* it was like that 72.15, 274.15;—*he´cʻecakta* it was going to be like this 172.4;—*he´cʻccakte c’ų* (it was clear that) it was going to be that way 149.12;—*he´cʻecakta ye´ṡ* it was certain that that would happen and yet (you did not heed);—*’ehą´niṡ he´cʻecakte c’ų* indeed long ago it was certain that that was going to happen (and now it has happened);—*ka´kʻeca* it is like that yonder, *kama´kʻeca* I am like that yonder;—*to´kʻeca* it is some way, something is the matter with it;—*to´kʻeca tʻąį´šni’* it is not clear what is the matter with him;—*toma´kʻeca* something is the matter with me (also, I am menstruating);—*to´kʻecašni* nothing is the matter with him;—*tokʻe´cela* barely, hardly (see No. 18) 172.3

39. *-kʻena* continuing:

le´cʻena ’ųyį´kte´ let us continue going this way;—*he´cʻena* it is still the same 2.15;—*he´cʻena ’iya´ye’* he continued going that way;—*he´macʻena* I am still the same;—*he´cʻenaȟcį g.li´šni* he never returned;—*yašle´ ka´kʻena ya´hą* Coyote was going in yonder direction 70.1;—*pʻatka´ṡa ka´kʻena zuya´ ya´hą* Turtle was going to war in yonder direction 77.1;—*ka´kʻena* means idiomatically “off in any direction”.—A Yankton love song begins: *ka´kʻena ’ųyį´kte, ’epʻe´ c’ų* we’ll go off, I said

he´cʻena is often translated by “immediately after that.” In this case it is a corruption of *he´cʻeg.na* from *g.na* placed (on, in, with). Both forms are in use. The form with diminutive *la*, *he´cʻeg.nala* is often pronounced *he´cʻeg.lala.* Examples of *he´cʻena* immediately after that, are 4.6, 67.11.

40. *-k‘i* at a certain place; *i* in reference to the position of the person addressed or spoken of in *le′c‘i;* in reference to the speaker in *he′c‘i, ka′k‘i, to′k‘i.* The forms express the place or region where the object or person referred to belongs permanently. In contrast to the forms in *-k‘iya* the forms in *-k‘i* refer to a particular place. In contrast to the forms *le′l, he′l, ka′l tukte′l* they refer to one point in reference to another, while the forms in *l* refer simply to a point. The form *kal* is therefore used for a place nearby, in sight, *ka′k‘i* for a point at a distance the direction of which may be pointed out.

> *le′c‘i mąke′’* I am sitting here (and you there);—*he′c‘i c‘ąp‘a′ yuk‘ą′ he?* are there choke-cherries over there (where I am not);—*hiya′; iyc′ṡ ka′k‘i ’o′ta s‘e le′c‘eca ye′!* no, rather over yonder are many it seems;—*ka′k‘i ka c‘ų′kaške-’ihą`ke kį he′l* over yonder, that yonder fence the corner at that referred to;—*to′k‘i lehą′l ’ak‘e′ ’ia′ ’oma′ni se′cc le′* at some place (not here) at this time again talking he goes about probably (*le′* woman speaking in soliloquy);—*tok‘i′ yaų′ huwo′ ?* where (at what definite place) are you; *ka′k‘i to′k‘i* ever so far, far off somewhere, contracted *ka′kto′k‘i;*—*le′c‘i to′k‘i* way over here (from a distance)

41. *-k‘iya.* While *k‘i* expresses a definite place, *-k‘iya* expresses an indefinite region.

> *le′c‘iya le′l b.le′ wą yąka′* over here, here is a lake 152.19; 157.7;—*he′c‘i m.nį′kte* I will go to where you are;—*he′c‘iya m.nį′kte* I'll go in the direction of the place where you are; see 150.1;—*he′c‘i yąke′’* he sat over there;—*he′c‘iya yąke′’* somewhere over there he sat 74.2;—*yų′k‘ą′ he′c‘iya t‘ażu′škala wą ’ata′ya šk‘e′’* and then there somewhere he met a little ant 157.7;—*ka′k‘iya ’oya′te wą t‘i′pi c‘a ’ekta′ ’ate′ i′’* somewhere over yonder a people lived, to them father arrived going 133.15;—*ka′k‘iya ’ak‘i′kšuhą* at a place yonder (indefinite) he was piling it up 171.10; also 149.6, 150.3;—*to′k‘iya la′ huwo′?* in what direction are you going? 77.2; also 73.13; 82.5;—*to′k‘iyani ye′šni* she went nowhere 133.1

42. *-k‘iyatą:*

> *’ec‘i′yatą* on that side (in reference to this side);—*’ųma′ ec‘i′yatą sa′pe’* it is black on the other side;—*hu′te ’ec‘i′yatą pųpų′’* it is rotting at the butt end (of the log);—*le′c‘iyatą c‘ą′ hą′skaska’* on this side, (as of a stream) there are tall trees (the trees are tall);—*t‘ą-le′c‘iyatą hušte′’* he (horse) is lame on this side (*t‘ą* body);—*he′c‘iyatą k‘eṡ ’e′t‘i po′; li′la m.ni-hi′yaye* on that side at all events make camp; very the water goes along (the flood is too high for crossing);—*t‘i-ka′k‘iyatą ’owa′pi, ną le′c‘iyatą ’e′ ’e′ ta′kunišni’* on yonder side of the tipi it is painted, and on this side it is the one referred to there is nothing;—*ka′k‘iyatą ’iya′yapi ną yuwą′kal ’icu′ po′* step to that side, and lift it;—*to′k‘iyatą b.lu′zįkta he? ’eya′ niye′ṡ to′k‘iyatą yac‘į′ka* which side, which end, am I going to take hold of? Well, you rather whichever side you will

43. *-k‘iyatąhą:*

> *’ec‘i′yatąhą, le′c‘iyatąha, he′c‘iyatąhą, ka′k‘iyatąhą, to′k‘iyatąhą* coming from a definite point, *le′c‘iyatąhą* from or at a distant place where the person addressed or spoken of is assumed to be permanently located or to which he belongs, to here; in all other cases from a distant place to the place to which the speaker or the subject of the discourse belongs;—*he′c‘iyatąhą wic‘o′ta ’ahi′ ke′ya′pi’* they say a group of people arrived from there (where you or they belong);—*wą, tuwa′ le′c‘iyatąhą ’u′we lo′* my! somebody from a distant place to which he belongs is coming 78.5;—*ka′k‘iyatąhą* does not refer to a definite place: *ka′k‘iyatąhą ka tuwa′ ’u′we* from over yonder (pointed out) someone is coming;—*yų′k‘ą′ to′k‘iyatąhą kį ’oya′s’į mat‘a′peh’ą ye′ṡ k‘o′ ’ahi′hųni* and then from all the somewheres (everywhere) even the toads also arrived 73.2;—*to′k‘iyatąhą kį ’oya′s’į wana′ ’awi′c‘ahiyupi* from everywhere now they came (charging) at them 105.11

Also, according to—*wana′ wawe′ksuye cį ’ec‘i′yatąhą* now according to what I remember 2.3

44. *-k‘iyot‘ą* (compare *’owo′t‘ąla* in a straight direction):

> *ka c‘ą′ wą ’išna′la he′ cį hec‘i′yot‘ąlahcį wi′ mahe′l ’iya′ya hą′l mic‘į′kši t‘e′’* yonder tree one alone standing, exactly in that direction the sun set (went in), when my son died;—*kak‘i′yot‘ą* in yonder direction 3.1, 71.16;—*hec‘i′yot‘ą t‘awa′c‘įšni’* she did not think in that direction 65.2;—*tok‘i′yot‘ą ’iya′ye’* he has gone off in some direction 121.14, 186.1,10

A number of verbs contract with demonstratives, *leya′* he said this, *le′c‘ų* he did this. (See pp. 98, 101.)

§§ 156–158. NOUNS

§ 156. NOMINAL STEMS

On pages 28 and 33 nominal stems have been described. Like the verbs they have the types cvc, cv, and cvccv. The last-named group contains many compounds. It may be that all are compounded of two elements.

Change of terminal *a* to *e* and of *e* to *a* have been discussed on pages 32 and 34.

§ 157. NOUNS DERIVED FROM VERBS

Nouns formed by the prefix *wa-* have been discussed on pages 52 et seq. Most of these forms are still felt as verbs and function as nouns only with the following article *kį*. This is particularly true of the nomina actoris.

The following are felt as nouns and express permanent qualities:

waya'ka captive;—*wapʻi'ya* he makes people well, medicine man;—*wakį'yą* thunder;—*waų'cʻala* the little one imitates (*waų'cʻala* monkey, *waų'cʻapi* mockery)

The following are verbs, nominalized by the article and express temporary occupations:

wakʻu'wa he hunts buffaloes (*wakʻu'wa kį* buffalo hunter);—*wayu'tʻą* he serves at a ceremonial, lit. he touches things; (*wayu'tʻą kį* server at a ceremonial);—*wo'ha* he carries things;—*wao'ka* he rather hits something, marksman

Certain terms which are constantly applied for objects of everyday life have become nouns and function as such without the article. With active verbs these have a passive meaning.

wa'paha something pushed up unsteadily, i. e., a war standard;—*wapʻo'ṡtą* hat (*'o'stą* to fit);—*wĭ'yukpą* mill;—*wapa'zopi* a spectacle, something shown;—*wakʻe'ya* tent (*kʻe* slanting, *-ya* to make);—*wa'kaȟpe* cover (*'aka'ȟpa* to cover up=let fall on);—*waya'hota* oats (*yaho'ta* to choke, lit. he obstructs passage by means of mouth);—*wana'p'į* necklace (*nap'į'* to wear around neck);—*watʻe'ṡlake* kerchief (*tʻe-ṡla'ka* to wear around head)

With neutral verbs *wa-* expresses objects having a certain quality.

wapa'm.na a clump of bushes;—*wapʻe'pʻe* brambles;—*walu'ta* ceremonial red;—*watʻo'* fresh green leaves in spring;—*watʻo'keca* delicacies;—*wasna'* caked pemmican;—*wasnĭ'snika* cold things (food);—*wasku'ya* fruits (sweet things);—*waṡa'pa* dirty things, soiled clothes;—*waṡĭ'cu* a sacred object;—*waṡpą'ka* cold, cooked food;—*waṡtų'kala* preserved corn;—*wag.mų'* something twisted, i. e., pumpkin;—*waką'ka* old woman (*ką'* aged);—*waȟca'* flower;—*waȟpe'* leaf;—*wana'ġi* ghost, from *naġi'* shadow, ghost of a person;—*wapʻa'ha* war bonnet, from *pʻa* head, *ha'* skin

The prefix *'o-* forms nouns which are no longer felt as verbs. It has generally a delimiting sense.

Locatives:

'otʻi' dwelling;—*'otʻų'we* (*'o-tʻi-'o-a-hą*) town[35a];—*'oye'* trail;—*'oa'li* step (in stairway);—*'oa'pʻe* place of striking, hour;—*'oo'* wound;—*'ona'pʻe* refuge;—*'onų'we* swimming hole;—*'oyų'ke* bed;—*'ocʻe'tʻi* fireplace;—*'o'hązi* a shady place, a shade (also neutral verb);—*'ob.la'ye* prairie;—*o'ṡki* hilly country, rough roads

It also expresses the passive participle and the corresponding noun.

'opʻa'ȟte a bundle;—*'ożu'ha* receptacle (*'ażu'* to pile up S.);—*'ożu'tʻųpi wążĭ'* a bag full;—*'oyu'kse* pieces cut up;—*oĭ'yutʻe* a measured object, quantity;—*'oų'* dose of medicine, etc.;—*'oo'he* a quantity for one cooking, or cooked;—*'olo'wą* song;—*'oka'swu* fringes

The prefix *'i-* is used to form instrumental nouns. (See p. 43.)

'iyu'hįte rake;—*'ipa'ste* instrument, for rubbing dressing on hides;—*'ica'pte* a ladle;—*'icʻa'pʻe* dagger;—*'ĭ'calu* fan;—*'ica'ġe* tool (*ka'ġa* to make)

In nouns formed with *wa-*, *'o-*, *'i-* the changeable terminal *a* becomes *e*. (See pp. 33, 41, 43.)

The contracted form *wo'-* from *wao-* is used to form generalized nouns, particularly abstract nouns. (See p. 133.)

wo'waṡte goodness;—*wo'aiye* gossip;—*wo'ksape* wisdom;—*wo'apʻe* expectation;—*wo'yuha* property

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[35a] *tʻųwą'pi* (S) they lived in a town.

Other nouns are formed with the ending *-pi*. They are actually third person plurals and correspond to our passives.

c‘ą-ka′wac‘ipi they make wood dance by striking, i. e., a top (see p. 66);—*paį′yąkapi* snow snake;—*paslo′hąpi* sliding stick

These forms, like those in *wa-*, are felt as nouns only when they apply to terms of everyday occurrence in the life of the people; officers, objects of daily use, abstract terms are so conceived.

§ 158. CLASSIFICATION OF NOUNS

The concept of position which is ever present in some of the Siouan dialects, for instance in Winnebago, is found in traces in Dakota. In sentences expressing "to be somewhere" the corresponding verbs *yąka′* to sit is used for objects of spherical or cubical form, like rocks, hills, heavenly bodies, or for small objects including small animals; *na′żį* to stand, for men and animals; *hą′* to stand, for long, upright inanimate objects or those that stand upright in a definite way; *yųka′* to lie, mostly for animate beings; *ȟpa′ya* to lie, mostly for inanimate objects; *hiye′ya* for scattered, roundish or short objects that lie in a pile or scattered about. Other special terms are used. Plants "grow," hanging objects "hang," etc.

Examples for the use of *yąka′:*

Natural objects:

’iğu′ġa rock
’owo′żu garden
’ot‘ų′we town
wi′ sun
wic‘a′ȟpi star
wo′icaṡe obstacle
hąhe′pi-wi moon
ȟesa′pa Black Hills
b.le′ lake
paha′ butte
pispi′za-ot‘i` prairie dog town
pte′o′wac‘i buffalo wallow
mak‘o′c‘e a piece of land
maȟpi′ya sky
c‘a′ġa a block of ice
c‘ąnų′p-’ok’e` pipestone quarry (digging place)

Animals:

p‘atka′ṡa turtle
zitka′la bird
g.naṡka′ frog
ig.mų′ cat

Parts of body of killed animal:

nasu′la brain
ṡupe′ intestines and all internal organs.

Food:

’ağu′yapi bread (lit. they cause it to be scorched)
’ağu′yapsu′[36] (bag, pile of) wheat (=bread seed) (*ağu′wapi* S. and Y)
waya′hota[36] (bag of) oats
t‘alo′ meat (lit. fresh food of ruminant)
ṡpą′ṡniyutapi melon (lit. they eat it not cooked)

Tools, implements, etc.

’i′p‘aȟte bridle
’i′calu fan
’oc‘ą′iyali ladder, when lying
wąhį′kpe arrow
wi′k‘ą rope
wo′p‘iye medicine bundle
wo′kp‘ą parfleche
hupa′ travois
pṡit‘o′, *ṡipt‘o′* beads
p‘ą′ bag
mi′la knife
t‘a′pa ball
t‘ahį′ṡpa awl
t‘ak‘ą′ sinew thread
wak‘e′ya the tent cover when not put up
t‘oṡu′ tipi poles
c‘aȟli′ coal
c‘ą′ fire-wood piled up, or short pieces
c‘ą′wak’į saddle
c‘ąka′ġa log
c‘ąk‘a′ flint
c‘ąk‘o′żuha pouch
c‘aȟo′ta ashes
nasų′pakce comb

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[36] *k’eya′* some is required with this.

And numerous other objects, many of European introduction:

’i'yohązi parasol
’iyu'šloke key
wi'yowa pencil
wi'paškiškite wash board
wo'wapi book
hai'pażaża soap
hahu'ta-’iyaˋpehąpi spool of thread
mas-’i'yap‘e hammer
ma'zaska' money
ma'zaska'-ożuˋha purse
mi'yog.las’į mirror
m.nihu'hak‘ak‘aka paper
c‘ąi'wakse saw
c‘ąi'pakįze violin
c‘ąwi'pasise clothespin
c‘ų'wįża-akąˋȟpe rug
nazų'spe ax

Clothing:

’o'g.le coat
wana'p’į necklace
wap‘o'štą hat
hą'pa shoes
hųya'k‘ų socks
napį'kpa gloves
napsi'yoȟli ring

Examples of the use of *hą':*

’oyų'ke bed
’ot‘i'wota abandoned campsite
wašų' smoke hole
wakši'ca plate
wic‘a'ȟapi grave
wi'g.mųke trap
ma'za wak‘ą' gun, except when lying
m.ni' water (in container)
m.ni'yatke cup
t‘iyo'pa door
t‘i'pi tent (when standing)
c‘ą' tree
c‘ąhu'ta stump of tree
c‘e'ġa kettle

All objects that must stand upright on a natural base, like a trunk, a tumbler, a clock, etc.; but also—

’asą'pi milk (probably because always in a container)

Examples of use of *na'żį*. All animals standing are used with *ną'żį;* also machines that can move and stand upright.

’iye'c‘įka-įyąka automobile
ȟema'ni train

Examples of use of *yųka':*

wa'ta boat (a skiff *yąką'*)
wakpa' river (also *ȟpa'ya*)
wakpa'la creek (also *ȟpa'ya*)
mak‘a' land (as a whole)
c‘ąku' road (also *ȟpa'ya*)

Everything lying stretched out long belongs to this group.

Examples of *ȟpa'ya* to lie:

wakpa' river (also *yųka'*)
wakpa'la creek (also *yųka'*)
c‘ąku' road (also *yųka'*)
c‘eya'kt‘ųpi bridge
zuze'ca snake

Examples of *hiye'ya* plural for *yąka':*

he'l ’i'yą-t‘ąkt‘ąˋka ’o'ta hiye'ye’ many large stones lie there (scattered)
waya'hota single grains of oats
’oya'te if thought of as tribes, not as living individuals

§ 159–162. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

§ 159. General Remarks

The possessive pronouns are prefixes and correspond to the objective personal pronouns.

my	*mi-, ma-*
thy, your	*ni-*
his	—
our	*’ų-, ’ųki-*

Inseparable and separable possession are distinguished. In the former the pronoun is prefixed to the noun; in the latter to *tʻa-*. In the case of inseparable possession we have to distinguish between parts of the body and terms of relationship.

Natural objects, like land, water, animals including the dog but excepting the horse [37] cannot take the possessive pronoun, because under aboriginal conditions they could not be exclusive property of anyone. Food also is not used with possessive pronoun except in the term *tʻawo′te* his food supply, with the meaning of "his means of extending hospitality."

> *mitʻa′wote wąla′kįkte* you shall see my hospitality [38]

In Dakota the use of possessives is generally avoided. Instead of the possessive pronoun verbal constructions are used which indicate the relation between subject and object (p. 86).

> *šų′kakʻą′ wą kit′e′′* a horse died to him

rather than—

> *tʻašų′ke wą t′e′′* his horse died

§ 160. INSEPARABLE POSSESSION

Parts of the body are not ordinarily used with possessive pronouns expressing inseparable possession. Instead the possessive forms of the verb are used. When they are used with possessive pronouns those parts of the body which are conceived as particularly subject to will-power take in the first person the form *mi-*; all others take *ma-*.

mii′ my mouth (also *mai′*)
mii′ha my lips
mii′te my facial expression (see *mai′te*)
mii′tog.nake my countenance
mii′sto my arm
mii′šta my eye
miho′ my voice (also *maho′*)
mitʻą′cʻą my body
misi′ my foot (also *masi′*)
misi′ha my foot (Santee)
micʻą′te my heart
micʻe′ȟpi my flesh (the physical body as opposed to the spiritual)
mina′pe my hand
mina′ġi my spirit
minų′ġe my ear (as sense organ)
micʻe′ my penis

Forms in *ma-* are:

maa′żųtka my kidney
maa′b.lo my region of shoulder blade
mai′te my face (see *mii′te*)
mai′špa my elbow
mai′škahu my ankle
mao′yutʻe my flank
maų′ze my buttocks
mahį′yete my shoulder
maho′ my voice (also *miho′*)
mawe′ my blood
mahu′hu my bone
mapʻa′ my head from neck up
mapʻa′su my nose
mapʻe′ top of my head
mapʻe′hį my hair
mapʻi′ my liver
mapʻi′zi my gall (yellow liver)
matʻe′zi my stomach
matʻu′cʻuhu my ribs
masi′ my foot (also *misi′*)
masi′cʻą my thigh
masu′su my testicles
maša′šte my little finger
maša′ke my nail
mašu′pe my intestines
macʻa′ġu my lungs
macʻą′kʻahu my spinal column
macʻą′kpe my knee
macʻe′hupa my jaw
macʻe′ca my leg
macʻe′kpa my navel
macʻo′nicʻa my flesh under the skin
mana′pʻahųka my thumb
mana′pokaške my wrist
mani′ġe my stomach
makʻą′ my vein, artery, sinew, ligament
mašą′ my vulva

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[37] At present the cattle on large ranches are considered as property and not as food. Therefore they are expressed as separable property by the prefix *tʻa*.

[38] In forms like *tʻalo′* supply of meat, the *tʻa* is not the possessive but means ruminant.

When a body part is personified or addressed, the possessive pronouns are always *mi, ni, ųki.*

"*mių̀ze, lena′ awą′miciyaka yo′*" my buttocks! watch these for me![39]
mic‘ą̀te t’į̣s-i′c’iya yo′ my heart! make thyself firm!

The possessive pronouns *ma* (*mi*), *ni*, *ųki* are used only when the body parts are used predicatively.

le′ ta′ku he? he mina′pe′ what it this? It is my hand

When body parts appear as purely nominal forms, possession is expressed in the verb.[40] (See p. 86.)

si′ maka′hų′ he slashed my foot (he slashed me the foot)
cąte′ ’a′taya we′c’ų′ with my whole heart (I use my whole heart)

§ 161. TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

Terms of relationship take the possessive pronouns expressing inseparable possession, *mi, ni, ųki*. In addition they take the suffix *-ku*; after terminal *i*, and *į*, *-tku* or *cu* for the third person. The first person possessive is omitted in many terms. On account of the numerous irregularities we give the list of terms according to their forms.

1. REGULAR ENDING IN *a, e, ą, o, ṡ*

	Address	3d person possessive	1st person possessive	2d person possessive
(his) elder brother	*c‘iye′*	*c‘iye′ku*[1]	*c‘iye′*	*nic‘i′ye*
(his) elder sister	*t‘ąke′*	*t‘ąke′ku*	*t‘ąke′*	*nit‘ą′ke*
(her) elder sister	*c‘uwe′*	*c‘uwe′ku*	*c‘uwe′*	*nic‘u′we*
(her) brother’s son	*t‘oṡka′*	*t‘oṡka′ku*	*t‘oṡka′, mit‘o′ṡka*	*nit‘o′ṡka(la)*
(his) sister’s son	*t‘ųṡka′*	*t‘ųṡka′ku*	*t‘ųṡka′, (mit‘ų′ṡka)*	*nit′ų′ṡka(la)*
(his) sister-in-law	*hąka′*	*hąka‘ku*	*hąka′*	*nihą′ka*
(her) husband	(*wic‘a′ȟca*)	*hį̣g.na′ku*	*wic‘a′ṡa*[2] *mit‘a′wa, mihį′g.na*, (very formal)	*nihį′g.na*
(his) brother-in-law	*t‘ąhą′, mąṡe′*[3]	*t‘ąhą′ku*	*t‘ąhą′*	*nit‘ą′hą*
(her) sister-in-law	*ṡcep‘ą′*	*ṡce′p‘ąku*	*ṡce′p‘ą*	*niṡce′p‘ą*
(her) elder brother	*t‘ib.lo′*	*t‘ib.lo′ku*	*t‘ib.lo′*	*nit‘i′ʰ.lo*
child-in-law	*t‘ako′ṡ*	*t‘ako′ṡku*	*mit‘a′koṡ*	*nit‘a′koṡku (kį)*
his sisters and female cross-cousins her brothers and male cross-cousins	----------------	*haka′taku*[4]	*miha′kata*	*niha′kata*

[1] Santee *c‘į′cų*.
[2] It is customary to say *wi′yą mit‘a′wa* my wife, not *mit‘a′wį* because the latter points to sexual relations; also *wic‘a′ṡa mit‘a′wa* my husband. *mit‘a′wic‘a‘ṡa* is used jokingly for "my fellow."
[3] *mąṡe′* designates particular companionship. Compare *waṡe′* female friend of woman.
[4] ***haka′taya*** he (she) has for his (her) sister (brother) or female (male) cross-cousin.

2. ENDING IN *ṡi, i, į* and *e*

Ending *-tku*

grandfather	*t‘ųkaṡila′*[4a]	*t‘ųka′ṡitku*	*t‘ųka′ṡila*	*nit‘ų′kaṡila* (rarely *a* nasalized)
(his) younger sister	*t‘ąkṡi′*	*t‘ąkṡitku*	*t‘ąkṡi′ (mit‘ą′kṡila)*	*nit‘ą′kṡila*
(her) female cross-cousin	*cep‘ąṡi′*	*ce′p‘ąṡitku*	*ce′p‘ąṡi*	*nice′p‘ąṡi*
(his) male cross-cousin	*t‘ąhąṡi′*	*t‘ąhą′ṡitku*	*t‘ąhą′ṡi*	*nit‘ą′hąṡi*
(his) female cross-cousin	*hąkaṡi′*	*hąka′ṡitku*	*hąka′ṡi*	*nihą′kaṡi*
(her) male cross-cousin	*ṡic’eṡi′*	*ṡic’e′ṡitku*	*ṡic’e′ṡi*	*niṡi′c’eṡi*
mother’s brother	*lekṡi′*	*lekṡi′tku*	*lekṡi′*[5]	*nile′kṡi*

[4a] Western Ogalala children *t‘ųką′la*.
[5] Yankton and Santee use both *dekṡi′* and *mide′kṡi*.

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[39] Quoted from an Ikto′mi story.
[40] The use of possessive pronouns in the translations of the Psalms by Riggs and Williamson is largely unidiomatic.

2. ENDING IN *ṡi*, *i*, *į* and *e*—Continued

Ending -*cu*

father's sister	*tʻųwį'*	*tʻųwį'cu*	*tʻųwį'*	*nitʻų'wį*
wife	(*wįnu'ȟca*)	*tʻawi'cu*	(*mitʻ a'wį*) *wį'yą mitʻa'wa kį* very formal, *wįnu'ȟca* very informal	*nitʻa'wį*
(his) elder brother	*cʻiye'*	*cʻį'cu* [6] (Santee)		
(her) brother-in-law	*ṡic'e'*	*ṡic'e'cu*	*ṡic'e'*	*niṡi'cʻe*

[6] Teton *cʻiye'ku*.

IRREGULAR

father	*’ate'*	*’atku'ku*	*’ate'*	*niya'te*
(his, her) younger brother	*misų'*	*sųka'ku*	*misų'*(*kala*)	*nisų'kala*
father-in-law	*tʻųkąṡi'* [7]	*tʻųką'ku*	*tʻųką'ṡi*	*nitʻų'ką*
son	*cʻįkṡ* [8]	*cʻįhį'tku*	*micʻį'kṡi*	*nicʻį'kṡi*
daughter	*cʻųkṡ* [8]	*cʻųwį'tku*	*micʻų'kṡi*	*nicʻų'kṡi*
mother	*’ina* [9]	*hų'ku*	*’ina'*	*nihų'*
grandmother	*’ųci'*, *kʻų'ṡi*	*kʻų'ṡitku*	*’ųci'*, *kʻų'ṡi*	*nikʻų'ṡi*
mother-in-law	*’ųciṡi'*	*kʻų'ku*	*’ųci'ṡi*	*nikʻų'*
her younger sister	*mitʻą'*	*tʻąka'ku*	*mitʻą'*(*kala*)	*nitʻą'kala*
grandchild	*tʻakoża'*	*tʻako'żakpaku*	*tʻako'ża*	*nitʻa'koża*
(his) sister's daughter	*tʻųżą'*	*tʻųżą'kʻu*	*tʻųżą'*(*mitʻų'żą*)	*nitʻų'żą*(*la*)
her brother's daughter	*tʻożą'*	*tʻożą'kʻu*	*tʻożą'*, *mitʻo'żą*	*nitʻo'żą*(*la*)

[7] Also *tʻųka'ṡi*, *tʻųka'ku*, *nitʻų'ka*.

[8] Western Ogalala *cʻįkṡi'* and *cʻųkṡi'*.

[9] Also *’ina'cik'ala*, little mother, *’ina'-iȟąˋhą* make believe mother, terms for mother's sister.

When the form in address occurs in course of conversation the terms are without accent; when the address is used as a call, the last syllable bears a strong accent.

For the use of the article with terms of relationship, see page 134.

The first person dual and plural is not expressed by means of the possessive pronoun, but by the verbal expression *’ųyąˋpi kį* the one we have for:

cʻiye' ’ųyąˋpi kį our (plural) elder brother

For the first person dual of *mitʻa'koṡ* my child-in-law, the phrase *wiwo'ȟa kį* the woman who is staying owing to attraction, from *yuȟa* is used: to stay with someone owing to permanent attraction (like children with their mother, friends, etc.).

Plurals formed with *pi* express the plural as related to several individuals.

tʻożą'kʻupi kį the daughter of the brother of several women
tʻųka'ṡitkupi kį their (of a group of brothers, cousins) grandfather

When the relatives (here brothers, grandfathers) are also plural an adjective like "all, many, several" must be added.

If the possessor is singular the forms with *ya* to have, are used:

tʻożą'-wicʻaˋwaye cį those I have for nieces (woman speaking)

The same may also be expressed by the possessive form, if a definite or indefinite numeral is added:

mitʻo'żą ’iyu'ha all my nieces (woman speaking)

or by adding *pi* to the verb:

mitʻo'żą kį g.li'pi' my nieces have come back; when known to the person addressed *kį* is omitted

The third person plural possessive:

tʻakʻo'lakupi kį hą'ske' their friend is tall
tʻakʻo'lakupi kį hą'skaskapi' their friends are tall

The forms with *wicʻa* (given by Riggs, p. 16) are not possessive but refer to the terms as belonging to human beings: *wicʻaʹcį̨ca* children of man (not of animals), *wicʻaʹatkuku* (not *wicʻiʹatkuku*, Riggs) father of humans, *wicʻaʹhųku* mother of humans.

Here belong also *wicʻoʹwe* children of one family, *wicʻoʹicʻaǧe* generation.

More distant affinal relationship terms, and a few others expressing a close relation based neither on consanguinity nor affinity take the ending *ku* and also the prefix *tʻa* expressing separable possession.

	Address	3d person possessive	1st person possessive	2d person possessive
parent of my child's spouse	*amaʹwahitʻųʹ*	*tʻaʹmawahitʻųku*	*amaʹwahitʻų*	*nitʻaʹmawahitʻų*
stepchild		*tʻawaʹǧąku* [1]	*tʻawaʹǧąwaye cį* [1]	*nitʻaʹwaǧąku* or *tʻawaʹǧąyaye cį*
her cowife	(2)	*tʻeʹyaku*	(2)	
consanguineal relative	(no address)	*tʻiʹtakuye* [3]	*mitʻiʹtakuye*	*nitʻiʹtakuye*
consanguineal or affinal relative	*mita-ʹkuyepi* [4]	*ataʹkuye-tʻawa* (group term)	*mitaʹkuye*	*nitaʹkuye*
male friend of a man	*kʻolaʹ*	*tʻakʻaʹlaku*	*mitʻaʹkʻola* or *tʻakʻaʹlaku mayuʹkʻą* (his friend exists for me)	*nitʻaʹkʻola*
female friend of woman	*waśeʹ* [5]	*tʻawaʹśetku*	*mitʻaʹwaśe*	*nitʻaʹwaśe*
master (of a pet animal or guardian spirit)		*tʻiʹȟįyetku* [3]		

[1] Santee *nųkaʹs, nųkaʹsku,* obsolete in Riggs' time. *tʻawaʹǧą-waye cį* the one whom I have as a stepchild.

[2] Cowives call each other sister, cross-cousin, or mother of such and such a child; *tʻeʹyawaye cį* the one whom I have as a cowife; *tʻeʹyaku mayuʹkʻą* (her) cowife exists for me, i. e., I have her as a cowife is also used.

[3] See p. 133.

[4] This term is included here although it lacks the prefix *tʻa* because the theme is identical with the preceding. The address is always plural.

[5] Used only for those who are very intimate; often used by cross-cousins. Compare *maśeʹ* an analogous term for brothers-in-law.

The term *kicʻuʹwa*, comrade, from *kʻuwaʹ* to pursue, is going out of use. Riggs (p. 15) gives the possessive form *tʻakiʹcʻuwa*.

§ 162. SEPARABLE POSSESSION

Separable possession is expressed by the prefix *tʻa* (*mitʻa, nitʻa, ųkitʻa*).

When the noun with the possessive *tʻa* is not followed by the article the meaning is in most cases generalized and signifies a permanent relation of the owner to the thing possessed. The terms *kʻolaʹ* a man's male friend and *waśeʹ* a woman's female friend are used with *tʻa*.

Compounded with *tʻa* are the verbal or nominal possessives *mitʻaʹwa, nitʻaʹwa, tʻaʹwa, ųkiʹtʻawa*. These express "it is mine, yours, his, ours." When used nominally they must be followed by an article (*kį, kʼų, wą*); by a demonstrative (*leʹ, heʹ, kaʹ, lenaʹ, henaʹ, kanaʹ*); or by a numeral, definite or indefinite.

The usage is illustrated by the following examples:

tʻaśųʹke kį śkeʹhąhąʼ his horse is restless
tʻaśųʹke śkeʹhąhąkeʼ he is the kind of person who has restless horses
tʻamiʹla kį pʻepʻeʹśniʼ her knives are not sharp
tʻamiʹla pʻepʻeʹśniʼ she is the kind who has no sharp knives
mitʻaʹwoyuha kį waśteʹśteʼ my household goods are fine
mitʻaʹwoyuha waśteʹśteʼ I am the kind who has fine household goods
taseʹ wakaʹb.lacʻicʻiyįkteca cʻaś! ʼeceʹś nitʻaʹmila śikśiʹca cʻa but I shall not let (lit. cause) you flatten (i. e., jerk beef)! for you are one who (always) has excessively bad knives
tʻacʻąʹnųpa kį hąʹskeʼ his pipe is long
tʻacʻąʹnųpa hąʹskeʼ he is one who owns a long pipe

This appears also in the saying:

tʻahąʹpśiśica śilyeʹla worn-out moccasins badly! (i. e., he or you, with your worn-out moccasins!) [41]

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[41] *hąpaʹ* moccasin, *si* foot, assimilated by *ś* of *śiʹca* bad, worn moccasins; (cf. *hąpsiʹcu* a pair of pieces of skin cut out for moccasins). An exclamation directed at someone who has annoyed the speaker; also used in affectionate bantering with joking-relatives or children. It refers to the pride the Dakota took in being well-shod.

The forms with prefixed *t‘a* as subject, followed by a neutral verb, refer always to the owner of the inanimate object, not to the object itself. For animate beings they are referred to the object by addition of the plural *pi.*

t‘aśų´kc luslu´zahe’ he is the kind of person who has fleet horses
t‘aśų´ke luslu´zahąpi’ the horses he has are always fleet

Ordinarily possession is expressed in the verb (see p. 86).

mit‘a´woyuha manų´’ he stole something belonging to me (among other stolen property)
wo´yuha mama´kinų’ he stole property from me
śų´kak‘ą´ ’ima´kiyayapi’ my horses run away
mit‘a´woyuha yuk‘e´’ I am one with property, lit. my property exists;—but *t‘i´ta´kuye mayu´k‘e’* relatives exist for me, I have relatives, backing; or *’ota´kuye maki´yuk‘e’*

As predicate the forms with *t‘a* are used:

hena´ mit‘a´woyuha’ those are my possessions
he´ mit‘a´c‘ąnųpa’ that is my pipe (*c‘ąnų´pa kį he´ mit‘a´wa* more idiomatic)

The forms in *t‘a´wa* emphasize the contrast between what is his (mine, yours, ours) and the property of others, while the forms in *t‘a* designate the contrast between the particular thing possessed by him (me, you, us) and other things belonging to the same person. *t‘a´wa* (*mit‘a´wa, nit‘a´wa, ųki´t‘awa*) when following a noun has no independent accent.

mit‘a´woyuha kį waśte´ste’ my household goods are fine, (but my other property not)
wo´yuha-mit‘a`wa kį hena´ waśte´śte’ my household goods are fine (but yours are not)
mit‘a´śina hįnį´kte´ you shall be the kind of a person who may wear my blanket
śi´na-mit‘a`wa kį wążi´hįnį´kte´ you shall wear one of my blankets (not another person's)
mic‘į´ca[42] *kį waśte´śtepi’* my children are nice (but other members of my family are not)
wak‘ą´heża[42]*-mit‘a`wa kį hena´waśte´śtepi’* my children are nice (as compared to those of other families)

When not followed by an article, demonstrative or numeral, *t‘a´wa* is predicative.

he mit‘a´wa kį he´ the one that is mine that one
he´ mit‘a´wa’ that is mine
ta´ku mit‘a´wa kį hena´ c‘ic’u´ whatever is mine I give you
ta´ku-mit‘a`wa kį he ’au´* that, something mine bring here; but *tukte´-mit‘a`waka c‘a which one/mine kind of/it being so (which one of mine?)

When the noun is accompanied by an adjective, the possessive *t‘a´wa* follows the noun and precedes the adjective which also has a secondary accent.

t‘ii´kccya-mit‘a`wa wą t‘e´ca k’ų ȟleca´he’ my new tent is torn
wi´yą-mit‘a`wa-waśte` k’ų waya´zą’ my good wife is sick
wį´yą-mit‘a`wa wą waśte´ k’ų he´ waya´zą’ my wife a certain one, the good one that one was sick

When the possessive is preceded by a noun, expressing a genitive relation it has no independent accent.

P‘ala´ni-t‘ama`k‘oc‘e kį it‘i´mahel wana´ ųyą´pi, hą´l we were travelling in the country of the Pawnee, when
waśi´cu-t‘aśų`ke white man his horse

For possessives used idiomatically as names of objects see page 69

Nouns beginning in *o* when preceded by possessive *t‘a* occur in uncontracted and contracted forms *t‘ao´-* and *t‘o´*. The latter expresses a permanent, the former a temporary relation.

t‘ao´wį his earrings, i. e., those he made, or those he happens to wear;—*t‘o´wį* the earrings he always wears, that are part of him;—*t’o´wį t‘ot‘o´la* his earrings are blue (a nickname);—*t‘ao´iye* his choice of words on a certain occasion;—*t‘o´iye* his utterances peculiar to him;—*t‘ao´iye śikśi´cece’* his words are likely to be bad (unkind, obscence, harsh);—*t‘o´iye kį owo´t‘ąla’; yus-p‘i´ca’* his utterances are (always) upright; they are worthy of acceptance;—*t‘ao´t‘iwota* an abandoned campsite alotted to him for the time being;—*t‘o´t‘iwota* his abandoned campsite where he used to live;—*t‘ao´ųye* his place or mode of living (provided he is moving about from place to place);—*t‘o´ųye* his permanent abode

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[42] *c‘įca´* does not take the prefix *t‘a*, because it expresses child as an inalienable possession, i. e., son or daughter; *wak‘ą´heża* or *wak‘ą´yeża* is used by Yankton and Teton, derived from *k‘ąhe´ża* weak (Santee). The word is generally misinterpreted by Teton as derived from *wak‘ą´* holy. Child in Santee is *śice´ca.*

According to their meaning certain of these nouns can take only one or the other form: *t'o'ye* his tracks; *t'o'he* his place (in society, in the tent) *t'o'ȟ'ą* his deeds; *t'o'mawahit'ųku* his or her child-in-law's parents.

On the other hand we have only *t'ao'inażį* the place where he stops (just once).

The same principle prevails in words with initial *'ų:*

> *t'aų'ȟnaġc* his fire place (*t'aų'ȟnaġa* Santee), *t'ų'ȟna'ġe* his home fireplace
> *t'ų'kcc* his excrements

Nouns beginning with *wo'* (a contraction of *wa-o*) are treated in a similar manner. Those expressing concrete objects do not form contractions.

> *t'awo'yute* his food;—*t'awo'yaptapi* the food he left over;—*t'awo'k'oyake* his dress;—*t'awo'ȟeyaka* the pay of a shaman;—*t'awo'wapi* his letter;—*t'awo'waši* his worker, his guardian spirit

In abstract nouns the abstract quality and the results of the quality, or acts due to it are distinguished, the abstract quality by contraction with loss of *w*, the result by lack of contraction.

> *t'o'waštc kį 'iwi'c'ab.lezc'* his goodness is refreshing, *t'awo'wašte kį 'o'takiya'* the results of his goodness (his kindly acts) are varied;—*t'o'c'ątkiye kį 'iyo'mahi'* his love (in form of a gift) reaches me; *t'awo'c'ątkiye kį yawa'p'icašni'* the results of his love (of making someone beloved) cannot be counted;—*t'o'witą kį wic'o't'i-a'taya wąya'kapi'* his glory is perceived by the whole village; *t'awo'witą kį 'ak'i'šokya hiye'ye'* the results of his glory (honor) lie thickly about;—*t'o'šice kį t'iwa'he-t'awa kį 'a'taya 'oka'ȟtą'* his badness saturates his whole family (i. e., the standing of the family suffers on account of the badness of one member); *t'awo'šice kį 'ų' kaška'pi-s'a'* on account of (*'ų*) the results of his badness he is always being jailed;—also *t'o'kųze* his will; *t'awo'kųze* rules decreed by him

Nouns beginning with *'i* are ordinarily not contracted. A few terms expressing close relation are found only with initial *t'i*. Some of these are probably derived from obsolete stems in *i*.

> *t'i'takuye* consanguineal relative (see *'ota'kuye* a relative; or from *t'i'* household)
> *t'i'ȟįyetku* his master (i. e., owner of a pet animal, of a guardian spirit)
> *t'i'pahį* his pillow, given by Riggs is not used by the Teton

NOTE.—In Teton we find *t'ai'tazipa* and *t 'į'tazipa* (or *t'i'tazipa* ?), Santee *t'i'nazipe*, his bow. This is derived from *ita'zipa* suggesting a change from *n* to *t*. In Assiniboine we have *wio'kicizipapi* they put up a tent for him (*wi-* tent, *kici-* for; *zipa* to be stretched). Accordingly *ina'zipa* would mean "to stretch by inner force against." A similar case of a possible change of *na* to *ta* is *tasa'ka* frozen stiff (*na* by inner force).

§ 163. THE ARTICLE

There are three articles, *kį* (*cį* after *a* changed to *e*),[43] definite article; *k' ų* (*c' ų* after *a* changed to *e*),[43] among western Teton often *'ų*, definite past, previously referred to or already known; and *wą* a certain one; pl. *k'eya'*. The numeral *wążi'* is used as an indefinite article.

kį:

> *'oya'te kį 'aki'š'api'* the people shouted
> *p'chį' kį 'e'g.na psi'l 'ų'pi'* among the hair they jumped about 48.1
> *wik'o'škalaka kį 'ec'ų' c'į'šni'* the young woman was unwilling to do it 47.5

k'ų:[44]

> *wo'p'aȟta k'ų g.lużu'żu* he undid his aforesaid package 20.10
> *t'a'ȟca-hoksi'la k'ų 'icu'* he took the aforesaid deer boy 26.9

wą:

> *'ąpe'tu wą e'l ho'c'okata i''* on a certain day he went to the center of the camp circle 8.2
> *'oya'te wą t'i'pi'* a certain people dwelled 46.1
> *t'iyo'p-'ik'ą'yela winų'ȟcala wą yąke''* near the doorway a certain old woman was sitting 54.1
> *ta'ku wą* a certain thing; *tuwe' wą* a certain person

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[43] See p. 14.

[44] For use of *k'ų* as past tense, see also p. 107.

k’eya′:

cʻą′ k’eya′ certain trees;—*tʻahį′śpa k’eya′* some awls 59.3;—*cʻą′-hąskaska k’eya′* certain tall trees

k’eya′ is used only for separate objects.

When part of a mass of separate objects is meant *’etą′* from, is used: *cʻą′ ’etą′ hiyo′iyaye* he is going for some wood out of a supply or out of a stack of wood.

For a piece of a whole *hąke′*: *tʻalo′ hąke′ wacʻį′* I want a piece of meat.

For part of material that cannot be divided *hųḣ* (Y *’ųġe′*) or *’etą′*: *m.ni′ hų′ḣ mak’u′*, or *m.ni′ etą′ mak’u′*: with adjective *m.ni′-sni kį hų′ḣ b.latkį′kte’* I’ll drink some of the cold water.

wążi′:

cʻą′ wążi′ ’ay′ wo′ put a stick on (the fire)!
wo′tapi wążi′ ka′ġįkte’ he will give (make) a feast; but *wo′tapi wą ka′ġe’* he gave a certain feast
’ąpe′tu wążi′ ’e′l wai′kte’ some day I shall go there

The examples show that *wążi′* is used for an indefinite unidentified object, *wą* for a certain object or event that exists.

cʻą′ wą ’ag.li′’ he brought a stick (now existing)
cʻą′ wążi′ hiyo′iyaye he is going for a stick (the identity of which is not yet known)

When the object spoken of is selected from among a group, *he′* that, follows the article.

waśį′ kį hena′ m.nama′kʻiyapikte lo′ the bits of fat, those they will collect for me 189.13
haka′kta kį he′ hįg.na′yįkta the younger one that one was to have him for a husband 201.14
cʻa′pala k’ų he′ ’iki′kcu she picked up her little beaver (and nothing else) 48.8
’anų′k-’ite` k’ų he′ ’e′ it was (no other than) the Double-Face 48.14

The article nominalizing a verb makes it subject or object of the finite verb. A following or preceding *he′* may shift the emphasis and with it the syntactic structure.

kte′pi kį slolye′’ he knows the killing
kte′pi kį he′ wąya′ke’ he saw that one killed, or he saw the killing of him (and nothing else)
he′ kte′pi kį wąya′ke’ that one saw the killing, or he saw that killing

Terms of relationship in first and second person possessive have generally no article.

lena′ mitʻa′koża ’au′maśi’ these (things) my grandson ordered me to bring 199.18
niya′te ’a′kʻiyecʻel tʻeų′ḣilapikta ke′ya′ your father said he would love us impartially 195.14
niye′pi ną niya′te nihų′ kʻo′ wana′ yau′pikte lo′ you and your father and your mother also will come now 231.5
wana′ ’ina′, ’ate′ ną tʻib.lo′ kʻo tʻima′ ’u′pikte′ now my mother, my father, and my elder brothers also will come into the tent 231.4

All the Dakota terms embrace more than one individual. Those distantly related, particularly when personally unknown, are given the article in the first person possessive.

’ate′ g.li′ my father came home
’ate′ kį g.li′ one whom I call father because he married one whom I call mother (except my own father) came home

For consanguineal relatives the article is not used. Therefore the last example could not be used for father’s brothers. When my father is not known to the persons addressed I might say *wicʻa′ṡa wą ’ate′waye cį* a certain man the one whom I have for my father.

The only exception is *micʻį′ca kį* my children

For affinal relatives the article is used particularly when they are not known or not well known to the persons addressed. For *mihį′g.na* and *mitʻa′wicu* my husband, my wife, both forms are used

nitʻa′wicu kicʻi′ ’u′ or *nitʻa′wicu kį kicʻi′ ’u′* come with your wife!

The expression *niśce′pʻą kicʻi′ ’u′* come with your sister-in-law, would mean that the sister-in-law is a well-known, long-established member of the family; *niśce′pʻą kį kicʻi′ ’u′* would mean that she is the youngest sister-in-law, or one quite recently married and not yet well known.

The example *mihį′g.na kį le′c‘iya m.ni-’a′glag.la yąka′he’* my husband is sitting there by the water 219.18 implies that the people addressed have never seen him.

In the third person possessive the article is generally used:

’atku′ku kį heya′ his father said 145.10
t‘i′takuye ną hųka′ke kį ’e′pi her near relatives and her parents they were 230.17

When the third person possessive is not followed by an article it is to be conceived as a verbal expression.

hų′ku hi′pi it is a parents-coming
’atku′ku g.li′-ųspeˋṡni he does not know (how to act on) father-returning
c‘iye′ku g.li′pi tk‘a′ṡ wą′cak ’owi′c‘akiyake’ but on his brothers’ return at once he told them 65.14

For this reason the article is often omitted when the term of relationship is object of an active verb.

hų′ku ’oki′le or contracted *hųk-’o′kile* he looks for his mother
hų′ku kį oki′le his mother looks for him, or: he looks for his mother and not for anybody else
c‘uwe′ku ’ų′ṡikila she loves her elder sister

However, we find also:

c‘iye′ku kį ’e′l ’e′t‘owic‘akṡu’ his brothers he piled up there 88.16
lekṡi′tku kį t‘iwo′kṡą wic‘a′ųpa he had laid his uncles around in the tipi 90.14
t‘ųka′ṡitkula kį mat‘o′ t‘awi′cu kį ’ekta′ yeṡi′’ he ordered his grandfather to go to the bear’s wife 115.11

The plural *hena′* is also used when the article refers to two nouns connected by “and,” the two having only one article.

maȟpi′ya ną mak‘a′ kį lena′ t‘oka′-kaˋġapi the sky and land (those) were first made 1.12
wąhį′kpe ną ’ita′zipa k’ų[45] *hena′ k‘o′ ’iki′cu* the aforesaid arrow and bow those also he took up his (the other’s) 26.3

Generalized terms take no article.

kįhą wic‘a′ṡa ną wį′yą tohą′l kic‘i′yuzapi when men and women marry 231.17
’ųg.na′hąṡna wic‘a′ṡa ’aką′tula (’e′g.na) wic‘o′wic‘aṡaṡni now and then people living above (among) (i. e., human beings) there is deception 207.14 (*wic‘o′wic‘aṡa* character of man)

Another construction for general statements is as follows:

ṡų′kak‘ą′pi c‘ą′ lu′zahąpi when they are horses they are fleet, i. e., horses are (supposed to be) fleet
wic‘a′s‘api ną wį′yąpi c‘ą′ kic‘i′yuzapi when they are men and women (they are supposed to) marry

When a noun is compounded with an adjective the article follows as though it were a unit.

ṡų′k-ska′ kį t‘oke′ya ku′’ the white horse is returning first
oȟlo′ka-ciˋk’ala k’ų he′ ’og.na′ mahe′l ’iya′ya the aforesaid small hole that he went into 28.6 (or *’oȟlo′ka wą ci′k’ala k’ų*)
wic‘a′ṡa-’ohiˋtike c’ų he′ kte′pi they killed the brave man

When the adjective is less firmly united with the noun, the attribute is given a verbal form.

ṡų′kak‘ą′ wą t‘ą′ka k’ų he′ (’e′ c‘a) ’owa′le a certain horse it is big being of that kind I look for it (i. e., I am looking for a certain big horse), or *ṡų′kak‘ą′-t‘ąka k’ų he′ ’owa′le’*
ṡų′kak‘ą′ wążi′ t‘ą′ka c‘a ’owa′le I am looking for an indefinite big horse

Nouns followed by numeral adjectives or indefinite numerals do not take the article.

c‘ą′ nų′p ’ic‘i′cameya hą′ two trees stood rubbing against each other 21.14
k‘oṡka′laka za′ptą zuya′ ’i′pi’ five youths went to war 235.5
waka′p‘api ’o′ta yuha′pi much dried pounded meat they had 9.9
m.ni′ co′nala mak’u′ wo′ give me a little water

’a′taya entire, *’oya′s’į* all of a kind, and *’iyu′ha* all individuals as one group, require the article following the noun.

mak‘o′c‘e kį ’a′taya lehą′l ’oya′te ’owi′c‘at’įza the entire land now-a-days tribes crowd in it 5.8
ṡiyo′ k’ų ’iyu′ha..wac‘i′pi all (the whole assembly of) pheasants danced 20.14
wic‘a′ṡa kį ’oya′s’į ’iya′yapi all the men are gone

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[45] Misprint in text *k‘u* instead of *k’ų*.

Some combinations of noun and neutral verb have special meanings and cannot be separated by an article.

wį′yą waśte′ she is beautiful; *wicʻa′śa waśte′* he is handsome
wį′yą wą waśte′ a certain woman is good, there is a good woman

Sometimes the noun and adjective are treated as noun and neutral verb and must be interpreted as subordinate forms.

’oya′te-tʻąka wicʻo′tʻi a tribe being large camped 51.1, or
’oya′tc-tʻą`ka wą wicʻo′tʻi a certain large tribe camped, or
’oya′te wą tʻą′ka cʻa wicʻo′tʻi a tribe large, being so it camped

The articles are used following verbs forming relative clauses. They are used in occupational terms. *tʻika′ġe cį* a house builder (see p. 73), but express also abstract terms.

ȟeska′takiya ’a′yc c’ų the aforesaid who were going to the Rocky (White) Mountain 226.1
t’į′kte cį ’og.na′ ’iya′ya the future dying towards it goes 226.5
tʻa′wakc c’ų the aforesaid one who was in a way hers 226.6
wį′yą wą ȟpa′ye c’ų a woman who was lying down the aforesaid 242.1
tuwa′ ’u′pi k’ų he′cʻiyatąhą cʻe′ya ’u′’ someone, the place they had come from, came crying 191.3
wica′kʻe cį tʻąį′ that he spoke the truth was apparent 231.10
ni′ wau′ k’ų heha′ni he′ ’a′tʻąį I, one who was alive, even as long ago as that then it became apparent, i. e., it was apparent when I was alive
’owa′pʻate ke′cʻį′ kį ’ų′ ’e′tkiya ya′hą with thinking that this was a butchering place she was going there 242.6
śpą′śni hiye′ye c’ų what lay about raw 27.12
wicʻa′śa -’oma`ni s’a wą a man who walks about all the time
’oma′ni s’a ną ’iye′s’a wą one who walks and talks all the time
’oma′nipi s’a ną ’iya′pi s’a k’eya′ or *’iya′ ’oma′nipi s’a k’eya′* certain ones who walk and talk all the time

Compound forms of the article express temporal relations, *kįhą* when in the future; *k’ųhą′* when in the past. Literally these mean “the one continuing.”

yahi′ kįhą ’ocʻi′ciyakį′ktc when you come I shall tell you about it
cʻa he′ tohą′l hi′ kįhą . . . micʻų′kśi hįg.na′yįkte lo′ so that when he comes here . . . my daughter shall have him for a husband 12.3
’i′yakiś’api kįhą kʻohą′[46] *’ųki′yayįkte lo′* when they are shouting meanwhile we shall start away 135.3
’e′l yai′ kįhą he′ ’c′ kte′ when you arrive there (at a camp) that will be it 139.6
kini′ k’ųhą′ . . . mani′takiya ’iya′ye’ when he had recovered he started for the wilderness 277.12

A peculiar use of *k’ų* occurs at the end of direct quotations. (See p. 109.) If not quoted these statements would end in a glottal stop.

hc′ naȟpa′ȟpake c’ų, ’eye′’ “that one is untidy,” said he 9.3;—*oya′kapi k’ų, ’eya′pi’* “they tell it,” they said 226.10

On the whole, in the enumeration of two nouns connection by *ną* is avoided. If unavoidable, the first noun is transformed into a separate clause.

tʻi′pi kį ’e′ ną śųk-’ o′nażį kį nųpʻį′ kaȟwo′ke’ it was the house and the stable, both were blown over

When two living beings or objects somehow connected are subject or object the second one becomes the object of *kicʻi′* to be with.

tʻażi′ wątą′yeyela kicʻi′ cʻaże′-oki`yakapi Buffalo Calf and He-Sends-his-Arrow-Well told their names to him 147.14

When there are more than two nouns connected by “and,” the group following the first noun has only one definite article at the end.

tʻi′pi kį ’e′ ną śųk-’o′nażį ną pʻeżi′-’itʻokśu kį kʻo kaȟwo′ke’ it was the house and (the) stable and the hay wagon also (that) were blown over; or *tʻi′pi kį kaȟwo′ke’; ną naků′ śųk-’o′nażį kį ’e′ ną pʻeżi′-’it`o′kśu kį;—śina′ kį cʻą′-’opʻiye mahe′l ’ų′’.* *ną naků′ tʻahį′śpa (kį ’e′) ną cʻuwi′g.naka ną hą′pa kį kʻo* the blanket is in the trunk. And also the awl and the dress and the (pair of) moccasins also

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[46] *’icʻų′hą* would be better than *kʻohą′*.

With *wą* the article is repeated with each noun:

> *ṡina′ wą hą′pa wą kicʻi′ ahi′'* he brought a blanket and a moccasin;—*ṡina′ wążi′ hą′pa wazį′ kicʻi′ he′cʻel 'au′waṡi'* I ordered him to bring a blanket and a (pair of) moccasins;—*ṡina′ wą 'e′ ną hą′pa wą ną tʻahį′spa wą, hena′keca ahi′'* a blanket, it was and a (pair of) moccasins and an awl, those he brought

The articles are used at the end of the sentence to express a definite attitude of the speaker, *wą* of approval, *kį* and *k'ų* of disapproval. (See p. 158.) Such phrases are felt as predicative, although in form they are nominal. Thus *za′niyąṡ 'ų′ k'ų*, formerly he was always well. Followed by *waya′zą ye* (*lo*) it would mean "the one who was formerly always well is sick. *tkʻa′*, *le′ wių′cʻotapi kį* (*etą′ṡ to′kʻa*) but here we are a crowd (out of it, indeed, what, i. e. what of it). The parenthetic statement is implied, expressing the mood of the speaker.

§ 164. ADVERBS

Adverbs are derived from verbs by means of the suffixes *-ya*, *-yela*, *-hą*, *-l*, *-kel*. In active verbs the subordinate form is also an adverb, firmly united with the finite verb by the accent when the time relation is one of succession, as in our infinitive; less firmly when the two verbs express simultaneous actions, as in our participle.

1. Suffix *-ya*, *-yela* (see p. 59):

ṡa′pa to be soiled	*ṡapya′* in a soiled condition
suta′ to be firm	*suta′ya* firmly
ska to be white	*skaya′* in a white condition
cʻe′pa to be fat	*cʻepye′la* in a fat condition

2. Suffix *hą* (see p. 60) following demonstratives. With *ya* it expresses a temporary condition:

lehą′ up to this time
t'įsya′ and *t'įsya′hą* firmly

3. The ending *l* forms adverbs from verbs in *-tu* (see pp. 48, 58):

he′tu	*he′l*
'aką′tu it is on top	*'aką′l*
'ąpe′tu daytime	*'ąpe′l*

4. *-kel* adverbial form of active verbs in *-ka* (see pp. 56, 57):

'apʻe′kel being as it were in a waiting condition
buya′kel with a rather deep voice
ṡka′ltukel playing in a way

5. Compound verbs expressing infinitive relations (see pp. 73 et seq.):

'oki′le-'iya`ye' he went to search for it
ṡkal-'o′mani' he goes abont to play
'ayu`ta-'iyo`take' he sat down to stare at it

Verbs of the type cv ending in changeable *a* change to *e* in adverbial forms when the meaning corresponds to the English infinitive (see p. 74) *ȟe-i′naȟni'* he is in a hurry to bury it (*ȟa′* to bury).

6. Compound verbs expressing synchronous, participial relations:

leya′ 'į′yąke' saying this he ran 56.17
ṡka′l 'oma′ni' he goes about playing
'ayu′ta yąke′' he sat staring at it

When a continued condition, the result of an action, is to be expressed active verbs are also considered as neutral and take the suffix *-ya*.

ko′za to swing;—*'oka′kosya 'otka′* in a condition of swinging, suspended it hangs; but *ko′skos hiya′ye'* he went by swinging it
nat'ų′ka to hesitate; *nat'ų′kya tʻawa′cʻį* his mind was in a hesitating mood
ȟlo′ka to be perforated; *yuȟlo′kya* in the condition of having been perforated; *yuȟlo′k* perforating
spa′ya to be wet; *yuspa′yeya e′g.naka* he put it away it having been wetted; *yuspa′ya yuṡtą′* he finished wetting it

suta′ firm; *yusu′taya na′żį* it stands having been made firm; *yusu′ta yuštą′* he finished making it firm
ma′niyą ’ų′ he is restless (in a walking condition)
’ona′p‘eya in a manner of being a place of refuge
k‘ap‘e′ya surpassingly
Also: *-kaȟya* (from *ka′ġa* to make) with the meaning of "representing"; *wic‘a′ša-kaȟya wašpa′pi* representing a man (i. e., in the form of a man) they cut it out

The subordinate ending *-ya* follows the negative *šni:*

ksa′pešniyą unwisely;—*ȟpeca′šniyą* energetically

The future does not form a subordinate form, but is expressed by the verb with future particle followed by *iteya* evidently.

yį′kta-iteya leye′’ evidently he will go, for he said this
(*yį′ktelak‘a′ leye′’* means the same)

The following are also adverbial forms of verbs expressing synchronous relations.

’ų′ by means of, on account of; this is the verb *’ų′* to use.

’oma′nipi ’ų′ watu′k‘api with travelling about they get weary
waȟte′lašni ’ų′ ’alo′slos hįg.le′’ on account of considering him not good she suddenly shivered (for fear) 47.15
li′la ’oci′k’ayela kį ’ų′ ’iwą′yak ȟ’ąhi′ya ’u′’ on account of its being very narrow watchfully slowly he came 48.16
’cce′la ’ų′ ni′ yąka′pi by means of that alone they lived 198.4

Another form, *c’ų′* with a similar meaning, but expressing a superlative, cannot be associated with a verb. The verb to which it belongs is nominalized. *c’ų′* always bears an accent.

’oma′nipi(ka) c’ų′ watu′k‘api by overmuch traveling about they got weary (critical of person, or complaining)
wo′tapika c’ų′ wana′ ’ig.lu′hašni by eating too much now he cannot handle himself (cannot move)

This may be strengthened by *šehą′* following *c’ų′*.

c‘e′yapi(ka) c’ų′ šehą′ wab.le′s-wayešni’ by having to wail so much by this time I have no clear eyesight
’oma′nipi(ka) c’ų′ šehą′ watu′k‘api c‘e ’eya′pi kį with traveling about by this time they got weary (*c‘e* indirect discourse quotative), so they say (depreciating expression)

c’ų′ may be a contraction of *kį* and *’ų* although this would not explain the change from *k* to *c;* compare *’eya′wkec’e′ȟca* (<*eya′pike cį ’e′ȟca*) it is verily a kind of saying, "that is what *you* say";—*c‘iye′ku g.li′pi k’e′l owi′c‘akiyaka*—(*k’e′l*<*kį ’e′l* on his brother's return there he told them 66.4; —*wąya′ke c’e′l ’oki′yake* (<*cį ’e′l*) upon seeing him opportunely he told him

’o′p with several persons, from *’o′p‘a* to join, participate:

wic‘a′ša ’iyu′ha k‘ų′ku ’o′p zuya′ yewi′c‘ašipi’ all men with their mothers-in-law to go to war they are ordered 8.9
nile′kši ’o′p le′l wat‘i′’ with your uncles I lived here 90.4
li′la ’o′p c‘ąte′ wašte′’ very with them his heart was good 90.17

kic‘i′ with one person (*we′c‘ica* I am with him, derived from an obsolete verb *k‘i*). (See p. 79.)

kinaš ina′-t‘oka`p‘a kį kic‘i′ le′šni? in that case with my eldest mother's sister (why) don't you go? 9.1
wik‘o′škalaka wą k‘oška′laka wą kic‘i′ yąke′’ a girl with a boy was sitting 193.16

g.na obsolete verb (see *’aki′g.na* a bird broods):

’ak‘i′g.na in layers; *kig.na′* to comfort; *’ųg.na′* unexpectedly

’ag.na′ added on:

šina′-hįšma wą hą′pa k’eya′ ’ag.na′ mak’u′’ a fur blanket some moccasins added on he gave me
wic‘a′ša kį miya′g.na ma′ni’ the man went following me
’ag.na′ nųwą′pi ’ųspe′šni kį he′ ’ų′’ moreover her not knowing to swim that on account of it was 47.8

’e′g.na among:

c‘ąwe′g.na wo′špihe’ she was picking berries among the woods
t‘iwe′g.na among the tipis

ʼakʻe′ ʼoya′te ʼe′g.na kʻig.le″ again among people he returned 244.12
wicʻe′g.na ʼų″ he is among them

ʼog.na′ in, into, through 138.10:

he′ ʼog.na′ mahe′l ʼiya′ye′ he went into that inside 28.6
wakʻe′ya wą ʼog.na′ hokṡi′-cʻąlkiˋyapi-tʻi in a certain tent he lived as a child beloved 175.13

ʼo′pta through, across; stem-*pta* to cut through:

b.la′ye ʼo′pta ya′hą he was going (through) across the meadow 139.9

Other adverbs, many of which are of obscure derivation, are conceived as either psychologically united with the verb, or considered as independent, In the former case the two have only one main accent.

ʼakʻe′ṡna again and again (*ʼakʻe′* again, is independent):

ʼakʻe′ṡna-yumaˋhel ʼicu′hą again and again pulling it inside he was taking it 39.7;—*ʼakʻe′ṡna-g.li* he did the returning-again-and-again 16.10;—*ʼakʻe′ṡnaṡna g.li″* again-and-again he-came-home;—*ʼakʻe′ṡnaṡna* both independent and dependent

ʼeha′ke last (*ʼeha′kela* he is the last:)

ʼeha′ke wo′te′ he ate last;—*ʼeha′ke-wote′* he ate for the last time;—*ʼeha′ke g.li′* he came home the last;—*ʼeha′ke-ʼag.liˋpi* the last to be brought home 56.13;—*he ʼeha′ke-hiˋ kʼų* that one, who arrived the last 56.16;—*ʼeha′ke-ʼecʻųˋ* he did it for the last time

kʻiye′la near (*kʻiye′waya* I get near it):

ʼkʻiye′la ʼų′ nearby he-lives;—*kʻiye′la-kʻuteˋ* he does nearby-shooting (i. e., he shot at short range)

kʻitʻa′la frequently, often:

kʻitʻa′la hi″ frequently he comes;—*kʻitʻa′la-hi′* he does the-often-coming

ʼece′ always; independent: exclusively, only:

ṡa′ ʼece′ ʼų′ red exclusively he wears; *ṡa′ ʼece′-ʼų′* red he always-wears;—*ʼakʻi′l ʼece′ ʼų″* looking out for it he stays exclusively thus 167.2;—*tohą′l ʼece′-g.la huwo′?* when does he-always-go-home? 206.1;—*ʼį′yą ʼece′ ahi′* he brought nothing but stones

tokʻe′cela barely:

tokʻe′cela ȟpa′ye′ barely-able he-lies;—*tokʻe′cela-mani′* he-hardly-can-walk 67.14;—*tokʻe′cela-hoˋyekʻiya* he barely-called-to-her 219.14

tʻąni′la (same as *ʼehą′tą*); from *tʻąni′* old:

tʻąni′la yąka′pi hą′l ʼe′l wai″ already they were (sitting) when I arrived there;—*tʻąni′la-yąkaˋpi* they were already-sitting

ʼehą′tą already (see p. 118, No. 9):

ʼehą′tą slolye″ already he knew; *ʼehą′tą-slolyaˋ* he already knew 149.5;—*ʼehą′tą-okaˋṡka he″* already it was hanging 167.10;—*ʼehą′tą-wicʻaˋyuha* already they held them 56.12

he′cʻa of that kind (see p. 121, No. 29):

he′cʻa ʼicʼi′cʻaġa he made for himself that kind of thing; *he′cʻa-ʼicʼiˋcʻaġa* he made himself to be of that kind 83.11;—*he′cʻa-ʼożu-hįg.la* suddenly it was full of that kind 108.21

tokʻe′ ʼecʻa′cʻa without specific purpose, just (see p. 122, No. 29):

tokʻe′ ʼecʻa′cʻa lową′ ya′hąpi in a purposeless mood they went along singing;—*tokʻe′ ʼecʻa′cʻa-lowąˋkta kʻeṡ* every time he would just sing 26.12 (read *ʼecʻa′cʻa* instead of *ecʻa′ca* in text);—*tokʻe′ ʼecʻa′cʻa-wo′g.lakahe′* he was just talking

ʼecʻa′kel by nature, on purpose

ʼecʻa′kel ṡi′capi′ by nature they-are-bad;—*ʼecʻa′kel-ṡiˋcapi* they are bad-by-nature 255.19;—*ʼecʻa′kel-umaˋṡipe* they sent me on purpose 66.17

lecʻa′la recently:

lecʻa′la ʼitʻi′caġapi it was recently that they erected a tent; *lecʻa′la-ʼitʻiˋcaġapi kį* the recently erected tipi 16.4

’akṡa′—ka expresses the idea “admitted that something is the case, something else would be preferred.”

’akṡa′-waų̀ṡiyalaka you have pity (but better still, take me home) 112.3;—*’akṡa′-waṡtèka wo′ȟ’ąhihike’* admitted that he is good; but he is slow;—*’akṡa′-p‘ilàmayeca ’eha′ṡ ’o′ta mak’u′’* he did me a favor (to be sure) but too much he gave me

’akṡa′ka unfortunately, expressing an attitude of the speaker, is independent:

’akṡa′ka he′l k‘uṡe′ya wį′yą wą but for this one drawback, unfortunately there a woman obstructing the way 109.9 (44.17)

’i′ȟąl (*’i′ȟątu* it is temporary, not to be taken seriously):

’i′ȟąl-’eye’ he said it not meaning it 78.14;—*’i′ȟąhą-hi’* he came not meaning to stay

’itu′(*ya*) (also *’otu′ya*, *’utu′ya*) in vain:

’itu′ya-hi’ in vain he arrived;—*’itu′ȟ’ą’* he gave away ceremonially;—*’itu′-mak‘òskąl wae′ye’* without anything to back his statement he said something (*mak‘o′skątu* middle of the country; *ȟewo′skątu* middle of the wilderness)

Also independent, when separated from the verb by another adverb:

’itu′ya he′l mąka′he’ in vain there I was sitting;—*’itu′ya t‘e′hątąhą wahi′’* or *t‘e′hątąhą ’itu′ya-wahi’* I come from far away for nothing

’it‘u′ṡe notwithstanding, however much it may be (cf. *iṡu′t‘e* S):

(*’it‘u′ṡeka* in spite of everything, independent);—*’it‘u′ṡe-ksàpeca he′l g.luṡna′’* however wise he may be, he erred there

’iṡna′ alone (*’iṡna′la* independent) (*’iṡ* he adversative, *-na*, see p. 121, no. 24):

’iṡna′-ksap-’ìc’ila he considers himself alone wise;—*’iṡna′-t‘i* (woman) lives alone (during taboo period);—*’iṡna′-zuya ’i′* he went on the warpath alone;—*’iṡna′-wak‘ùwa* chasing (buffaloes) alone (a name)

’ikta′hela (*-kta*) backward, less; see *he′kta* in the rear, *’iha′kta* to be held back by attraction; *haki′kta* to look back):

’ikta′hela ṡka′ta yo′ less-vigorously play! *’ikta′hela-ṡkàta yo′* do a-less-vigorous playing!;—*ṡehąṡ ’ikta′hela-wakàkiṡyįktelak‘a* well then, evidently he will be giving less trouble, for—;—*’ikta′hela-’iṡtį̀ma yų′k‘ą′ṡ naȟ’ų′kta tk‘a′’* if he had slept less (soundly) he would have heard it;—*ṡehąṡ ’ikta′-hela-’iṡtį̀me cįhą naȟ’ų′kte’* if this time (contrary to his habits, speaker’s opinion) he will sleep less (soundly), he will hear it;—*’ikta′hela-’iṡtį̀mece c’ų* as though he would sleep less! (i. e., restrain from sleeping; *k’ų* as known from past experience)

Independent: *’ikta′hela ec‘ų′ wo′* do it less vigorously!;—*le′-’ąpètu kį ’ikta′hela ’ec‘ų′kte’* today he will do it less

ųg.na′ by chance

’ųg.na′hąla unexpectedly:

’ųg.na′hąla-’umàṡi’ he ordered me to come abruptly;—*’ųg.na′hąla ’uma′ṡi’* unexpectedly on my part he asked me to come;—*’ųg.na′hąla hi′’* he came unexpectedly (i. e., I did not foresee his coming);—*’ųg.na′hąla-hi’* he came making up his mind unexpectedly

t‘oka′ first, always subordinate, except *t‘oka′ ’ekta′*, *t‘oka′ k’ųhą′* in the beginning:

le′ t‘oka′-kàġapi he is this the first one made?—*t‘oka′-’ahìyat‘i* first you made camp 249.1;—*he′ t‘oka′-p‘a-yuhà* she had that one in the manner of a first-born;—*he′ t‘oka′p‘a yuha′* that one as the first one she had

nake′, *nake′ṡ* just a little while; *nake′* independent, implies that the speaker considers the action as done too late, or at the last moment:

nake′-mànila he was just walking a little while;—*nake′-k‘oṡkàlaka* he had just come to be a young man;—*le′ na′kenųla-*[47] *wanìye lo′* I am alive only for a short time (said by a warrior spurring his courage)[48] (cf. *na′ka le′c‘ecaṡni k’ų* long ago it was not like this)

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[47] Also *nake′nųla.*

[48] From a song, Natalie Curtis, The Indian’s Book, 1907, 1923, p. 51.

hehą′ all that time, distance; independent, by that time (see p. 117, no. 4):

hehą′-mawa`ni all that time I walked about;—*hehą′-hųniyą ma′ni* he walked all that distance;—*hehą′ ’ecʻų′wakapį′* after all that time (i. e., by this time) I have no longer the energy to do it [49]

lehą′-g.li`śni up to this time he has not returned.

tohą′ as long as:

tohą′-’ųni` kį hehą′* as long as we shall live, yet, that long 231.14;—*tohą′-yacʻį`ka as long as you like 60.4;—*tohą′-wani`* as long as I live 100.15

he′cʻeya′ just at that very moment; independent, actually (see p. 122, No. 32):

he′cʻeya′-kįye`la* just at that moment he began to fly (i. e., it was the first time he tried to fly) 81.3;—*he′cʻeya′-locʻį` just at that moment she became desirous of food;—but *he′cʻeya′ locʻį′ kį ’ų′ ’ayu′hel na′żįhą* actually on account of desiring food she was standing watching 171.12

le′cʻel, he′cʻel, to′kʻel, ka′kʻel (see p. 122, No. 33).

he′cʻel-yuśtą`pi* they settled it that way (as told before) 182.15;—*he′cʻel-’ami`c’ib.leze lo′ that way I have observed myself 12.5;—*he′cʻcl-’eye`ca cʻa ’ųspe′kʻiyapi* he just said that, it being so they made him know (since he said so they taught him) 34.4;—*le′cʻel yaų′’* being in this manner you live

le′cel-yaų`ke cį (in this way you exist!) did you ever in all your life? 3.8, 153.16

to′kʻel-’oki`hi* as much as possible 58.8; 97.13;—*to′kʻel-waku`kte whichever way I shall come back 54.14;—*to′kʻel-yaų`ka huwo′?* how are you? 100.11;—*to′kʻel-kipą`pika tʻąį′śni* why they called to him was not apparent 29.12;—*to′kʻel waku′kte cį slolwa′kiycśni′* I do not know how I’ll get home

ka′kʻel the same instant; independent, yonder in an indefinite direction: *ka′kʻel-’iya`hą* the instant he reached the top 1.2;—*ka′kʻel-’inų`wįkta* the instant he began to swim 68.3; but *ka′kʻel ’oma′nihe′* he is walking about yonder;—*ka′kʻel-hukʻu`l g.licu′pikta* the moment they will get down 107.9;—*ka′kʻel ’eya′* say it in that manner

he′cʻekcʻe being of that kind:

he′cʻckcʻe-ȟ’ą`pika* they are of the kind to behave thus 181.10;—*he′cʻekcʻe-yaȟ’ą`pika you are apt to behave thus 27.9;—*he′cʻekcʻe-wac′ycca* he is apt to talk thus;—but *he′cʻckcʻe ’ccʻų′pi* they acted in such ways;—*’ecʻe′kcʻe ’ecʻų′* 55.9 (58.1 should read the same way) he did as it should be done;—*ka′kʻeśke* (*ka′kʻetkʻc* Yankton) in such manner there abouts;—*to′kʻeśkʻe,* reduplicated *to′kʻeśkʻeśkʻe* (*to′kʻetkʻe* Yankton) in what manner? why?

ta′kole′, ta′kowe′ why (<*ta′ku-’ole′* what seeking):

ta′kole′-lecʻamų (the reason) why I do do this 200.16;—*ta′kowe′-hi* (the reason) why he came 78.8; —*ta′kole′ hi′śni he?* what is the reason? has he not come?—*ta′kole′-hccʻų* he for a reason-acted; —*ta′kole′ he′cʻų* he did it he having a reason

tohą′l whenever; *tohą′l hi′kta he?* when will he arrive? Independent: at what time, some time (see p. 118, No. 8):

tohą′l-yacʻį`ka* whenever you want in any way 101.16;—*tohą′l yahi′ cʻą′* whenever you come (you will be welcome);—*tohą′l-yahi`ke c’e′yaś regardless of when-you-come

to′na—’iye′na as often as—that often; *to′na* how often, how many, several (see p. 120, No. 22):

to′na-’ecʻų` kį ’iye′na-’apʻe’* as often as he did it, that often he struck him;—*to′na-ipa`tʻapi how many (rows) embroidered 195.12;—*to′nakel-wąb.la`ke’* I have seen him several times;—*to′na ’ecʻų′pi* several people did it;—*to′nakel wąb.la′ke’* I saw several of them (inanimate)

’ikce′ ordinary, to no particular purpose (opposite of *wakʻą′*); independent *’ikce′ya:*

’ikce′ya śka′ta po′ in-an-ordinary-manner play!—*’ikce′(ya)-śka`ta po′* do ordinary-playing;—*’ikce′-’eya`* to say in fun;—*’ikce′-wacʻi`pi* they dance (for pleasure);—*’ikce′-wicʻa`śa* Indians;—*’ikce′-ota`kuye* ordinary relatives (in regard to whom no social restrictions are preserved)

wakʻą′ sacredly (opposite of *’ikce′*):

wakʻą′-wowahą I cook in a sacred manner 72.10;—*wakʻą′-wacʻi`pi* they danced in a sacred manner;—*wakʻą′-’okʻo`lakicʻiye* mystery society;—but *wakʻą′yą ’oȟ’ą′* he acts in a superlative way

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[49] *śehą′* instead of *hehą′* would indicate that the speaker considers the task excessive.

tą well; independent *tąyą':*

tą-slo'lwayeṡni I do not know well 44.18;—*tą-wa'wata* I eat well 21.10;—*'otą'-hįg.naˋyą* she married him in a proper way;—*tą-na'ȟ'ųṡni* he did not hear it accurately;—*tą-wą'cʻiciyakįkte* I will better see them for you 26.2;—*'iyo'tą-'oiˋyokipʻi* most specially attractive 21.11

tʻe'hą long time, *tʻe'hąl* far:

tʻe'hą-'ų' he stayed a long time 143.6;—*tʻe'hą-piˋġa* it boiled a long time 66.7;—*tʻe'hą-ṡką* he worked a long time 66.13;—but *tʻe'hąl yąka'* he was seated far away

wanų' unintentionally; *wanų'ktaṡni* (*-kta* to expect) independent:

wanų'-'ecʻųˋ he did it without intent;—*wanų'-'eyaˋ* he said it unintentionally, it was a slip of the tongue;—*wanų'-yaȟtaˋka* by mistake he bit her 60.1

wą'ca rarely:

wą'ca-tą-waˋwateṡni on rare occasions (just once) I do not eat well 21.10

wą'cala once, and other numeral adverbs, *nų'pa* twice, *ya'm.ni* three times, etc., *'o'ta* many times:

wą'cala-m.nįˋkte lo' I'll go only once;—*'o'ta-'opi'* they shot him many times 72.5;—*wą'lwącala-hi'* only now and then he came

inų'pa twice, as the second:

inų'pa g.li'' he is the second to come back;—*inų'pa-g.li'* he came back the second time

The following occur always connected with the following finite verb:

pʻiya' again, corresponds to English re-:

pʻiya'-wakaˋġe I remade it;—*pʻiya'-kiniˋ* he came back to life, revived;—*pʻiya'-'okiˋyake cʻe'yaṡ naȟ'ų'ṡni* he repeated it to him, but he did not understand it;—*pʻiya'-'ayuˋta* he looked at him again 202.16;—*pʻipʻi'ya-kipąˋpi* they called to him again and again 20.3

cʻokʻa' without, empty handed:

cʻokʻa'-g.li he returns empty handed;—*cʻokʻa'-ku* he comes back empty handed

kʻile'le—waeˋye' he spoke oddly, significantly:

kʻile'le-'omaˋwani ną 'ecʻe'l 'iye'waye' I roamed about in such unusual ways and, as a result, I found it

kahą'ṡ, lehą'ṡ

kahą'ṡ-b.luṡtąˋ kʻeṡ as soon as I finish it;—*kahą'yą b.luṡtą'* I finished it up to that point; *lehą'ṡ-okiˋyak b.luṡtą' kʻeṡ* I no sooner finished telling him (the demonstrative values of these forms seem to be lost and they are used indiscriminately; also more rarely *hehą'ṡ*).

lehi'cʻitʻa too often (from *kʻitʻa'la* in close intervals, stem *tʻa* close together; independent *lehą'-kʻitʻala*):

lehi'cʻitʻa-iyųˋk ya'pi stopping too often for the night they went 2.11

tokʻa'—ṡni; to'kʻa —ṡni; to'kʻani—ṡni to be unable to:

tokʻa'-yąkeˋṡni he could not sit still (on account of his nervousness);—*tokʻa'-ic'iˋ-g.nakeṡni* he cannot place himself, i. e., he is very fidgety

to'kʻa-yąkeˋṡni he could not sit still (because there was a physical obstacle);—*to'kʻa-maniˋṡni* he cannot walk 207.2;—*to'kʻa-woˋk'uṡni* he could not give him food 114.16

to'kʻani-g.licuˋṡni he could not come out 28.9;—*to'kʻani-ṡkįˋciyeṡni* he could not move 206.10;—*to'kʻani-'anaˋcʻiskapeṡni* I cannot clamp with feet around you 32.10 (correct text as indicated);—compare *to'kʻa-h'ą* it is lost 52.14; 193.1

tokʻa'-'iwahųni kįhą when I arrive there by hook or by crook; *to'kʻa-'iwahųni* when I arrived there for some reason

tokʻa'-mųke cįhą I lie some way, i. e., when I am dead
tokʻa'ṡ perhaps

'ecʻa'cʻa completely, unquestionably (see p. 122, no. 29):

'ecʻa'cʻa-hiyu`* he came out completely 215.14;—*'ecʻa'cʻa-pawe`ġe lo' it is completely broken, no doubt about it

tokʻi' on his own affairs (*to'kʻi* somewhere; see p. 124, no. 40):

tokʻi'-hiya`ye* he went along on his own business 22.4;—*tokʻi'-ya`pi they went on their own business 27.8

tokʻį'ṡ carelessly; *tokʻį'ṡ 'es 'e'ṡ* luckily (idiom) 160.9:

k'e'yaṡ to'hįni tokʻį'ṡ-wo`teṡni but he never ate carelessly 120.16

7. *-wap'a(ya)* is used with locative adverbs to express a greater distance.

'akʻo'wap'a farther beyond 1.8;—*t'ahe'nawap'aya* more to this side;—*wąka'(l)wapʻaya* farther up;—*c'oka'wap'aya* more towards the center;—*mahe'(l)wapʻaya* farther inward;—*ȟeya'wapʻaya* farther away[50]

8. A considerable number of adverbs end in *p*. These are derived from verbs ending in *pʻa* most of which are obsolete. Some of these adverbs form new verbal themes with the ending *tu*. (See p. 58.)

'aka'p more than enough, overflowing, on top of something else as excess;—*'anų'wap* away from, off the right place;—*cʻoka'p* in the middle;—*haka'p* after (in time), *'iha'kap* following (him), space 4.14, see *'o'hakaptu*, *'iyo'hakapʻa* to be born next to;—*ȟeya'p* away;—*'itų'kap* being face up;—*hu'tap* (*hu'tawap*) south, see *'ihu'tawaptu*;—*sakʻi'p* together, see *sakʻi'ptuya*;—*sa'm* (<*sąp*) more; see *'i'sąpʻa* he exceeds it;—*'o'cip* by little bits, see *ci* small;—*he'ktap* back, retarded;—*tʻoka'p* ahead, see *tʻoka'pʻa* he is first-born, oldest in a group 9.1, *tʻoka'* first;—*'a'kʻipap* separately, severally;—*'ai'nap* hidden behind, see *'ina'pʻa* to emerge from concealment;—*to'kʻiyap* away somewhere 19.2

9. Analogous to this group is *'anų'k* on both sides (*'anų'ktu* place on either side), from an obsolete theme *'anų'kʻa* (see p. 58).

10. The three suffixes *-ta* to, at; *-takiya* towards, directed towards; *-tąhą* on that side, from, may be attached to nouns, demonstratives and to certain verbal forms. The compounds are used as independent adverbs. Instead of *-ta* the demonstratives have *-tka*,

They are attached to the terminal sound of polysyllabic nouns; with monosyllabic nouns they take the prefixed syllable *ya*.

With demonstratives

'ekta', he'kta
'ehą'tąhą, hehą'tąhą, kahą'tąhą, tohą'tąhą
'etą'hą, letą'hą, hetą'hą, katą'hą, tukte'tąhą
he'ktatąhą
'ecʻi'yatąhą, le'cʻiyatąhą, he'cʻiyatąhą, ka'kʻiyatąhą, to'kʻiyatąhą
'e'tkiya, le'tkiya, he'tkiya, ka'tkiya, (to'kʻetkiya)
'ekta'kiya, he'ktakiya
'ecʻe'tkiya, le'cʻetkiya, he'cʻetkiya, ka'kʻetkiya, (to'kʻetkiya)

With polysyllabic nouns

-ta:

kʻohą' wicʻo'tʻita m.nį' ną — meanwhile to the camp I shall go and — 4.1;—*wicʻo'tʻita 'ihų'ni* — at the camp he arrived — 4.6;—*ho'cʻokata 'i'* — at the middle of the camp circle he arrived 8.2;—*cʻatku'ta . . . yąka'pi'* in the place of honor they sat 53.10;—*makʻa'ta 'iȟpe'ic'iyį ną* — he threw himself on the ground and — 99.13

-takiya, contracted *-tkiya:*

paha'takiya 'į'yąke' he is running towards the hill;—*'iyu'weȟtakiya . . . nųwą' ye''* towards the opposite shore he went swimming 29.15;—*mani'takiya 'a'yapi'* towards the wilderness they took him 112.12;—*wicʻo'tʻitakiya 'iya'ye'* he went towards the village 118.4

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[50] See pp.49, 58 .

-tąhą:

> *wakpa′tąhą ’o′wap‘a’* I belong (am joined) on the side of the river (i. e., I belong to the river section);—*paha′tąhą hihų′ni’* he arrived coming from the hills;—*t‘awi′cu kį t‘ima′hetąhą ho′uyį ną* — his wife from the inside of the tipi called out and — 115.14;—*paha′-’ak‘o`tąhą* on yonder side of the hill 118.12

With monosyllabic nouns

–yata:

> *kic‘i′ t‘iya′ta k‘i′’*—with him he arrived at his home 122.10;—*m.niya′ta ṡka′tapi’* they are playing at the water;—*m.niya′ta hok‘u′wa-m.nįkte’* to the water to fish I shall go

–yatakiya:

> *t‘iya′takiya k‘ig.le′’* he went towards his home

–yatąhą:

> *b.leya′tąhą ’og.le′ṡka kį lena′ ’u′pi’* from the lake these lizards come;—*c‘ąya′tąhą ’ece′-’op‘iic‘iye’* on the side of the woods he always keeps
>
> *ȟeya′wap‘aya* farther away (p. 143, no. 7) contains also the syllable *ya*

Exceptions are the polysyllabic nouns *c‘atka′* left hand 185.15, and *wana′ġi* spirit 232.1 which take *ya* before the locative suffixes, like monosyllabic nouns. The form *hoȟe′yatąhą* 111.17 away from the camp circle is a compound of *ho* camp circle and *ȟeya′tąhą* away from.

The locative ending *-l*, and the verbal ending -(*e*)*tu* are also attached to nouns expressing location or time, not to other nouns, and to demonstratives (see p. 59); *-wap‘a* is attached only to nouns expressing location.

The following nouns take *l* and *tu:*

> *t‘i′l* in a tent;—*mani′l* in the wilderness, *mani′tu;*—*c‘ą′l* in the woods;—*mąk‘a′l* in the ground;—*ȟewo′skąl, ȟewo′skątu* in the desert;—*mak‘o′skąl, mak‘o′skątu* in a desert place

With other nouns *e′l* is used:

> *wic‘a′ṡa wą ’o′huta kį ’e′l ȟpa′yahą* a man on the shore lay 147.17;—*t‘i′pi wą ’e′l ’ihų′nipi* at a tipi they arrived 149.12;—*’ita′zipa ’e′l ’ik‘o′yakyį ną*—he fastened it to his bow and—151.8;—*c‘ąpa′m.na wą ’e′l ’ųyą′kapi* at a clump of trees we are sitting 153.4;—*c‘iye′ku g.li′pi k’e′l ’owi′c′akiyaka* (*k’e′l*>*kį*+*’e′l*) to his elder brothers returned upon this he told 66.4;—*mak‘a′ kį ’a′taya ’etą′ hina′p‘a* from the whole ground they came up 67.8;—*c‘ą′ kį ’etą′hą hiyu′* out of the woods she came 67.15;—*p‘e′ta kį ’etą′hą hiyu′* out of the fire it comes 105.7

§ 165. CONJUNCTIONS

ną (Y. and S. *k’a*) is used as a conjunction connecting nouns and clauses. In the latter case it changes preceding terminal *a* of a verb to *į* (Y. and S. to *e*), if the *a* is changeable. The tendency in speaking is to make a short pause after *ną* when it is a conjunction connecting clauses.

> *’ec‘a′ṡ ṡų′kak‘ą′ ną t‘i′pi ną wį′yą wążi′ waste′ c‘a he′c‘el ’ųni′c′upikte’* later on we will give you a horse and a house and a beautiful woman being of that kind thus we shall give you 160.3;—*wic‘a′ṡa wą mani′l ’oma′ni-i ną, wana′ ȟtaye′tu ’a′ya cąke′*— a man was walking, away from camp, and now evening it became and so—163.1;—*mi′la wą ’iye′ic′iyį ną, yuha′ ya′hą* a knife he found for himself and having it he was going 70.1

yų′k‘ą′ and then, introduces a new element (*’ų′k‘ą′* Y. S.):

> *’iya′yapi ke’; yų′k‘ą′ ka′l ’it‘u′hu-c‘ą wą t‘ą′ka hą′* they went along it is said; and then there a large oak tree stood 77.12;—*t‘ote′-hiyu` yų′k‘ą′ c‘aȟo′ta wob.lu′ ’iye′ye’* a wind came, and then ashes it blew away 77.16;—emphatic: *yų′k′ą′ṡ* 15.8 (see p. 147)

c‘ąke′ (Y. *c‘ąk‘e′*) and so:

> *c‘e′yaya wo′waṡi ’ec‘ų′ c‘ąke′ c‘ųwį′tku kį ’ak‘e′ ’o′kiye’* crying she did her work, and so her daughter again helped her (cry) 15.8;—*he′c‘el lową′ c‘ąke′ ’iṡto′g.mus wac‘i′hąpi* thus he sang, and so with shut eyes they were dancing 21.5

nąi′ṡ or:

> *hųhųhê`, misų nąi′ṡ c‘iye`* well, well, well! younger brother or elder brother 1.5;—*p‘ąġi′ nąi′ṡ mak‘a′-tom.nica nąi′ṡ ṡikpą′ka* artichokes or earth-beans or roots (sp. ?) 97.16;—*wą′żu nai′ṡ hą′pa* **k‘o′** quivers or moccasins also 89.8

tk'a'ṡ but, implying that the verb following *tk'a'ṡ* has the approval of the speaker or that the results are according to his expectation or hope.

> *'i'ya 'iya'ye-wac'į tk'a'ṡ 'oyu'spapi'* Iya wanted to go, but they caught him 105.13.—*maka' wą p'ahį' wą kic'i' 'u'pi tk'a'ṡ kat'a' 'iȟpe'wic'aye'* a skunk accompanying a porcupine came, but striking them dead he laid them 172.14;—*'ap'e'-wac'į tk'a'ṡ kag.na'ye'* he tried to strike him, but missed;—*yup'ą'p'ąla-wac'ą'mi tk'a'ṡ* (or *k'e'yaṡ*) *he'c'ena suta''* I tried to soften it, but it remained stiff (as I expected)

k'e'yaṡ (after *a* changed to *e*, *c'e'yaṡ*) but, indifferent attitude:

> *wį'yą wą 'e'l hina'żį k'e'yaṡ 'a'tayaṡ 'ayu'taṡni ṡką'he'* a woman at that place came and stood, but entirely not looking at her he continued to work 171.9;—*he'c'ena 'iya'yįkte c'e'yaṡ li'la 'oka'kiṡya* at once he was going to go on but very much she insisted 109.15; also 254.12;—*wic'o't'ita g.li' k'e'yaṡ ho'c'okata ku'ṡni* he came back to the camp but did not go into the center of the camp circle 255.12

ṡk'a' in spite of, contrary to expectation or wish; apparently always followed by active verbs:

> *wa-ṡma' ṡk'a' t'ąka'l ṡka'tįkteȟcį'* the snow is deep and yet he wants to play out of doors;—*'iyo'wak'iṡni ṡk'a' he'c'ena 'iya'ye'* in spite of my forbidding him he went anyway (also *yeṡą'* instead of *ṡk'a*);—*suta' ṡk'a' yakse''* in spite of its being hard he broke it by biting
>
> *tk'a'ṡ* is used with both active and neutral verbs (see examples under *tk'a'ṡ*);—in spite of its being summer it is cold, cannot be expressed by *ṡk'a.-b.loke'tuṡni s'e 'osni''* as though it were not summer it is cold; or *b.loke'tu k'e'yaṡ 'osni''* it is summer, but it is cold

(ye)ṡą [51] but, implying disapproval of the verb following *yeṡą* as contrary to the proper action. After verbs which change *a* to *e* the terminal *e* and *ye* contract to *e* so that the ending is *ṡą'*. After terminal *o*, *u*, *ų* of the stem *yeṡą'* changes to *weṡą.'* (See p. 11.) With plural *pi* it is contracted to form *peṡą'*.

> *k'u' tk'a'ṡ' akta'ṡni'* he gave it to him but he did not accept it (and that was right);—*k'u' k'e'yaṡ 'akta'ṡni'* (indifferent);—*k'u'weṡą' 'akta'ṡni'* (and that was wrong);—*tąyą'ṡ c'e'kiyeṡą' 'ayu'pteṡni'* correctly he addressed her, yet she did not answer 87.5;–*t'a'waṡni yeṡą' 'akṡi'że'* it was not his, but he did not surrender it;—*zuze'capeṡą' 'i'ṡ-'cya' c'e'yapelak'a* but snakes they also evidently weep 238.4

-ye'ṡ is less strong then *-yeṡą'* It does not disapprove of the person who does not do what is expected; it rather exonerates the other person.

> *we'c'o'we'ṡ hi'ṡni'* even though I invited him (and so I have done my part) he did not come;—*we'c'oweṡą' hi'ṡni'* I summoned him but he did not come (as he ought to have done);—*'o'wic'a kiye-wac'į'ye'ṡ wica'lapiṡni'* even though he wanted to help them they refused (he did all that could be expected of him);—*'o'wic'akiye-wac'i'yeṡą' wica'lapiṡni'* (blaming them for their refusal);—*'osni' k'e'yaṡ tasa'keṡni'* it is cold but it is not frozen (statement of fact);—*'osni'yeṡą' tasa'keṡni'* (surprise at an unexpected phenomenon);—*'osni'ye'ṡ tasa'keṡni k'ų nąke'ȟcaka tasa'ke'* that which was not frozen even though it was cold now at last it is frozen;—*'osni'ye'ṡ 'oma'k'ate c'ų nąke' mac'u'wita* I who was warm even though it was cold, now feel cold;—*'atku'kuwe'ṡ 'ana'ġoptąṡni c'a he'c'e* even his father he does not obey, it being so, therefore;—*wak'ą'yeżaye'ṡ hec'ų' 'oki'hi* even a child could do that;—*wak'ą'-yeżayeṡą' he'c'ų 'oki'hi* even though he is a child, yet he can do that

kaye'ṡ is stronger than *ye'ṡ:*

> *'atku'ku kį 'e'kaye'ṡ 'e'l 'e'tųweṡni'* even his father does not look after him;—*'ate' 'e'kaye'ṡ nawa'ȟ'ųṡni'* not even to my father do I listen;—*t'i'takuye ną hųka'ke kį 'e'pikaye'ṡ k'o' 'i't'ehąyą wąya'k na'żįpi'* the relatives and even the parents also stood afar watching 230.17;—*co'nala kaye'ṡ b.luha'ṡni'* I have not even a little;—*ta'kukaye'ṡ yuha'ka c'a waka'ȟniȟniȟ-c'į ke* (hardly) anything even he has, such being, he wants selected things, ridiculous!—*tukte'tukaye'ṡ 'ų'ṡniyeṡą' le'na k'eṡ ȟpa'ye ṡni'* (hardly) any place even he does not live at, here instead why doesn't he stay?—*'iye'kaye'ṡ hi' s'a'* even he (although he has the right to be excepted) always comes;—*'iyeṡ hi's'a'* he comes (and you others do not think it worth while)

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[51] Compare *yeṡ* (p. 29).

k‘eṡ [52] but always:

> *nakų́ ’iyų́kapi c‘ą́ṡna hįg.na′ku kic‘i′ ȟpa′ya k‘eṡ c‘oka′ya ’ece′-ųpa* even whenever they went to bed she lay down with her husband, but always she laid it down between them 275.5;—*hiya`, ’ųci`, ’ini′la k‘eṡ ’ec‘e′l ’ec‘ų́ wo′* no, grandmother, but quietly do so 199.1;—*kįyą́ hiya′ya c‘ą́ k‘ute′pi k‘eṡ tuwe′ni ’o′ṡni’ k’ų* whenever it flies going past they shoot at it but nobody hits it 111.4

k‘ohą́ meantime, two related actions; also two actions performed by the same subject.

> *k‘ohą́ paha′ kį ’ok’a′pi* meantime they dug in the hill 209.4;—*iwi′c‘akikcu c‘ąke′ k‘ohą́ k‘ų́ṡitkupi kį wip‘a′ kį ’ec‘e′kc‘e ’ipa′ha ’e′g.le ṡke’* she took them up, therefore meanwhile their grandmother hoisted the tent flaps, it is said 196.17;—*’eya′ya ną k‘ohą́ ’ak‘e′ ’oka′t’apt’ap yąke′* he said, and meanwhile again making sign of contempt he sat 38.2

’ic‘ų́hą while, at the same time, synchronous but disconnected actions; preceded by *kį* or *k’ų:*

> *hokṡi′la kį ’iṡna′la t‘iya′ta yąke′ cį ’ic‘ų́hą hit’ų́kala wą ta′ku yak’o′ġahą* the boy alone in the tipi during the sitting a mouse something was gnawing 96.2;—*’e′l m.ni′ ’icu′ kį ’ic‘ų́hą b.le′ kį ’e′l ’ena′na ta′ku k’eya′ sapsa′pya hiye′ya c‘a wąya′ka* then during the water taking the lake on here and there something black here and there they were, it being so he saw them 223.15 (while he was taking water he saw some black things appearing in the lake);—*wo′yute wani′ce cį ’ic‘ų́hą wikce′m.nac‘ą ’ica′m.na* during the food-lacking it snowed for ten days 198.5;—*heya′hąpi kį ’ic‘ų́hą k‘iye′la s’e hiya′ya* during the saying-so it went somewhat near 29.10;—*he′l nąka′he c’ų ’ic‘ų́hą le′ waka′ġe’* during your past sitting I made this

c‘a, before imperatives *c‘e,* it being such, it being so:

> *’ita′zipa wąhį́kpe k‘o′ li′la waṡte′ṡte c‘a yuha′ yąka′hą* a bow, an arrow also very good, being such, having he was sitting 25.2;—*wana′ ’ak‘e′ hc′ ’ikto′ ’e′ c‘a ’ųg.na′yąpe lo′* now again that Ikto he being so he is deceiving us 30.6;—*m.ni-’i′t‘ąc‘ą kį li′la ṡme′ lo′, c‘a le′c‘eya′ loc‘į́pi c’ų́ mat’į́kte s’e le′c‘eca ye lo′* the main current (water) is very deep, it being so at this time hunger by I shall die, as though it is so 32.6, 7

When a verb is conceived as a noun *kį* is used rather than *c‘a:*

> *c‘e′yapi kį nawa′ȟ’ų* I heard the wails, the wailing;—*c‘e′yapi c‘a nawi′c‘awaȟ’ų* I heard them wailing (they wailed, it being so, I heard them).

The use of *c‘a* offers peculiar syntactic difficulties. It is used in Teton while the Yankton always replace it by *’e* to be. Its use may be further illustrated by the following examples:

> *hake′la c‘ą́ ’icu′kta c‘a ’ina′p‘e’* Hakela about to get wood, it being so he went out 87.1; *hake′la c‘ą́ ’icu′kte cį wąya′ke’* Hakela saw the one who was about to get wood; *c‘ą́ ’icu′ c‘a hi′’* having taken (up) wood(land), it being so, he arrived here; *c‘ą́ ’icu′ kį hi′’* the one whose business it is to get wood arrived here;—*c‘ą́ ’icu′pi kį* the act of getting wood;—*’į́yąkyąk g.licu′ c‘a wąya′ke’* running he came back, it being so, he saw him (he saw him running back); *’į́yąkyąk g.licu′ kį wąya′ke’* he saw the fact of his running back; *wążi′ ’į́yąkyąk g.licu′ kį he′ wąya′ke’* one who was running back, that one he saw;—*le′ nitu′we c‘a wąų́ṡiyala* this you being somebody, it being so, you consider men pitiful 89.1; *le′ nitu′wc kį wąų́ṡiyala* this one, the somebody you are, you consider men pitiful;—*le′ tuwe′ c‘a* this is somebody (who may that be?);—*ṡina′ wą ’a′taya wic‘a′p‘aha kṡu′pi c‘a g.lub.la′ya* a blanket entirely (with) scalps appliqued it being so she spread out her own 87.9. If *wą* were substituted for *c‘a* it would be an aside, an apposition to *ṡina′ wą.* If *kį* were substituted it would mean "that particular one among others" and would be followed by *he′;*—*mas-’i′hųnicat‘a wą ’ų́ p‘a′-wic‘a`kaksaksa k’ų he ’e′ c‘a ’icu′’* a hammer using heads she had cut them off, that was it, it being so, he took it 88.14;—*g.li′piṡni c‘a le′ ’ųki′ṡnala ’ųyą́ke′* they did not come back, it being so, this (is the situation) we alone we sit 90.5. This might also be: *g.li′piṡni c‘a le ’ųki′ṡnala ’ųyą́ke cį le′c‘ecaye′* they did not come back, it being so, this our sitting alone is this way;—*wizi′ wą kaza′zapi c‘a ’ot‘ų`* a yellow (old) tent cover slashed, it being such, he wore it 36.2;—*wakpa′ wą ’ot‘ą́kaya ną ṡma′ c‘a ’e′l ’iyo′ȟloke* a small river wide and deep, it being such, there it emptied 37.3

It appears from these examples that while *kį* nominalizes the preceding phrase, *c‘a* is a conjunction connecting two phrases. The Yankton form *’e* suggests that it may be an adverbial form uniting verbs or phrases. It seems to indicate always an antecedent action or condition.

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[52] See *k‘e′ṡ* p. 159.

With transitive verbs the noun preceding the clause ending in *c‘a* is always object.

> *hokṡi′la kį wic‘a′ṡa wą nųwą′ c‘a wąya′kc’* the boy saw a man swimming it being so;—*wic‘a′ṡa- t‘ąka kį ṡųk-sa′pa wą wąya′ke’* the big man saw a black horse, or *wic‘a′ṡa-t‘ąka kį ṡų′kak‘ą′ wą sa′pa c‘a wąya′ke’*, or *wic‘a′ṡa wą t‘ą′ka c‘a* [*ṡųksa′pa wą wąya′ka*] *ke′ye″* the man being a big one said [hc saw a black horse]; here the phrase in brackets is taken up by the active, but not transitive verb *ke′ya′* he said that;—*wic‘a′ṡa wą nųwą′ c‘a wąya′kc’* can mean only: he saw a man swimming, not, a man saw him swimming: *nųwą′ c‘a wic‘a′ṡa wą wąya′ke’* he was swimming, it being so, a man saw him

When a subject is to be emphasized as against another one, it may be verbalized by a preceding *he′*.

> *hc′ wic‘a′ṡa c‘a hi″* that one, being a man (not a woman) has arrived

In the same way the adjective is emphasized by *c‘a:*

> *wic‘a′ṡa wą t‘ą′ka c‘a hi′ye lo′* a man being a big one has arrived;—*wic‘a′ṡa-t‘ąka wą hi′ye lo′* a certain big man has arrived

c‘a can never by followed by *he′*, except when *he′* is an adverb.

When *c‘a* is final a following finite verb must be assumed to be omitted or an implied action to be performed.

> *le′ ta′kuȟca k‘a′ c‘a* this whatever he means it bcing so (I do not know); i. e., this what he says has no meaning (compare *le′ ta′ku k‘e″* this one means something);—*he′ tuwe′ c‘a* that who, it being so (I should like to know); i. e., who may that be?—*’it‘o′ wana′ mi′ciṡpą se′ca c‘a* well now mine is done probably, it being so (then she turns to look at her boiling food) 174.18;—*’it‘o′ wana′ g.li′pi sc′ca c‘a* well now they have come probably, it being so (then the speaker goes out to meet them)

c‘e is used instead of *c‘a* before imperatives:

> *ho, ’iwa′nųwįkta c‘e c‘ąk‘a′hu-’aką′l ’ima′yotaka yo′* now! I shall swim across, it being so (my) back sit on me! 47.4;—*ho, c‘ąli′ b.lab.lu′kta c‘e takų′l kat’e′wac‘į po′* now! tobacco I will blow out, it being so, try to kill something! 111.14;—*mio′ye-c‘atkaˋyatąhą kį m.ni′ ’og.na′ hį′kta c‘e ’i′nipuza c‘ą′ ’atų′wą yo′* in my left footprint water will stand, it being so when you are thirsty look for it! 185.15; but *’oye′-c‘atkaˋyatąhą kį m.ni′ ’og.na′ hį′kta c‘a ’i′mapuza c‘ą′ b.latkį′kte’* it being so when I am thirsty I'll drink;—*c‘e ’e′l to′k‘el ȟ’ą-wa′c‘į yo′* it being so, try to act in some way there 186.8; but *c‘a ’e′l to′k‘cl ȟ’ą-wa′c‘įkte’* it being so, he will try to act in some way there

c‘ą′ whenever, when always; *c‘ą′na* Western Ogalala:

> *’i′nipuza c‘ą′ ’atų′wą yo′* whenever you are thirsty look for it! 185.15;—*tohą′tu c‘ą′ t‘e′hą-wac‘iˋpi huwo′?* at what time is it when always they dance a long time? 135.1;—*tohą′l lowa′c‘į c‘ą′ wawa′te’* whenever I am hungry I eat;—*m.ni′ c‘į′ c‘ą′ṡna yatke″* whenever he wanted water hc drank 186.3 (*ṡna* see p. 106);—*wą′ca-tą-waˋwateṡni c‘ą′ṡna ka′k‘el ’ec‘a′mų we!* Whenever at a time I do not eat well, I do this! 21.10

yų′k‘ą′ṡ colloquially *yų′ṡ*, if, contrary to fact; followed generally by future, always by *tk‘a′*; literally: lo and behold however—it would be, but not.

> *’i′ṡe′ lehą′l ni′ ’ų′ yų′k‘ą′ṡ ’ani′lowąpi tk‘a′ ye′* if only now he were alive (he would see to it that) you would be sung over 15.8;—*wac‘į′ka yų′k‘ą′ṡ ’ehą′niȟcį c‘ac‘i′p‘įkta tk‘a′ ye lo′* if I had wanted, long ago I should have stabbed you 71.2,3;—*he′c‘eȟcį ’i′ya t‘akpe′-’ipiṡni yų′k‘ą′ṡ ’oya′tc kį lehą′hųniyą t‘epwi′c‘ayahįkta tk‘a′* in that very way if they had not arrived going to attack I′ya, the people even up to now he would continue to cause them to be consumed 5.6;—*waṡ′a′ka yų′k‘ą′ṡ kte′pi*(*kte*)-*ṡni tk‘ą’* if he had been strong he would not have been killed

hą′tąhąṡ if (*hą -tąhą* from, *-ṡ* adversative):

> *ną ta′ku to′k‘a hą′tąhąṡ ’oya′ka yo′* and if anything should happen, tell! 65.6;—*mi′ṡ-’eya′ wac‘į′ hą′tąhąṡ yat‘a′hena ’ic‘i′cukte lo′* if I also wish, with the mouth to this side I shall take you 1.8;—*he′ wąži′ nawa′ȟ’ų hą′tąhąṡ wą′cak ’e′ṡ ’e′na mat’į′kte lo′* that one if I hear, at once then I shall die 104.4

he′cįhą or *he′ci* if it is that, whether:

> *waų′śiyala he′cįhą maka′ȟlaya yo′* you have pity, if it is that, peel me off! 118.19;—*he′cʻeca he′cįhą wana′ ’ųg.lu′śtąpe lo′* if it is so then now we have finished with it 104.5;—*tuwe′ cʻa he′ wo′nicihįkta he′cįhą* who being that kind that one will cook for you, if it is that, i. e., whoever will cook for you, if there is one 81.13;—*cʻąti′heya he′cįhą ’owo′tʻąla kʻeṡ ’og.la′keṡni*— (it reaches to the heart) she covets him if that is the case directly instead why did she not tell (her own) 168.16;—*to′kʻel eha′ cʻą′ṡna nitʻą′ke ’u′ he′cįȟą ’ecʻe′l ’cya′ yo′* in what way you say whenever your sister comes, if it is that (or not) say now! 169.16;—*tukte′-’ųma` tʻoke′ya hina′pʻįkta he′cįhą he′ ’akʻi′nicapi* who of the two first will come out, if it is that one or not, that they disputed 194.10

Compare:

> *’otʻų′weta nį′kta he′cįhą ’ini′yųġe’* he asks you whether you are going to town;—*’otʻų′weta nį′kta hą′tahąs wani′ṡikte’* if you should go to town he will ask you to do something for him;—*’otʻų′weta le′cįhą wani′ṡikte’* when you go to the city he will ask you a favor;—*maġa′żu he′cįhą slolwa′ya wacʻį′* I should like to know whether it is raining;—*maġa′żukta hą′tąhąṡ slolwa′ya wacʻį′* I should like to (know) be informed in case it should rain

kįhą when, future:

> *’ecʻa′nųṡni kįhą m.ni-ma′hel ’iȟpe′cʻiyįkte* when you not do that, I shall throw you into the water 47.6;—*tohą′l tʻila′zata ho′pʻimiciye cįhą hehą′l hina′pʻa yo′* when behind the tipi I clear my throat, then come out! 46.9;—*ta′ku to′kʻa kįhą ’ana′makitą yo′* when anything happens run to me! (compare *ta′ku to′kʻa hą′tąhąṡ ’ana′makitą yo′* if anything should happen run to me! 83.3)

k’ ųhą′ when, past, also *k’ų ehą′:*

> *tʻe′hą′l ’i′ k’ųhą′* when he had arrived far away 84.8;[53]—*wana′ ’ikʻą′yela ’ihų′ni k’ųhą′* now when he had come near 235.12;—*yuṡtą′ k’ųhą′ hokṡi′la kį ’icu′*—when she had completed them the boy took them 99.2

The preceding elements correspond to English conjunctions, but it seems more proper to consider the subordinating conjunctions as elements which nominalize the preceding phrase, or in other cases, transform them into a unitary adverbial expression. It is important to note in this connection that the English forms "in order to, because, before, after," are not expressed by conjunctions but rather by phrases. Examples of these are:

ṡnihą literally not being, doing, expresses temporal antecedence:

> *maġa′żu ṡnihą kʻig.la′* it not raining go home! i. e., go home before it rains

The same relation may be expressed by *’itʻo′kap:*

> *wi hina′pʻįkte cį ’itʻo′kap ’ożą′żą s’a* the future appearance of the sun in regard to it first it always is light; i. e., it gets light before the sun rises;—*wa′tįkte cį ’itʻo′kap ȟeya′p ’icu′we lo′* what I was going to eat in regard to it first away he took it; i. e., he took it away before I ate it

Also:

> *’i′ya le′cʻel kte′piṡni k’ų he′hą′ li′la ’oya′te ’o′ta tʻepwi′cʻayc’* I′ya thus they had not killed, at that time many people he had caused them to be consumed, i. e., before they had thus killed Iya he had eaten many people 105.19;—*maġa′żu-’aki`sni kįhą wag.nį′kte’* the rain dying down when I shall go, i. e., after it stops raining I'll go; —*’iya′-’ig.lu`ṡtą cʻąke′ hehą′l mi′ṡ ’iwa′ye’* to speak he finished and so then I spoke, i. e., after he had spoken I spoke;—*’ag.na′ nųwą′pi ’ųspe′ṡni kį he′ ’ų′* moreover to swim she did not know that using, i. e., moreover because she could not swim 47.8;—*li′la ’oci′k’a-yela kį ’ų′ ’iwą′yak ȟ’ąhi′ya ’u′’* very the narrowness using looking out with care he came, i. e., because it was narrow he came moving carefully 48.16

Compare:

> *’ųżi′żįtka hu′ k’ų he′ ’ų′* rosebush stalks the aforesaid that using, i. e., with rosebush stalk 54.7

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[53] Text changed from *tʻe′hą k’ųhą′*.

§ 166. EXCLAMATIONS

'ahą' watch out! careful! also *'ahą'—'ahą'ahą'ahą* or *'ahą'—hąhą'hąhą* (pronounced very quick).

'a'hųhųhų (very quick) reflex to a very sudden pain.

'eʻ an indication that one is listening, interspersed in the narrative of the speaker; like "yes" in a telephone conversation indicating that the person addressed hears and understands; only used by men.

'eⁱ· alas! expressing regret.

> *'eⁱ·, cʻųkṡ, ehą'ni wani'yazą kį oma'yakilake ṡni';* alas! daughter before your being ill you told me not (alas, daughter! why did you not tell me before that you were ill)

'ê·' an exclamation used by young men and boys for "fussing" girls.

'eit, eit, eit (diphthongs), probably recent; the same as the preceding (*t* not released).

'eʻ . . . 'e· often used when watching a game, *'eʻ* (very short) when a batter hits a ball and the second *e·* when the result is seen.

'eya'—įʻ hesitating beginning, like: well.

'etą'ṡto'k, tą'ṡto'k (*etą'hą* out of, *ṡ* adversative; *to'kʻa* what) what of it! (like a shrug of the shoulders).

'eyâ (said by men) well! (mild surprise).

'ė'yahahe·' a shout of praise, admiration for someone who has done a great deed; always follows the name of a person (shouted).

> *cʻctą'-sapa-'e'yahahe'* hurrah for Black-Hawk!

'eya'hįkte so he will say! implying disbelief in the claim made by the speaker.

> *'eya'hįkte tukte'l wiwo'ȟa-i ną* so she will say when she goes to live with her husband's people (i. e., here in our family you talk that way, but if you want to be admired you will be more careful when living with your husband's people)

'eya'ke'' such impudence! (he says it, poor fool! see *ke'*).

'ehâ·' is that so?

'eha'kal 'e'ṡ (*'eha'ke* finally) finally, anyway, with a tinge of contempt or spite.

> *'ehą'ni kʻiyu'ṡe s'a k'ų 'eha'kal 'e'ṡ lehą'l tʻawo'yaptapi yu'tahe* formerly she was hard on him all the time (past), finally anyway at this time his leavings she is eating

'ehú· (*u* very high and long drawn out) uttered through cupped hands in four directions; calling the supernaturals, followed by smoking and prayer.

'ece''ece''ece' disapproval (used by women) (becoming obsolete).

'ecʻâ·' an expression of contempt.

> *ecʻâ·' wį'yą ye lo'* bah, he is a woman (a coward)

'i' 'i' 'i' serves you right! expression of pleasure in discomfiture of someone.

'i'wįska'ṡ, 'icʻe'wįṡ see *cʻe'wį* (p. 152)

'iho' see *ho*.

'ina' mother! exclamation used by women when suddenly afraid of danger (perhaps the same as *hina'*).

'į·ʻ expression of reluctance used by shy children (low voice).

'ihɔ'' just as I said, expected; if followed by sentence *'ihɔ'*.

> A woman had treated her husband badly. When she expressed herself mourning his death, an old woman said to her *'ihɔ', 'ihɔ' ṡce`pʻą; le'cʻecakta tkʻa 'ohi'tinic'ila k'ų! kahą'l 'eṡ to'kʻa ka* now see the result, sister-in-law, it was going to be like this and yet you thought yourself so hard at that time

'i'įįį' quick (more air than vowel) (very short) said when suddenly feeling cold water on the body.

’įska–’į–’į–’į (also the whole repeated) stalling when delaying an answer. Slow speakers often begin their sentences with *į*.—Y. *nųske, nų-nų-nų,* or simply *nų*

’ohą:′ O yes! now I understand!

’ohų′wela, ’ohų′welaka of all things! that it should come to this!

’oże′ ’oże′ ’oże′ (quick) exclamation expressing ridicule, disapproval of smallness in action (Yankton).

’ożela′ admiration or surprise regarding small things, tricks, actions of young children or small animals (*yui′że* to confuse order of things).

’ɔȟ, hɔȟ (Santee *hoȟo′*) (man speaking) denial, opposition to an expressed opinion. Sentences beginning with *tase′* are often preceded by *’ɔȟ* or *hɔȟ*. Women say *hiya* (unaccented)no, before *tase′*. Also if things are going wrong 20. 8

’uṡti′’, huṡti′’, or *’oṡti′’* (man speaking) too bad! hard luck! 28.18.

yá· long in high key. Exclamation of women expressing fear, amazement, horror.

yi′ calling attention of a stranger; also the same as the preceding, used by western Teton women.

yų, yų, yų, yų (at intervals) exclamation of pain, indicating a steady, sharp pain.

yû said by women, correcting a child.

> *yû, tuwe′ni he′c‘a he′c‘ųṡni ye′* nobody does like that. Also 172.8

wą̌′ (man speaking), *mą̌′* or *mą* (woman speaking) exclamation calling people at a distance; also expressing hesitation, for instance when addressing strangers the proper term of address not being known; generally *wą–į*; or *wą–įska*; also in answers.

> *’ec‘a′ṡ wat‘i′ kį ’ekta′ ya′.—wą, ’owa′kihiṡni ye lo′* go to my home if you can.—Ah, but I am unable (to go); *—to′k‘i nį′kta he?—wą le′c‘i mi′c‘opi c‘a le′ ’ekta′ b.le′ lo′* where are you going?—Why, they invited me here, so here I am going. Both these answers might also take in addition a terminal *wą*.

waȟte′ṡni kį the wretch!

> (*waȟtį′ka* delicate, very fragile, like the wing of a moth)

we′ we′ a call driving dogs 172.2.

wí· (very high) used by women, expression of mild annoyance.

> *wí· heṡ mų′kte c’ų* oh dear! I was just going to use it

wi′, wi′ṡ exclamation when a blow or shot just misses the mark 141.11.

wi·, wi·, wi· the same as the last.

ha′o yes (said by men).

haho′, haho′ thanks! to human beings.

haye′; haye′ haye′ haye′ thanks! addressed to the supernatural.

haṡ such bad luck! 1.10

hą yes (said by both sexes).

hą′ta′ said to children; also *hą′ta yo′* or *hą′tiye′* (said by men) get out of the way!

hą′t^a *hą′*t^a *hą′*t^a (said quickly) get out of the way! (obsolescent, Yankton *han han han*)

he′’ (high and short), also *hųhe′’* (used by young women) indicating a sneering contempt of an unsustained claim of prestige. The stronger the feeling the stronger the glottal stop. A woman praising her daughter said:

> *tuwa′ le′ Ele′ni ’e′ke ṡa′*, (literally, someone this Ellen that sort of even though) is there anyone like Ellen! A person disputing this claim answered *he′’*

he′ used by men; the same meaning as *ṡi′, yi′*.

hehehe′; hehehi′, hehi′, hehehi′, or *hehehê:* often beginning sentences, then always with short terminal *e*. Expressing disinclination to do something that has to be done 15.14.

hiya′ no (said by both sexes).

hina′ hina′ hina′ (said by women) sudden surprise and disapproval.

hinâ·′ a milder expression of disapproval.

hini′ (strong accent) thanks! said only by the chorus in the *hųka′* ceremony at the end of each verse.

hinų' hinų' hinų' (said by women) *hųhi'; hųhųhi'; hųhe'; hųhųhe'* (said by men), sudden surprise.

hį (very short, said once or several times) an exclamation expressing disappointment at lack of success in any attempt (like throwing a stone and missing) or when tripping; also used when sneezing or twitching of muscles forbodes ill 100. 4.

hį'yąka', t'įyąka' (<(*i*)*t'o'-hį'yąka'*) wait a minute! 56.5 (men also say *hį'yąka yo'*).

hô, ihô ready now (mild), now is time to start; go ahead!

ho'ye (said by men), *ho'na* (said by women) expresses indifferent agreement, "all right."

> *ka'k'i ųyį'kte!* *ho'ye* We'll go there! All right!

Also introducing a suggestion:

> *ho'na nųwe'-ųyįkte.* *ho'na* What do you say, we'll go swimming. All right (woman sp. to woman)

hokahe' or *hukahe'* (short) ready! exclamation for the start of a race or a joint effort.

həḣ see *'əḣ*.

huṡti' see *uṡti''*.

hųhųhe' 1.5, 2.8.

hųhe''e (said by men) alack! this came out wrong (only applied to matters of minor importance); also used by old women.

hm: (quite high, with hand held over mouth) surprise; like: for pity's sake! (woman speaking).

mina· (woman speaking) expression of pretended (sometimes real) fear.

lililililili said very rapidly with high voice, only by women. It is the cry of the screech owl as expressed in Teton, used to acclaim the brave deeds of warriors, used by female relatives or other women. Not used by Yankton and Santee.

laḣ (said by women) from *laḣca* (*la-ḣca* very).

> *'osni'laḣ* how cold it is!
> *mac'u'witalaḣ* my! I am cold
> *wic'a'ṡa waṡte'laḣ* isn't he handsome!
> Men say *'osni' laḣcake lo'* it is cold indeed!

ta'kole' why should I! (*ta'ku* what; *ole'* to seek).

tą'ṡto'k see *etą'ṡto'k*.

to' (mild assent) all right!

toṡ yes, surely; see *k'e'yaṡ toṡ, k'e'yaṡ toṡtoṡ* 166.5

to'k see *c'į' to'k*.

to'k'a huwo·', man sp. *to'k'ahuwe''* woman sp. to what end! why should that happen to me? (exclamation used in mourning); also a question: what is the trouble?

tok'e expresses surprise (also adverb).

to'k'į'ṡ, to'k'ną'ṡ is that all? (see also p. 143).

tuwa' 'ak'a'kṡa' impossible! (*'ak'a'* on purpose, *ka* kind of; *'eṡa'* even though) (see also adverbs).

tulâ: surprise, for shame! (becoming obsolete).

t'į'yąka' see *hį'yąka'*.

t'o', 'it'o' a word accompanying imperatives or exhortatives, if nothing important is involved.

> *'it'o' yuṡ'į'yewayįkte* let me scare him!—*'it'o' ṡkį'miciyį*[54] *ną wo'wakam.nįkte* let me bestir myself and take food out of courtesy to him;—*'it'o' wo'wapi mak'ų'na, 'ec'a'ṡ t'iya'ta yak'i' kįhą* write to me (give me a writing) won't you, when you get home;—*'it'o' de wak'a'ke* suppose I dig this (Santee, Riggs 83.13)

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[54] Reflexive instead of the expected *ṡkį'mic'iya*. Cf. *ici'kte* he hung, choked himself, and *ic'i'kte* he killed himself.

Also, like lo! behold!

> *’it‘o′ wic‘ą′ȟpi wą ’iye′ǧeȟca ’c yąke′ cį hc′hįhna′wayc*[54a] *c’eṡ* supposing a star shining verily that the one who is (sits), that one, if I could have him for husband (Santee, Riggs 83.3)

c‘e′wį incredible! *c‘e′wįṡ* how very! also *’i′wįṡka′ṡ, ’ic‘c′wįṡ* always at the beginning of a sentence and requiring *ke* at the end. The same meaning as *laȟ* (said by women), *laȟcaka* (said by men); but not used with these.

> *c‘e′wįṡ witko′tkoke* how true it is that he is a bad one!;—*c‘e′wįṡ waṡte′ke* how very beautiful;—*c‘e′wįṡ (ic‘e′wįṡ) wa′map‘ike* how lucky I am!;—*c‘e′wįṡ waṡi′cu kį ’o′hįni wo′imaǧaǧa c‘į′pike* how strange that White people always desire amusement!;—*’i′wįṡka′ (’i′wįṡka′ṡ) loc‘į′ nac‘e′ceke* how very hungry he must apparently be;—*’i′wįṡka′ṡ mac‘c′pece! wote′ṡni wauį′ k’e′yaṡ* how fat I am! although I abide not eating;—*c‘e′wįṡ t‘e′hą-g.li′ṡni ke* how long he does not return!

c‘į′ to′k, ic‘į′ to′k of course

> *’i′ṡ c‘į′ to′k* what about him! let him do it!—Evidently related to *’ic‘į′,’ cc‘į′, c‘į′*;—*c‘į′ wo′wapi mak’u′* write me some time;—*c‘į′ ’i′ṡ tuwa′* what about him somebody (i. e. what right has he to blame others)

na in pipe etiquette, said by smoker who hands the pipe to the next man who replies *ku*.

na·′na (said by women); *ni′ye* (said by men), said when handing something to another person; *’icu′wo′* (man); *’icu′* (woman) take it! sounds too abrupt. Also used, if somebody pesters the owner about something.

> *ni′yĕ′‘!* *’e′ktą′ ta′ku b.luha′ c‘ą′* take! why bother me something I have whenever; i. e. why do you always want what *I* have

ṡi; *ṡ‘* accompanied by threatening motion with arm or stick, “get away!” (to animals)

ṡ hush! don’t! (softer in pronunciation).

ṡî′ (short) (woman speaking) say! *he′* (man speaking) calling attention of one whose relationship is not known.

> *ṡî′ ’u′wanit‘o* say! come here! (*’u′wa* come here, *na, ’it‘o*).

ṡi, ṡi, ṡi a warning when there is danger that a lot of things a person is carrying may fall, the warning person at the same time running to help.

ṡṡ′‘ṡ: pronounced crescendo, with a suppressed laugh, like “stop that,” when two relatives of the same sex who stand in a joking relationship poke fun at each other; sometimes accompanied by a poke in the ribs or a push on the shoulder.

ku in pipe etiquette, said by recipient of pipe handed to him by the preceding smoker with the word *na*.

ku′wiye′ (said by men or women), *ku′wa na* (said by women) come here!

k‘o′ya′ȟ’ą′ hurry! (*k‘o* quick; *ȟ‘ą* to act).

kto′k, to′k (from *to′k‘a*).

> *le′ tuwa′ t‘a′wa he? he′ mit‘a′wa kto′k* whose is this? It is mine and what of it! (In a more quiet mood the answer would be *he′ mit‘a′wa′* that is mine;—*to′k‘iya la′ he? wag.le′ kto′k* where are you going? I am going home, and what of it!

ȟtį’ very good! (used nowadays by boys, not old Dakota).

‘m· (rough breathing). Women clear their throats this way to indicate that a remark refers to a certain person present who pretends not to have grasped the meaning as referring to him or her (same use as in English).

ȟopci′ṡ, ȟom.nu′s two exclamations occurring in tales, setting unknown.

’hm′· very deep faucal, expresses disgust at presumption.

> *’ȟm′·, ’ehą′niṡ he′c‘ecakte c’ų* ha! long ago it was to have been thus (i. e., what else could you expect).

Clearing the throat also a signal for a girl to meet youth who wants to elope with her. Also a warning 46.8; 246.12.

’ , ’ rough short vibration of vocal cords with *į* resonance, like two short sighs. Exclamation used by men to control angry passion or temporary weakness.

[54a] Corrected.

§ 167. WORD ORDER

Word order in Dakota requires that all nouns or nominalized clauses are followed by their qualifiers while all verbs are preceded by their qualifiers, excepting however all modal particles: the negative *ṡni* (p. 105), the future *kta* (p. 105), the intensifying *ḣca* (p. 57), the diminutive *la* (p. 57), the qualifying *ka* (p. 55), the quotatives *ṡk‘a′*, *ke′’* and *c‘e* (p. 106); the articles *kį*, *k’ų*, *wą*, *k’eya′* (p. 133), the contradictory *tk‘a* (p. 112); *c‘e* (p. 106), and the declarative (p. 109), imperative (p. 111), optative (p. 111) and interrogative (p. 111) particles, the particle *ki* (p. 107), also the particles *s’e*, *nų s’e* (p. 107), *ṡna* (p. 106), *hųṡe* (p. 111), *k’eṡ*, *yų′k‘ą′ṡ* which follow subordinate verbs.

In the texts many sentences occur that close with other suffixes or particles, but these must be conceived as incomplete or as such phrases which in loose speech are introduced as an after thought. For instance:

(1) *ta′ku wąži′ ’iwa′hoc‘iyįkte lo′* (2) *he′c‘el ’ų′ wakta′kel yaų′kta c‘a* 11.4 would be in formal speech inverted: (2) that way on account of expecting it you will live, that being so (1) one thing I shall warn you against

(1) *’ina′ wana′ ni′c‘oumaṡi ye lo′* (2) *t‘ąke′ kic‘i′ yaų′kta c‘a* 15.11 also should be inverted: (2) my elder sister with you will live that being so (1) my mother now asks me to invite you;—*he′c‘el kic‘i′ g.luṡtą′ c‘a—toh‘ą′l t‘ila′zata ho′-p‘imiciye cįhą hehą′l hina′p‘a yo′; ’ųki′yayįkte—’eya′ ke′’*. 46.9 Thus with her he settled—"When behind the tent I clear my throat then come out; we shall go!"—he said it is said. Here the whole quotation interrupts the sentence. The main part after c‘*a* continues with *’eya′*

In the idiom *ta′kuḣca k‘a′ c‘a* 16.9 a following *leya′he* is omitted: what indeed he means it being that kind this is what he is saying, i. e., what does he mean talking this way!—*le′ ta′ku k‘a′pi c‘a!* the same, plural 20.6;—*’ekta′ wic‘a′b.le lo′, hena′ wic‘a′wag.lutįkta c‘a* 2.7 there I shall go. Those I shall eat them my own that being so—implies that the first part "there I shall go" which belongs to the preceding sentence has not been repeated;—*le′ ’ina′waḣni c‘eṡ ’ep‘e′ṡą′* 20.8 this "I am in a hurry indeed" I said but; i. e., but I said I am in a hurry, implies a following: yet they persist!;—*’o′we hą′hąpila s’a k’ų wana′ ’ak‘e′* they are always joking, now again, implies a following "they are at it";—*nakų′ ṡpą′ṡni hiye′ye c’ų ’iyu′hala* 27.12 also what not cooked lay about, all of that, implies a repetition of the preceding *t‘epya′pi’* they ate it up;—*tok‘e naya′ḣ’ųṡniyelak‘a* how is it, evidently you have not heard about it, implies a following "for else you would not ask me";—*’ąpe′tu-le`-c‘ecaka c‘a ’e′l mat’į′kta hųṡe* this kind of a day it being so, in it I shall die evidently 1.3, implies a following "for I met this monster"; compare *t’e′ṡni hųṡe p‘eta′ġa ’ona′b.leb.lel kikta′ hiya′ya* evidently he was not dead for, scattering the embers with his feet jumping up he went 23.10;—*wąya′kapi ye′t‘o* 29.8 just look ye! *t‘o* is probably abbreviated from S. *’ıt‘o′k’ehą* (<*’it‘o′k’ų ehą′*) at the time previous to it, and might be translated by "just" or "will you": *’eya′ na t‘o* just say it; repeat it, will you? Initially also *’it‘o′ ’eya′ na t‘o* now then, just repeat it; this might perhaps be included among the particles following the finite verb;—*’ina′-’ĭ`yokihe kį he′ ’i′ṡ to′k* 9.2 my mother's next younger sister that one, what about her. Here *to′k* is abbreviated from the verbal *to′k‘a* it is some way; which way is it?—*’e′ṡ to′k* 26.5 how about it, lit. indeed it being some way; *to′k* for *to′k‘a*

A number of abbreviated verbs are found in terminal position:

’iya′ya nac‘e′c‘a ke′ye′’ he says that probably he has gone; lit. he went it is evident, that he says;—*tuwe′ni c‘ųwį′tku-g.lu`zeṡni nac‘e′c‘e′* nobody marries his own daughter it is likely 17.2;—Abbreviated: *to′k‘el ’iya′ya nac‘e′l* somewhere he went, who knows? also *to′k‘el ’iya′yeca c‘e′l* 17.4 the same meaning;—*to′k* c‘*e′l* who knows? (answer to a question<*to′k‘a c‘e′l*)

The noun is followed by the article:

wic‘a′ṡa kį the man, *wic‘a′ṡa wą* a certain man, *wic‘a′ṡa k’ų* the aforesaid man

Nominalized verbs are treated in the same way.

k‘oṡka′laka waṡte′ṡte hena′la kį iyu′ha youths those all who are fine ones 53.3;—*p‘e′ta hiyo′ilalapi k’ų slolye′’* he knew your past going to get fire 40.10

The noun is followed by the adjective which loses its accent:

taku′ku-cikcĭ`k’ala* little things 239.15;—*’į′yą-b.laska`ska flat stones 241.10;—*ṡųk-sa′pa-g.le`ṡka wą* a black-spotted horse 258.5;—*’eha′ke-’ag.lĭ`pi k’ų he′* the one brought last 55.7

The temporal forms *kįhą* when (future) and *k'ųhą'* or *k'ų he'hą'* when (past) are derived from the article and the verb *hą'* to stand, continue. They also follow the phrase to which they belong and are analogous in their function to the articles following phrases.

> *t'iya'ta yak'i' kįhą maki'yuinaȟni'* the time when you arrive there home, hurry for my sake 243.17–244.1;—*tohą'l 'ekta' wic'a'yaipi kįhą le'c'eȟcį hiyų'kapikta* the time when you arrive there to them, in this very way they will come to lie 237.16;—*wana' 'ik'ą'yela 'ihų'ni k'ųhą' ma'zawak'ą' 'apa'ha yu'za* at the time when now near he arrived there, the gun aiming (brandishing) at him he held 235.12

Other "conjunctions" belong to the same category, such as *yų'k'ą'ṡ, hą'tąhąṡ*, if etc. These will be found treated on pages 144 et seq.

It has also been pointed out (p. 144) that the coordinating *ną* belongs sometimes to the preceding clause, while *yų'k'ą'* then (unexpectedly), and *c'ąke'* and so, are independent and stand at the beginning of the phrase.

In quite a number of cases some of the postpositional conjunctions open a sentence. In all these cases the flow of speech is interrupted, but the relation is still to the preceding.

> *he'c'el 'ec'ų'k'ųpi hą'tąhąṡ (wo'ųspe wą 'oya'te kį wic'a'ųkicaġapikta c'a heya'pc'.) kįhą wic'a'ṡa ną wį'yą kic'i'yuzapi* thus we do if (a lesson the people we shall have made for them it being so they say; woman speaking.) When man and woman take each other in marriage 231.16. In this example both *hą'tąhąṡ* if, and *kįhą* when, refer to the preceding *he'c'el 'ec'ų'k'ųpi*

In the same way we have:

> *ta'ku k'eya' sapsa'pya hiye'ya c'a wąya'ka ṡke". k'e'yaṡ hena' 'į'ya-t'ą`ka ke'c'į'* some things black lay there, being that kind he saw them, it is said. However these were large stones, he thought 223.15 This might as well be *wąya'ke c'e'yaṡ* the two sentences being drawn together.

The finite verb has always terminal position. It is preceded by all adverbs including subordinate verbal forms, each verbal form modifying the following one. The finite verb includes the modal particles mentioned before.

> *'i't'ap ka'ȟ yuṡtą"* promptly making it he finished it 48.12;—*c'ąku' 'iwą'yakyak 'oka'wįȟwįȟ-'iya`ya 'u"* the road watching here and there, in many turns going, he came 67.4;—*'ų'ṡiya yut'ą't'ą 'iyo'tiye'kiya 'oma'nihą* pitifully feeling about, suffering agonies he was walking about 34.11

Position of subject and object

The object is closely connected with the verb. This appears particularly in terms expressing habitual actions in which the accent unites object and verb. The regular order in sentences containing nouns is subject, object, verb. The finite verb has always final position. The order of pronouns in transitive verbs is the reverse: the object precedes the subject except for the dual-plural *ųni* we–thee and the third plural animate object which always precedes. (See p. 76.)

> *hake'la c'ą' 'icu'kta* the youngest one was going to get wood 87.1;—*hų'ku k'ų sųka'ku wąwi'c'ag.laka* his mother saw her younger brothers 91.1;—*'į'yą-hokṡi`la hokṡi'-c'ąlkiyapi to'p wic'a'kte* Stone-Boy killed four children-beloved 91.16

Nominalized phrases are in the same order.

> *wį'yą k'ų he' ṡina' wą 'a'taya wic'a'p'aha kṡu'pi c'a g.lub.la'ya* the woman that one a blanket entirely with scalps appliquéd being of that kind she spread out her own 87.9
>
> *t'ahį'ṡpa k'eya'*‖*'ihu'pa yuk'ą'*|*c'aṡ 'ų' hąp-ka'ġeġepi s'a k'ų*‖*he'c'a wą li'la waṡte' napsi'l hiyu"* some awls‖handles are to them|being indeed that kind (*c'aṡ*) using moccasins they sew always those in the past‖one being of that kind very good jumping on its own accord started to come. Here *k'eya'* some, and the clause beginning with *'ihu'pa* and ending with *k'ų* are attributive to *t'ahį'ṡpa* awl: Some awls having handles, of the kind with which they used to make moccasins; *he'c'a* it is that kind, summarizes the complex subject; with *wą* a certain one of that kind, *li'la waṡte'* must be conceived as adverbial, *na-psi'ca* adverbial *na-psi'l* jumping of its own accord; *hiyu'* started. Freely translated: certain awls having handles, such as were used for sewing moccasins, a very fine one of that kind jumped out 59.3
>
> *sįté kį*|*'oȟlo'ka wą kaȟ-wi'c'aṡi k'ų*|*hetą'hą pa't'ą'kal hiyu'ye'*. *ṡįtc' kį . . . hiyu'ye'* is the simple form of this sentence: the tail he caused to start coming; *'oȟlo'ka . . . k'ų* belongs to the verb; *'oȟlo'ka wą ka'ġa* he made a hole; *'oȟlo'ka wą kaȟ-wi'c'aṡi* he ordered them to make a hole; with *k'ų* the hole which he had ordered them to make; *he'* summarizes the preceding phrase, *he'tąhą* from that one;

pat'ą'kal by pushing outside, adverbial. Freely translated: He pushed out his tail from the hole he had ordered them to make 39.6

he'c'el 'ec'ų'k'ųpi hą'tąhąṡ | *wo'ųspe wą 'oya'te kį wic'a'ųkicaġapikte'*. The first three words are the subject: thus we do if; *wo'ųspe* a lesson, object; *'oya'te kį* second object, indirect object indicated by *ki* in verb; *wic'a'ųkicaġapikte*, verb: we shall make (or have made) for them; *wic'a* refers to people if we do thus we shall have made a lesson for the people 231.16

The nominal subject is often in initial position when the subject of the subordinate verb and of the finite verb are the same; when they are different the subject follows the subordinate clause.

mat'o' kį 'i'ṡikc'į 'ina'p'ek'iye-wac'į t'ima'hel hiyu' tk'a'ṡ, we'-hokṡi'la t'iyo'p-'ik'i'yela na'żį the bear, in a bad-minded way trying to make him go out into the tent came (contrary to expectation) Blood-Clot-Boy near the door stood. Up to *tk'a'ṡ* contrary to fact) the bear is subject. Then it changes and Blood-Clot-Boy becomes subject 115.9

On account of the lack of a third person personal pronoun distinguishing subject and object sentences with a single nominal element, subject or object, as well as those without nominal elements are ambiguous. *mat'o' wą kte'*' may mean "he killed a bear" or "a bear killed him." The difficulty is generally overcome by a quasi-passive construction *mat'o' kte'pi*; they bear-killed. The noun and verb are not compounded as in *wąb.li'k'uwa* he eagle-hunted, and *c'apk'u'wa* he beaver-hunted, both occupations requiring special skill and training. When subject and object are nouns the meaning is clear because the subject stands first, the object second, the verb at the end.

In subordinate clauses the same difficulties arise: *g.lihų'ni kįhą wi'yuṡkįkte'* when he gets back he will be glad, is ambiguous as to who will be glad. *t'ak'o'laku kį g.li' kįhą wi'yuṡkįkte'* the one who is his friend when he comes back he will be glad, is also ambiguous, but *t'ak'o'laku g.li' kįhą wi'yuṡkįkte'* expresses that the person who expects his friend will be glad. The opposite would be expressed adverbially *t'ak'o'laku kį wi'yuṡkįyą g.li'kte'* the one who is his friend being happy he will come back.

With the conjunctions *c'ąke'*, *tk'a'ṡ*, *k'e'yaṡ*, *yeṡą'*, *ye'ṡ*, *kaye'ṡ*, *k'ohą'* the expression is ambiguous. *ną* implies the same subject in subordinate and principal clauses. *t'o'ka kį ana'tą ną kte'*' the enemy charged him and killed him; *wąya'kį ną nap'e'* he saw him and ran away.

There are many devices by means of which ambiguity may be avoided. For instance, *mat'o' kį wąya'ka hą'tąhąṡ 'iya'ȟpayįkte* when the bear sees him it will attack him, is clear because *'iya'ȟpaya* to fall upon someone, is used for an attack by animals; *t'akpe'yįkte* he will attack him, because used for an attack by man, would indicate that the bear is object.

Adverbs and adverbial phrases are placed preceding the verb. If a single adverb is to be strongly emphasized it takes initial position.

wak'ą'-waṡte`ya Lak'o'ta kį wic'a'k'izapi' supremely well the Dakota fought with them

This occurs frequently with adverbs of time and space.

'ec'ą'l 'ųkce'k'iȟa wą 'iyo'pteya 'iya'ya just at that moment a magpie went past 88.11;—*m.ni-ma'hel 'e'tųwą yų'k'ą' he'c'iya 'ųkce'k'iȟa k'ų he' yąka'* into the water he looked, and then *there* (of all places) the magpie was 74.1;—*lehą'l . . . Lak'o'ta kį wo'eye wą eya'pi* now-a-days the Dakota say a saying 79.4;—*hetą'hą nake'ṡ wic'o'ic'aġe kį 'a'wicak'eya hiyu'* from there on at last the growth (increase) of people really came 5.9

In the last case the connection with the preceding is equally important in determining the position of the demonstrative adverb. The demonstrative *he'* is constantly used to summarize preceding clauses. In an analogous way the adverbial demonstratives refer back to the preceding sentences or clauses and in such cases stand always at the beginning of the sentence.

hetą'hą ya'hą yų'k'ą' hehą'l ptehį'cicila wą ka'l yąka'hą from there he was going, and then (a small bird) yonder was 82.8;—*he'c'enaȟcįṡ zica' kį są'p'a ya' 'oki'hiṡni* instantly the squirrel farther going could not 77.14;—*he'c'el 'iyu'ha 'ig.lu'sol-wic'ayela* in that manner all she caused the little ones to eliminate themselves 81.11;—*'ot'ų'we wą t'ą'ka ka'l hą' ṡk'e''. yų'k'ą' he'l wic'a'ṡa-'it'ą'c'ą kį . . . 'ų''* a large town stood there. And then there the chief . . . lived 145.8

In the usual adverbial position we find:

> *hake'la he'cʻena ški'bibila-'ic'i'cʻaǧa* the youngest one at once made himself into (a little bird). If connected with the preceding sentence this would be *'iya'yapi cʻąke' he'cʻena hake'la,* etc., they went and so at once, etc. 87.7

In many cases the subordinate clause functions as an adverb and opens the sentence. This happens always when the subject of the subordinate clause differs from that of the finite verb.

> *tʻi-'i'le ȟcehą'l matʻo 'e'l 'i''* when the house was burning *Matʻo'* (Bear) arrived there;—*matʻo' tʻi' 'ile ȟcehą'l 'e'l 'i''* when Bear was house-burning he (another one) arrived;—*matʻo' tʻi' kį 'ile' ȟcehą'l 'e'l 'i''* when Bear's house was burning he (another one) arrived. In both these cases the substitution of *kʻi* to arrive going back (to one's own) for *'i'* to arrive going would indicate that the subject of the finite verb and of the subordinate clause is the same. With *kʻi* the locative *'e'l* may be omitted

When several verbs connected by *ną* (and) occur in the same clause and refer to the same subject, the various modal particles of the imperative, interrogative, future, the declarative and its derivatives are added only to the last verb.

The plural *pi* and the negative *šni* are repeated with coordinate verbs:

> *'u'pi ną wąya'kapišni* why don't they come and see it!;—*he'cʻena ya'hąpi ną . . . 'e'l 'ihų'nipi* then they were going and . . . they arrived there 153.6
> *he'cʻų ną yuha' 'į'yąkį ną cʻąo'tʻcȟika kį ekta' e'iȟpemayą yo'* take that and holding it run and in thick woods there leave them 161.1;—*tʻiyo'tʻipi kį 'e'l yį' ną leya' yo'* go to the council tent and say 162.5
> *lena' to'kʻeškʻe luha'pi ną le'cʻanųhą he?* how did you get these and are doing this? 200.14; also 218.12
> *wo'tapi ną waya'tkąpi kte* they will eat and drink
> *wo'tapišni ną nakų' waya'tkąpiktešni* or *wo'tapi nąi'š waya'tkąpiktešni* they will neither eat nor drink

§ 168. TENSES

Future.—The future (present and past) is expressed by *kta* following the verb.

> *letą' nų'pacʻą kįhą tʻiyo'le-wau'kte 'oya'te kį 'owi'cʻakiyaka', 'ehį'kte lo'* from here (now) two days when (it is), house-seeking (seeking food) I shall come; the people tell them, you will say 143.11;—*niya'te 'e'yapahawicʻašikte lo. cʻąnųmųpįkta cʻa* your father will order them to announce it. I shall smoke because—;—*zuze'ca wą wo'kihąpikta-ic'ila k'ų tąye'la g.na'yąpi* a snake considering for himself that they would cook for him, the aforesaid thoroughly they deceived him 81.14;—*'owo'tʻąla kʻeš 'og.la'kešni, wak'u'kta tkʻa'* straightway instead why doesn't she tell it, I should have given her 168.17

Present and past.—In simple, declarative sentences present and past are not distinguished.

If it is required to indicate time more accurately adverbs like *he'hą'* at that time, *'ehą'ni* long ago, *tʻoka' 'ekta'* in former times, *ȟtal-'ehą'* yesterday, *le', lehą'l,* now, the present situation, *wana' lehą'l* right now, etc., must be added.

In subordinate clauses the time relation of subordinate and principal clause is expressed. Relative clauses:

> *wacʻi'pi k'ų hena' watu'kʻapi'* those who danced are weary, or, those who had danced were weary;—*wacʻi'pi kį hena' watu'kʻapi'* those who are dancing are weary, or in narrative: those who were dancing were weary;—*kʻoška'laka wą wį'yą kį wo'kiyakahe c'ų he' ȟeya'p 'iya'ya, cʻąke' le 'u' k'ų he' wikʻo'škalaka kį 'ao'hom.ni 'iya'ya* a youth who had been talking to the woman, that one away went, and so this one who had come, that one went past and around the young woman 51.12;—*pʻe'ta hiyo'ilalapi k'ų slolya'* he knew that you had gone for fire 40.10 (see also 73.16);—*tʻe'hą k'ųhą' wana' 'akʻe' . . . 'au'* when after a long time, now again . . . he brought him 84.8;—*yuštą' k'ųhą' hokši'la kį icu'* when he had finished it the boy took it 99.2;—*'og.mi'g.ma nihi'yupi kįhą maya'pat'apikte cįš*[55] when you come rolling down you will crush me dead 91.9;—*lehą'l ni' 'ų' yų'kʻą'š 'ani'lowąpi kʻo'kta tkʻa' ye'* at present if he had been alive you would even have been sung over 15.8

In all these and similar cases the absolute time is not implied, only the time relation of the clauses. It is only incidental that *yų'kʻą'š-tkʻa'* which express a conditional contrary to fact, always refers to the past.

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[55] Teton uses often in this position *kįš* notwithstanding the change of *a* to *e*.

§ 169. THE PLURAL

1. When the subject is an animate being the verb takes the suffix *-pi*.

wicʻaʹša kį hiʹpi the men have come;—*hįhąʹ kį hotʻųʹpi* the owls are hooting

When the plural of the animate subject is strongly emphasized it may be verbalized by taking the suffix *-pi: wicʻaʹšapi* they are men. Then it may assume the function of a relative clause.

wicʻaʹšapi kį henaʹ kicʻiʹzapi the ones who were men, those fought;—*wicʻįʹcapila kį ʼiyuʹha škaʹtapi* the ones who were little girls all played;—*hokšiʹpila kį lenaʹ šųk-ʼaʹką yąkaʹpi* the ones who are little boys these ride horseback

As indicated before, the suffix *-pi* is used when animate nouns are used in the plural predicatively: *henaʹ šųʹkakʻąʹpi* those are horses.

2. When the subject is an inanimate noun the plural is expressed by reduplication of the verb.

cʻąʹkį hąʹskaska the trees are tall;—*cʻąwaʹpe kį šnišniʹża* the leaves are withered;—*miʹla kį pʻepʻeʹšni* the knives are not sharp

When the inanimate subject is accompanied by an adjective expressing plurality the verb is not usually reduplicated:

cʻąʹ kį ʼiyuʹha hąʹska all the trees are tall

3. The plural of the animate object is expressed by the prefix *wicʻa-* them.

hokšiʹla kį šųʹkakʻąʹ kį wicʻaʹkaȟapeʹ the boy drives the horses;—*yašleʹ kį ziziʹcʻa kį wicʻaʹkʻuwa* the coyote chased the turkeys

Since *wicʻa* is the third person plural object, phrases without nominal subject and with animate object are ambiguous in regard to the plurality of subject or object.

sųʹkakʻą kį wicʻaʹkʻuwa the horse chased them, or he chased the horses

4. The plural of the inanimate object must be expressed by means of adjectives expressing plurality.

§ 170. COMPOUNDING

The methods of compounding have been discussed on pages 67 et seq. It remains to summarize the syntactic values of compounding which have been touched upon incidentally with the formal side of the process.

1. Nouns are compounded when the first expresses the material of which the object is made (p. 68); and when the second noun is a qualifier of the first (p. 68).

2. Neutral verbs performing the function of adjectives are compounded with the noun which they follow (p. 69).

3. The object is compounded with the verb when habitual activities are expressed (p. 70).

4. A number of nouns appear only as dependent stems and are compounded in initial position with verbs and with other nouns (p. 70). A number of monosyllabic nominal stems are treated in the same manner (p. 72).

5. Verbs are compounded when they form a unit concept. This happens regularly when a subordinate verb follows in time the finite verb (as a purpose or intention, like our infinitives) (p. 74.)

6. Many adverbs that are felt to form a firm unit with the verb are compounded with it (pp. 73 et seq., 137 et seq.).

It has been pointed out before (p. 74) that subordinate verbs that express synchronous actions, corresponding to our present participle, take adverbial form but are not compounded with the finite verb. They retain their accent.

When the adverbial form has an instrumental prefix it has often an intransitive or passive meaning.

yuųʹk iȟpeʹya to pull down into a lying position; literally being pulled down, or after pulling it down he left it;—*paųʹk iȟpeʹya* to push down into a lying position;—*yuiʹyotak iȟpeʹya* to pull down into a sitting position;—*paiʹyotak iȟpeʹya* to push down into a sitting position;—*yuoʹg.mus*[56] *b.luʹza* I hold it drawn tightly together;—*kawįʹȟ kʻinaʹżįpi* after turning in their course they went and stood 130.6 (*kawį′ġa*);—*kawe′ȟ g.liȟpa′ya* in a broken state it fell to the ground 179.13 (*kawe′ġa*);—*’ipa′weȟ yu′za* he holds it being pushed out of the straight course;—*yai′paweȟ eya′* he says it misleading (the hearers) (double prefix);—*kao′b.lel iye′ya* she sent it hanging down loosely 51.11, 177.3 (*kao′b.leca*);—*kai′yokʻiheya ’ece′-’opʻi′ ’ic’iya yo′* always keep yourself in second place! (*’i′yokʻihe* to stand next to someone, *’akʻi′hą* to become joined on to; *’o′kʻihe* joint) (only with *ka*);—*’ai′yopteya* direct, facing straight towards (*ya, yu, wo, ka*) (see *-pta* to cut through, break through a flat thing; *’o′pta* across (a room, field), *’iyo′pteya* going across); *yaa′iyopteya ’iye′ya* he straightened it out by straight forward talk; *kaa′iyopteya ku’* he comes returning directly;—*yupta′ya yu′ze’* he holds them taken as a whole (*pta′ya* several together; *yu*, no other prefixes);—(see *kapta′* to cut through; *’opta′ye* a group of living beings)

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[56] = *gmuza* always neutral.

The accompanying verbs may be quite varied, but in many cases they are verbs of position or motion. These may express a static condition, a sudden action (perhaps momentary), or duration. According to their meaning we find:

yu by pulling, *pa* by pushing, *na* by inner force, generally followed by verbs expressing a static condition or duration, such as *yu′za* to hold, *na′żį* to stand, *’iya′ya* to go by, *’a′ya* gradually; but those expressing sudden action, like *’iye′ya* to send, *’iȟpe′ya* to abandon, may also occur.

ya with the mouth, *wo* from a distance, *na* with the foot, *ka* by striking are generally followed by verbs expressing a sudden action or the result of a movement such as *’iye′ya* to send, *’iȟpe′ya* to abandon; also with *hi′* to arrive coming, *g.li′* to arrive coming back here, *kʻi′* to arrive going back there.

Since a number of verbal stems have lost their finite forms they occur only in subordinate forms with accompanying verbs, for instance:

kaȟ’o′l iye′ya he tossed it away (from an unused verb *kaȟ’o′ta*, stem *ȟ’ot-*);—*iya′yupʻaȟ icu′* he takes it up, held in a heap (from an unused verb *iya′yupʻaġa*, stem *pʻa′ġ-;* see however *pʻaȟta′* to tie into a bundle);—*icʻi′cawį ku′* he is returning coming home (from an unused stem *wį;* with prefixes *ya, yu, wo, na, pa, ka*)

§ 171. PARTICLES EXPRESSING MOOD OF SPEAKER

The article (see p. 133) is used in conversation to express the emotional attitude of the speaker towards remarks or questions addressed to him. *wą* expresses agreement, *kį* and *k’ų* disagreement. The feeling may be intensified by adding the adversative *ṡ* (see p. 108) to *wą* and *kį*.

wana′ ’ųyį′ kte′!—tʻo′wa′ṡ le′ wag.lu′ṡtą kte cį let us go now!—But first I will finish this; apparently there is a suppressed thought following this: *leya′ he′* she keeps on saying this (and annoying me);—*’i′ṡe′ lena′ ’olo′wąla cʻa wak’į′ kį* (*ta′kuȟca kʻa′pi cʻa*) just these little songs such I carry (what do they mean asking me all the time!) 20.5;—*le′ ’ina′ȟni-oma`wani kį, le′ ta′ku kʻa′pi cʻa* this my hurriedly-travelling, this what do they mean! 20.6;—*wicʻa′ṡa ’iyu′ha le′ tukte′l wą′kʻapila kį* all men have somewhere they have some weakness 26.6

If the disapproval is stronger *kįṡ* is used instead of *kį*.

k’e′yaṡ ’oma′kʻąṡni kįṡ but I have no time! [57] (literally: there is no space for me);—*’ina`, nį′kta he?—hiya′, m.nį′kteṡni kįṡ* [58] Mother, are you going? No, I am not going!;—*’ina`, nį′kta he?—toṡ, m.nį′ kta wąṡ* [59] Mother, are you going? Yes, of course, I am going;—*nį′kte′ṡni he? toṡ mnį′kteṡni wąṡ* are you not going to go?—Yes (English: no) I am not going to go;—*wana′ ųyį′*[60]*—hiya`le′na ma kį′kte’* let us go now!—No here I shall stay. This is a simple statement of fact, with *cįṡ* instead of glottal stop at end it indicates opposition to the proposal.

cį and *k’ų* always imply *hiya`* no, *wą* implies *toṡ* yes

k’ų as a terminal implies that the person addressed is familiar with the contents of the statement.[61]

he′cʻų cʻą′ṡna tʻe′hąhą g.li′ṡni k’ų whenever he does so, he (always) stays away a long time, as you know 239.12;—*tų′weniṡ le′cʻecaṡni k’ų. tohą′l ku′ cʻą′ṡ wo′g.lag.lak wi′hahaya g.liyą′ke s’a k’ų* he was never like this, as you know. Whenever he came home he arrived talking pleasantly;—*hokṡi′pina, miye′cʻįkaṡni cʻe ’ecʻi′ciyapi k’ų* boys, I am not alone, I said to you, as you remember, (Santee)

wąṡ also implies that a question is unnecessary, that the questioner ought to know the answer. It is also used to express a sudden surprise, a shock or bad news.

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[57] Also: *tase′ oma′kʻąka.*

[58] Also *tase′ m.nį′kteca.*

[59] Also *m.nį′kteṡnika.*

[60] Short instead of *ųyį′kte.*

[61] Compare the use of terminal *k’ų* in quotation (p. 109).

'ina` to'k‘iya la' he?—niya'te 'ekta' b.la' wąṡ mother! where are you going? I am going to your father (as you might know);—*toṡ, wana' 'iya'ya wąṡ* yes, now he has gone (as you might know, or, as a surprise);—*wana' 'iya'ya wą* why! he is gone!;—*mi'la wą le'l yąkc' 'ų' to'k‘ah'ą so? 'icu'so?—toṡ, t‘a'wa wąṡ* A knife that was here, where is it? Did he take it?—Yes, of course, it is his.

mit‘o'żą 'isto' pawe'ġa wąṡ my niece broke her arm;—*mą k'e'ya 'oma'k‘ąśni wą* you might know that I am too busy (woman speaking; man would begin with *wą*)

A man thought not to be very ill died. His female cross-cousin. when her husband came back from a visit to him asked: *śic'e'śi to'k‘etuka he?* how is my cousin? The answer, expressing the shock was, *t'a' wąṡ* he is dead;—Regarding a man who had deserted his helpless stepmother it was said: *ta'ku yuha' kį 'iyu'hahcį g.lok‘i'yag.le'* whatever he owned he took away with him to his own place;—A listener asked: *'etą'hąṡ wo'yute kam.na' k'ų hena' k‘o ka.* Certainly not the food he had provided too! Reply: *toṡ, hena' k‘o' wąṡ* yes, shocking! even that!

Other examples are:

wą, k'u'la ye', wą, nici'lala ye Oh give it to him, the little one asks for it (said by a man regarding a child that kept on asking its mother for something she had);—*wą ascu'la se'ce lo' wą, leha'he* say! hold on! maybe she is really "smitten" by him, and you are saying this!

The form *kįṡ* is also extended to *kiśto, kįśto,* or *kśto,* and *k'ų* with loss of *k'* (see p. 21) to *'ųśto.* The ending may be shortened from *to'k‘a* what of it! The form *'ųśto* is a reminder of something that happened in the past 249.8.

nit‘ų'kaśila wi' hina'p‘cśnihą kikta'pi 'ųśto' your forebears used to get up before sunrise (a reproach to a lazy person);—*hehe' 'ųśto* (you promised that, now keep your promise)

The use of *kįśto* seems to give to a statement a friendly tone, chummy, confidential.

ki'tąhcį' mig.lu'śtą c‘a wahi'kśto at last I have finished so I have come

The mood of the speaker is also expressed in the adversative conjunctions *tk‘a'ṡ, k'e'yaṡ* and *(ye)śą'* which express in order approval, disinterestedness, and disapproval. (See p. 145; also p. 120, no. 20).

Instead: *'e' 'e', k‘eṡ, 'iye'ṡ, 'e'ṡ* after vowels, *'e'ha'.* *'e' e'* if indifferent whether one or the other is preferable.

wį'yą wą wąb.li'-hįg.na`ye c'ų hece'la nap‘e'śni, 'e' 'e' c‘ųhlo'ka wą 'ekta' 'ina'hma-iyo`taka a woman the one referred to who had the eagle husband that one alone did not flee, instead in a hollow tree there hiding she sat 121.18;—*ną 'e' 'e' li'la waśi'g.lapi* and instead they mourned much 218.4;—*tok‘e'hcį t‘ako'ża śica'ya nic‘u'wa k'e'yaṡ ta'keyeśni ną 'e' 'e' k‘ohą' hą'pa 'ųwe'ya k‘o' ka'ġa'* however much my grandson badly treats you, anything say not and instead meanwhile moccasins, lunch also make 239.4;—*le' 'e' 'ų'* use this instead!

k‘eṡ instead of something wanted, as a substitute.

hena' 'c' k‘eṡ waya'ka wic‘a'yuzapi those instead they took as prisoners 276.5;—*wą'cak ta'ku 'eye'śni k‘eṡ mic‘ų'kśi k'u' wo'* at once instead of saying anything give him my daughter 12.9;—*niye'c‘įka k‘eṡ kic'į' yo'* by yourself instead (of me) carry it on your back 190.3;—*'ini'la k‘eṡ heya'p 'iya'ya yo'* keep still (instead of talking) and go away 126.13;—*'e'ka k‘eṡ* instead of the right thing;—*ta'kuka k‘eṡ* instead of anything, i. e., whatever it may be; *tukte'tuka k‘eṡ* anywhere; *tuwe'ka k‘eṡ* whoever; *tohą'tuka k‘eṡ* any time;—*tuwe'ka k‘eṡ 'oki'yaka yo'* tell any and everybody;—*tuwe'ka k‘eṡk‘eṡ wic‘a'kco'* he invited everyone whoever he might be;—*c‘ąke' he'c‘etu k‘eṡ kiyu'ġą* and so anyway she opened 191.11

'iye'ṡ, 'e'ṡ after vowels *ṡ*, instead of something inferior something better.

śina' kį 'e'na 'e'g.nakį ną 'iye'ṡ[62] *wakśi'ca kį he' 'a'ya yo!* the blanket there leave and the dish (as a better present) take! or *wakśi'ca kį he' 'eṡ* (or *he'ṡ*) *'a'ya yo';—'iye'ṡ c'ą-ka'ksaksaśni* he had better chop wood (instead of doing something else;—*c‘ą'ṡ kaksa'ksaśni* he had better chop wood (rather than use other material)

'e'ha' (<*'e' 'eha'*) instead of what is wanted something that cannot be used.

niye' 'e'ha' yahi' he? did you come instead? (you cannot help me);—(*niye' k‘eṡ yahi' he?* as an acceptable though not quite adequate substitute);—*le 'eha' mak'u'* he gave me this instead (and it is useless);—*hą'pa-waśte`śte k'ų hena' 'e'ha' 'owi'c‘awak'u'* the good moccasins instead of others I lent to them;—*miye' 'e'ha' 'iyo'p‘emaye'* he scolded me instead (of somebody else who deserved it)

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[62] Or *he' 'e'ṡ.*

TEXTS

The Stingy Hunter

(Ella Deloria, Dakota Texts, New York 1932, pp. 171 et seq.)

wic‘a′ṡa	*wą* [63]	*wana′se-i* [64]	*ną* [65]	*wap‘a′tahą* [66]	*yų′k‘ą′* [67]	*wį′yą*	*wą′*	*’e′l* [68]	*hi-na′żį* [69]
Man	a	hunting went	and	butchering was	and then	woman	a	there	arriving stood

k’e′yaṡ [70]	*’a′tayaṡ* [71]	*’ayu′ta* [72]	*ṡni* [73]	*ṡką′hą* [74]	*ṡk‘e’’.* [75]	*ka′k‘iya* [76]	*’ak‘i′kṡuhį* [77]	*ną* [65]
but	entirely	looking at her	not	he was active	it is said.	Thereabouts	piling it up back there he continued	and

wana′ [78]	*’ig.lu′ṡtą* [79]	*yų′k‘ą′* [67]	*’iyu′ha* [80]	*’iki′kcu* [81]	*ną* [65]	*wana′* [78]	*k‘ig.nį′kta* [82]	*c‘ąke′* [83]
now	he finished his own	and then	all	he took back his own	and	now	he was about to go home	therefore

wį′yą	*k’ų* [84]	*he′c‘eya′* [85]	*loc‘į′* [86]	*kį* [87]	*’ų′* [88]	*’ayu′hel* [89]	*na′żįhą′* [56 69]	*hųṡe*	*’ok’u′ṡni* [90]
woman	the aforesaid	in that manner	wishing food	the	with (on account of)	waiting around	was standing	evidently	he did not share

yų′k‘ą′ [67]	*leya′-hoˋyeya* [91]	*ke’’* [92]	—	*to′k‘i* [93]	*le′* [94]	*c’e′yaṡ* [95]	*t‘aṡų′ke*	*’o′tawį* [96]	*’aya′k‘ip‘akte′* [97]
and then	saying this voice she sent	it is said,		Wherever	you go	however	Her-Pets-	Many-Woman	you will meet with

ną	*c‘ap‘ų′ka* [98]	*t‘ą′ka* [99]	*’aya′k‘ip‘akte′.* [97]	*ną*	*wihu′powį* [1]	*’aya′k‘ip‘akte′* [97]	*ną* [65]	*’iṡpa′-t‘ahį′ṡpa* [2]
and	Mosquito-	Large	you will meet with	and	Woman-Legs-Swollen-Woman	you will meet with,	and	Elbow-Awl

’aya′k‘ip‘akte′	—	*’eya′* [91]	*ke’’.* [92]	*he′c‘enaṡ* [3]	*wic‘a′ṡa*	*k’ų* [84]	*g.la′hį* [4]	*ną*	*paha′*	*wą*
you meet will	—	she said	it is said.	Nevertheless	man	the aforesaid	was going home	and	hill	a

’ak‘o′tąhą [5]	*tuwa′* [6]	*to′k‘iya* [7]	—	*we′,*	*we′*	—	*’eya′hą* [8]	*c‘ąke′*	*’ĕ·*	*le′*	*t‘aṡų′ke*	*’o′tawį* [96]
on the far side of	someone	somewhere		wey	wey	—	was saying	therefore,	ah,	this	Her-Pets-	Many-Woman

’eye′	*c’ų* [9]	*’e′*	*’e′* [10]	*se′ce* [11]	*lo′,* [12]	—	*’ec‘į′* [13]	*ną*	*’ina′ȟni* [14]	*wic‘a′ȟcala-’ic’iˋc‘aġį* [15]
she said	the aforesaid	it	is	evidently	—		he thought	and	hurriedly	old man be made himself

ną	*tok‘e′cela* [16]	*sakye′kit‘ų* [17]	*’iya′hą* [18]	*ke’’.*	*he′c‘ecakte* [19]	*c’ų* [20]	*wį′yą*	*wą*	*ta′ku-wamaˋk‘aṡką′* [21]
and	barely	cane his own using	he gained top	it is said.	It was going to be like that	the aforesaid	woman	a certain	something thing ground (on) active (animals)

’oc‘a′że [22]	*kį*	*’iyu′hala* [23]	*nų′pnųp* [24]	*ma′nik‘iˋya* [25]	*’awi′c‘au* [26]	*c‘ąke′* [83]	*mat‘o′*	*wą*	*t‘at‘ą′ka* [27]	*wą*
kinds	the	absolutely all	by twos	making walk	she brought them	therefore	bear	a	buffalo bull	a

kic‘i′ [28]	*t‘oka′heya* [29]	*’u’’*	*ke’’.*	*wic‘a′ȟcala*	*kį*	*wąya′kapi* [30]	*ną*	*’e′tkiya* [31]	*naṡlo′k* [32]
with	ahead	was coming	it is said.	Old man	the	they saw	and	towards	rushing

ȟiyu′pi [33]	*yų′k‘ą′*	*wį′yą*	*wą*	*wic‘a′yuha* [34]	*k’ų*	*he′*	*heya′* [35]	*ke’’*	—	*yû·*	*ta′ku* [21]	*’ų′ṡika* [36]
they started coming	and then	woman	a	had them	the aforesaid	that	that said	it is said	—	“*Yu.* (reprimand)	something	deserving pity

c‘ą′ṡna [37]	*“’ųṡika′ ”* [38]	*’ec‘ą′kįp* [39]	*kųk‘ą* [40]	*—’eya′*	*c‘ąke′*	*kawį′ȟ* [41]	*ȟna′ȟna* [42]	*k‘ig.la′pi* [43]
whenever	“poor thing”	they think in reference to it	that would be the right way”	she said	therefore	turning back	growling	they started going back there

ke’’.	*c‘ąke′*	*wį′yą*	*kį*	*’e′l*	*’u′*	*ną*	*’ų′ṡiyeȟcį* [44]	*sakye′kit‘ų* [17]	*kį*	*wąya′ka* [30]	*ke’’.*
it is said.	Therefore	woman	the	to him	was coming	and	very pitifully	he used a cane	the	she saw	it is said.

wį′yą	*kį*	*wama′k‘aṡką′*	*’o′p* [45]	*wana′* [46]	*są′p* [47]	*’iya′yįkta* [48]	*hą′l* [49]	*’i′š’eya′* [50]	*wic‘a′ṡa*
Woman	the	animals	with	now	past	she was going to pass	at the time of	he also	man

kį	*’iyo′pteya* [51]	*’iya′yįkta* [48]	*hą′l* [49]	*wį′yą*	*kį*	*leya′* [52]	*ke’’*	—	*ho,*	*laza′ta* [53]	*’eha′keȟcį* [54]
the	on his way past	he was going to go	at the time of	woman	the	said this	it is said	—	“Ho,	in the rear	very last

nų′p [55]	*’u′pe′;* [56]	*hena′* [57]	*wic‘a′kat’į* [58]	*ną*	*tukte′l* [59]	*’inų′ke* [50]	*cįhą* [61]	*wic‘a′yuta′* [62]	—
two	are coming;	these	kill them	and	where	you lie down (at night)	when	eat them!”	—

See footnotes on pages 163-166.

'eya′	*c‘ąke′*	*p‘iki′la*[63]	*ną*	*'iya′ya*[48]	*ke″.*	*he′c‘eṡ*[64]	*wama′k‘aṡką′*[21]	*kį*	*'e′yayahį*[65]	*ną*
she said	therefore	he considered his good	and	he went on	it is said.	So	animals	the	continued to pass him	and

'eha′keȟcį[54]	*maka′*	*wą*	*p‘ahį′*	*wą*	*kic‘i′*[66]	*'u′pi*	*tk‘a′ṡ*[67]	*kat'a′*[68]	*'iȟpe′wic‘ayį*[69]	*ną*
very last	skunk	a	porcupine	a	with	came	but	striking them dead	he left them	and

c‘ą-'o′waṡtecaka[70]	*wą*	*'e′l*	*'iyų′kį*[60]	*ną*	*he′l*[71]	*c‘ewi′c‘aupį*[72]	*ną*	*hetą′hą*[73]	*'ak‘e′*
wood place rather nice	a	there	he lay down (stopped for night)	and	there	he roasted them	and	from there	again

ya′hą[74]	*yų′k‘ą′*	*c‘į′coġa*[75]	*wą*	*'e′l*	*ta′ku*	*wą*	*li′la*	*t‘ą′ka*	*ġiye′la*[76]	*ȟpa′ya*[77]	*c‘ąke′*
he continued to go	and then	drift log	a	there	something	a	very	large	brown	it lay,	therefore

'e′l	*'ina′żį*[78]	*ke″*	*k‘iye′la*[79]	*'ana′slal*[80]	*'a′ya*[81]	*yų′k‘ą′*	*he′*	*c‘ap‘ų′ka*	*c‘a*[82]	*'iṡtį′mahą*[83]
there	he stopped	it is said	near	creeping on	he proceeded	and then	that	was mosquito	it being so	it was asleep

c‘ąke′	*lec‘į′*[84]	*ke″*	—	*'ĕ,*	*c‘ap‘ų′ka*	*t‘ą′ka*	*'eye′*	*c'ų*[85]	*le′*	*'e′ ye*[86 87]	*lo′* —	*'ec‘į′*[84]
therefore	he thought this	it is said		"Oh,	Mosquito-	Great	she said	the past one	this	it is	m. sp." —	he thought

ną	*li′la*	*'iṡtį′ma*[83]	*c‘ąke′*	*p‘a′*	*kį*	*yupe′m.ni*[88]	*yuksa′*[88]	*'icų′*	*ną*	*hetą′hą*[89]	*ya′hą*
and	very	it was asleep	therefore	nose	the	by twisting it	breaking it off	he took it	and	from there	he was going

yų′k‘ą′	*ȟoka′*	*wą*	*'ak‘i′p‘a*[90]	*ke″.*	*yų′k‘ą′*	*heya′*	*ke″*—	*wą*	*t‘ako`ża,*[91]	*ta′ku*
and then	badger	a	he met	it is said.	And then	he said that	it is said—	"Well	grandchild	anything

wo′wamac‘įyeṡni[92]	*k'e′yaṡ*	*mayu′ha*[93]	*ya′*	*yo′*[94]—*'eya′*	*c‘ąke′*	*'icu′*	*ną*	*yuha′*
to have faith in I am not	but	having me	go	m. sp.!—he said	therefore	he took him	and	holding him

ya′hą	*yų′k‘ą′*	*c‘ąku′-og.na`*[95]	*'į′yą*	*wą*	*yąka′*	*c‘a*	*'e′l*	*'ina′żį*	*ke″.*	*he′*	*'i′ṡ'eya′*[96]
he was going	and then	road in	stone	a	sat	it being so	there	he stopped	it is said.	That one	it also

'ec‘e′ȟcį[97]	*'eya′*	*c‘ąke′*	*'ak‘e′*	*he′*	*'icu′*	*ną*	*yuha′*	*yą′hą*	*ke″.*	*wi′*	*k‘u′ciyela*[98]
in the same way	said	therefore	also	that	he took	and	holding it	he was going	it is said.	Sun	low

yąka′	*hą′l*	*wizi′la*	*wą*	*'e′l*	*'ihų′ni*[99]	*yų′k‘ą′*	*he′*	*winų′ȟcala*	*wą*	*t‘i′*	*ke″.*
sat	when	tipi yellow small	a	there	he reached	and then	that	old woman	a	lived	it is said.

t‘ima′[1]	*kic‘o′*[2]	*ną*	—	*hinų′*[3]	*mit‘a′koża*	*to′hįniṡ*[4]	*hi′ṡni*	*k'ų*	*wą′caȟcį′*[5]	*hi′*	*ye lê*[6]
Into the tipi	she invited him	and	—	"Well,	my grandson	who never before	arrived not	past	even once	arrived	w. sp."

—	*'eyį′*	*ną*	*yup‘i′ya*[7]	*mak‘a′tom.nica*[8]	*'ohį′*[9]	*ną*	*wo′k'u*[10]	*c‘ąke′*	*wo′tahą*[11]	*yų′k‘ą′*
—	she said	and	well	earth-beans	she cooked	and	gave him to eat	therefore	he was eating	and then

heya′	*ke″*	—*ho,*	*t‘ako`ża,*	*wana′*	*'iṡtį′ma′.*[12]	*li′la*	*wani′tuk‘a*[13]	*nac‘e′ce′,*	—	*'eyį′*
she said that	it is said—	"O	grandson	now	sleep.	Very	you are tired	perhaps,"	—	she said

ną	*'e′ųpa*[14]	*ke″.*	*wana′*	*k‘u′l*[15]	*ȟpa′yahą*	*yų′k‘ą′*	*'ųg.na′*	*winų′ȟcala*	*kį*	—	*yų′,*[16]
and	she put him to bed	it is said.	Now	down	he was lying,	lo and behold	unexpectedly	old woman	the	—	"Yų,

yų̂	—	*'eya′hą*	*c‘ąke′*	*ṡina′*	*'e′l*	*'oȟlo′ka*[17]	*wą*	*'etą′*[18]	*'e′yokas'į*[19]	*yų′k‘ą′*	*winų′ȟcala*
yų"	—	she was saying	therefore	blanket	there	hole	a	from	he peeped there,	and then	old woman

k'ų	*he′*	*'e′*	*c‘a*	*hu′*	*kį*	*g.luk'e′ġahį*[20]	*ną*	*wana′*	*nį′skot‘ąka*[21]	*g.lupo′*[22]	*ke″.*	*'ĕ·!*
the aforesaid	that	it was	it being so	leg	the	was scratching her own	and	now	this large	she made her own swell	it is said.	"Eh!

wihu′powį	*'eye′*	*c'ų*	*le′*	*'e′*	*ye*	*lô.*	*hį′skot‘ąka*[21]	*'ų′*	*maka′t'įkte*[23]	*se′ce*	—	*'ec‘į′*	*ną*
Swollen-Legs-Woman	she said	the past	this	is		m. sp.	That large	using	she will kill me	probably"	—	he thought	and

c‘ap‘ų′ka-t‘ą`ka	*wą*	*p‘asu′*	*yuksa′*	*yuha′*	*k'ų*	*he′*	*'ų′*	*kaȟle′l*[24]	*'ap‘a′*	*c‘ąke′*	—
mosquito-great	a	its nose	broken off	he had	the one past	that	using	puncturing	he struck her,	then	—

See footnotes on pages 163-166.

waḣte′ṡni[25]	*kį*	*’iye′*	*’e′ḣa′*[26]	*makte′*	*ye*	*lê!*	—	*’eyį′*	*ną*	*t’a′*	*ke’’.*	*hetą′hą*	*wic‘a′ṡa*
“No good	the,	he	instead	he kills me	w. sp.!”		—	she said	and	died	it is said.	From there	man

k’ų	*ya′hį*	*ną*	*wizi′la*	*wą*	*hą′*	*c‘a*	*’e′l*	*’į′*	*yų′k‘ą′*	*winų′ḣcala*	*wą*	*’e′l*	*yąka′*	*ke’’.*
aforesaid	was going	and	little yellow tent	a	stood	such it was	there	he went	then	old woman	a	there	sat	it is said.

—	*hinų̂,*	*mit‘a′koża*	*wą′caḣcį′*	*hi′*	*ye*	*lê*	*to′hįniṡ*[27]	*hi′ṡni*	*k’ų̂*	—	*’cyį′*	*ną*	*’ina′ḣni*
—	“*Hinų,*	my grandson	for once	arrived	he	w. sp.,	who never before	arrived not	past”	—	she said	and	quickly

c‘e′ġa	*wą*	*k‘alya′*[28]	*’e′g.le*[29]	*ną*	*ta′ku*	*to′k‘ųhą*[30]	*c‘ąke′*	*’ao′kakį*[31]	*yų′k‘ą′*	*p‘esle′te*
kettle	a	heating	she set it	and	something	she was doing	and so	he peeped in	lo and behold!	crown of head

kį	*’e′l*	*p‘o′wiwila*[32]	*kį*	*he′c‘ena*	*’oḣlo′kya*[17]	*hą′*	*c‘ąkc′*	*’etą′hą*[18]	*nasu′la*	*hąke′*	*’iki′kcu*
the	there	fontanelle	the	still	perforated	stood	and so	from there	brains	part	she took her own

ną′ṡna	*c‘e′ġa*	*kį*	*’ekta′*	*’iyo′ḣpeya*[33]	*ke’’.*	*he′c‘eg.la*[34]	*’į′yą*	*wą*	*yuha′*	*hi′*	*k’ų*	*he′*
and always	kettle	the	into	she caused them to fall	it is said.	Immediately	stone	a	holding	he arrived	the past	that

k‘alki′yį[35]	*ną*	*yąka′hą*	*yų′k‘ą′*	*wana′*	*wo′hąhe*[36]	*c’ų*	*he′*	*ṡpą′*	*c‘ąke′*	*wakṡi′ca*	*’og.na′*
he heated	and	he continued to sit;	then	now	cooking	the past	that	was done	and so	dish	in

’e′kig.le[37]	*tk‘a′ṡ*[38]	*ḣoka′*	*k’ų*	*he′*	*t‘epye′k‘iyį*[39]	*ną*	*he′c‘enaṡ*[34]	*’į′yą-k‘a`ta*	*k’ų*
she set it before him	but	badger	the aforesaid	that one	he caused him to make it to be consumed	and	immediately	stone hot	the aforesaid

he′	*p‘esle′te-oḣlo`ka*	*kį*	*’e′l*	*’oi′ḣpeya*[40]	*c‘ąke′*	—	*waḣte′ṡni*	*kį,*	*’iye′*	*’e′ḣa′*	*makte′*
that	crown of head-hole	the	there	he made it fall in,	and so	—	“No good	the one,	he	instead	kills me

ye lê′,	—	*’eyį′*	*ną*	*natį′tį*[41]	*ḣpa′yį*	*ną*	*t’a′*	*ṡk‘e’’.*	*ho*	*he′*	*wip‘e′ḣlokewį*	*’eye′*	*c’ų*
w. sp.”	—	she said	and	kicking writhing	she lay	and	she died	it is said.	Oh	that	Hole-in-Head-Woman	she said	the past

he′	*’e′*	*ṡk‘e’’.*	*hetą′*[18]	*’ak‘e′*	*ya′hą*	*yų′k‘ą′*	*wizi′*	*wą*	*’e′l*	*winų′ḣcala-iṡta`ġųġa*[42]	*nų′p*[43]
that	she was	it is said.	From there	again	he continued to go,	then	yellow tent	a	there	old women blind	two

t‘i′pi	*c‘a*	*’e′l*	*’į′*	*ke’’.*	*t‘ia′nųk*[44]	*yąka′hąpi*	*ke’’.*	*wąwi′c‘ayak*[45]	*na′żįhe*	*c’e′yaṡ*
lived	it being so	there	he arrived	it is said.	On both sides of tent	they were sitting	it is said.	Watching them	he was standing	but

’a′tayaṡ[46]	*slolye′ṡniḣcį*[47]	*yąka′hąpi*	*ke’’.*	*c‘eḣ-nų′p*[48]	*wo′hąpi*[36]	*c‘ąke′*	*wąya′ka*	*yų′k‘ą′*
entirely	knowing not verily	they continued to sit	it is said.	Kettles two	they were cooking	and so	watched	then

mak‘a′tom.nica	*c‘a*	*k‘inų′k‘ą*[49]	*’ohą′*	*g.le′pi*	*ną*	*ṡpą-’a′p‘e*[50]	*yąka′hąpi*	*ke’’.*	*li′la*
earth beans	it being so	each	cooking	they had standing	and	to be cooked waiting	they were sitting	it is said.	Very

waṡte′m.na[51]	*hiyu′*[52]	*kį*	*’ų′*[53]	*c‘į′laḣcaka*[54]	*c‘ąke′*	*c‘e′ġa*	*’ųma′*[55]	*’icu′*	*ną*	*t‘epyį′*[39]
good smelling	it came	the	with	he much desired it,	and so	kettle	other one	he took	and	caused it to be consumed

ną	*’ak‘e′*	*’ųma′*	*t‘epyį′*	*ną*	*c‘e′ġa*	*kį*	*ha′*	*’ece′kce*[56]	*p‘e′ta*	*kį*	*’e′l*	*’e′wic‘akicig.le*[57]
and	also	other one	he caused to be consumed	and	kettles	the	containers	only	fire	the	on	he set them back for them

ke’’.	*k’e′yaṡ*[58]	*ta′ku*	*’oslo′lyeṡniḣcį*[59]	*yąka′hąpi’.*	*’o′hąketa*[60]	*’ųma′*[55]	—	*’it‘o′*[61]	*wana′*
it is said.	But	anything	not knowing really	they were sitting.	At the end	one	—	“Indeed	now

mi′ciṡpą[62]	*se′ca*	*c‘a*[63]	—	*’eyį′*	*ną*	*ḣeya′ta*[64]	*c‘e′ġa*	*k’ų*	*’iki′kcu*	*ną*	*hehą′l*	—	*mą′*[65]
mine is cooked	probably	(it being so)”	—	she said	and	away	kettle	the past	she took it	and	then	—	“Oh

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See footnotes on pages 163-166.

tʻepma′yakʻiye	*se′ce′ le′—'eya′,*	*yų′kʻą′*	*'ųma′*	*kį*	*'i′ṡ*	—	*yu′,*	*mi′ṡ'eya′*	*le′*	*'etą′*[66]
you caused mine to be consumed	probably w. sp,"—she said.	Then	other	the	she	—	*yu,*	I myself also	this	from

'iyo′ḣpemic′iye[67]	*cį,*[68]	*he′*	*ta′kole′*[69]	*'itʻo′*[61]	*ḣeycca*[70]	*—kʻa′*[71]	*wana′*	*wag.lu′tįkte,*[72]	—	*'eyį′*
I throw in for myself	the	that	why!	oh,	she kind of said that	but	now	I will eat mine	—	she said

ną	*'i′ṡ'eya′*	*cʻe′ġa-tʻa`wa*[73]	*kį*	*'iki′kcukta*	*tkʻa′ṡ*[74]	*ta′kuni*[75]	*'ų′ṡni*	*cʻąke′*	—	*yû*
and	she also	kettle her	the	she was going to take hers	but	nothing	was not there	and so	—	"*Yû*

tʻepma′kʻiyį[39]	*ną*	*heye′*	*le′,*	—	*'eya′*	*ke′'.*	*he′cʻena*	*'ųma′*	*k'ų*	*heya′*	*ke′'*	—	*mą,*
she caused it to be consumed for me	and	she said that	w. sp.	—	she said	it is said.	At once	the other	aforesaid	said that	it is said	—	"Oh,

'i′ṡ	*'eṡa′*[75a]	*tuwa′*	*hi′*	*se′ca*	*cʻe*[76]	*he′cʻiyatąhą*[77]	*sakye′*	*'ų′*	*patʻą′tʻą*[78]	*'au′*[79]	*mi′ṡ'eya′*
he however	perhaps	someone	arrived	perhaps,		from there	cane	using	feeling along	bring it!	I also

le′cʻiyatąhą[77]	*'a′m.nįkte*[80]	—	*'eya′*	*cʻąke′*	*wana′*	*nųpʻį′*	*'ina′żįpi*	*ną*	*sakye′*	*ko′skos*[81]
from here	shall go carrying it"	—	she said,	and so	now	both	stood up	and	cane	swinging

tʻiwo′kṡą[82]	*hiya′yapi*[83]	*yų′kʻą′*	*'ehą′-kicʻi`ipi*[84]	*ną*	*'ųma′*	—	*'ehą′k'ų*[85]	*le′*	*niye′*	*cʻa*
around the tipi	they went along,	then	just there they reached each other	and	one	—	"After all	this	you	it being so

watʻe′pyaye[86]	*se′ce′*	—	*'eya′-hįg.la*	*cʻą-ko′s*[81]	*-'iye`yį*	*ną*	*'i′ṡ 'eya′*	*'ųma′*	*kį*	—	*yû,*
you caused it to be consumed	probably"	—	saying quickly	stick swinging	she sent	and	she also	other one	the	—	"*Yû,*

'iye′ṡ	*iye′yeṡą′*[87]	—	*'eya′-hįg.la*	*'itko′p*	*'apʻa′*	*cʻąke′*	*he′cʻena*	*kicʻi′zapi*[88]	*ṡkʻc′'.*	*'o′hąketa*
she however,	it was she but"	—	saying quickly	head on	she struck her	and so	at once	they fought	it is said.	Finally

mi′la	*'iki′kcupi*	*ną*	*cʻaki′cʻipʻapi*[89]	*ną*	*kicʻi′ktepi*[90]	*ṡkʻe′'.*	*cʻąke′*	*wicʻa′ṡa*	*k'ų*	*he′*
knives	they took	and	stabbed each other	and	killed each other	it is said.	And so	man	the aforesaid	that one

hetą′hą	*'iya′ya*	*ṡkʻe′'.*	*heḣą′yela*[91]	*'owi′hąke'.*[92]
from there	went	it is said.	Only that far.	It ends.

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[63] *wą* a certain, p. 133.

[64] Stem *nasa′*; *wa* indefinite object, p. 52; *i* to arrive going, p. 92, for composition see p. 95.

[65] *ną* and, p. 144.

[66] Stem *pʻa′ta*, *wa* indefinite object, p. 52; *-hą* continuative= to stand, inanimate, pp. 60, 104.

[67] *yų′kʻą′* conjunction introducing a new idea, p. 144.

[68] *'e′t* adverbial form of *'e′tu*, p. 119, no. 14.

[69] *hi′* to arrive coming; *na′żį*, to stand (animate), stem *żį* erect.

[70] *kʻe′yaṡ* conjunction, indifferent attitude, p. 145.

[71] *'a′taya* entire, *-ṡ* adversative emphatic, p. 108, see note 80, p. 163.

[72] Stem *ta*; *a* on; *yu* ordinarily instrumental: by causing motion towards speaker, here of doubtful meaning. Compare *'aya′ta* to prophesy= to bring about by mouth; *'ag.la′ta* women accompanying song of praise; 1st p. *ab.lu′ta*, p. 76; terminal *a* not changeable, p. 32; *cʻaże′yata* to call name, *a* changeable; *wicʻa′ṡa ya′tapi* chief= men acclaim him.

[73] *ṡni* negative, p. 105.

[74] *ṡką* to be active, *hą* continuative, p. 104.

[75] *ṡkʻa*^{1} quotative, p. 106;' end of sentence, p. 109.

[76] *ka′* primarily visible place pointed out, often used in a somewhat indefinite sense, *-kʻi*, p. 124; *ya* adverbial with demonstrative, a somewhat indefinite location, p. 124.

[77] *kʻi* to arrive going back there (as though the place where he was working were his more permanent location); *a-* with verb of motion, to go with something or someone; i. e., to carry, bring, p. 94, *kṡu* to pile up; *-hą* continuative, p. 104, changed to *hį* before *ną*, p. 29.

[78] *wana′* at that time, both for present and past.

[79] Stem *ṡtą* with doubtful fundamental meaning; *yuṡtą′* to finish, p. 87.

[80] *'iyu′ha* all as one group, when following a noun it requires preceding article, *'oya′s'į* all of a kind, *'a′taya* entire, see note 71 p. 163.

[81] *'iki′kcu*, *ki* his own, p. 86; *'icu′* to take, *'iki′cu* he takes it for him.

[82] *kʻi* to arrive going back there; *g.la* to go back there, p. 92; *a* changed to *į* before future *kta*; pp. 29, 105; *l* to *n* before nasalized vowel.

[83] *cʻąke′* and so, therefore, *cʻąkʻe′* Y.

[84] *k'ų* aforesaid, or past, p. 133.

[85] *he′cʻeya′*, *he* that, *kʻa* to be of a kind, changed after demonstrative *he* to *cʻa*, p. 16; *a* changed to *e* before *ya*, p. 29; *ya* adverbial; see also, pp. 59, 122; in a that way manner; two accents.

[86] *locʻį′* from *lo′ta* food, losing terminal *a*, p. 34; *t* changes to *l*, p. 12; *cʻį* to desire; *locʻį′* to be hungry.

[87] *kį* here nominalizing the preceding.

(Continued on p. 164)

(Footnotes continued from p. 163)

[88] *loc‘į' kį 'ų'* food desiring the on account of; *'ų* literally; using, i. e., on account of her hunger; this qualifies the following adverb *'ayu'hel*; with *hųše'* preceding *he' 'ų'* cannot be used, because *hųše'* makes it indefinite, and it was not known previously that she was hungry.

[89] *'ayu'hete* to wait around, loses terminal *e* as adverb; 1st p. *'ab.lu'hete.*

[90] *'o-* locative p. 40 ;*k'u'* to give; *šni* not, p. 105.

[91] *'eya'* to say, with demonstrative *leya'* p. 101; *ho'* voice, *'iye'ya* to send; for composition see p. 73.

[92] *šk‘a* is quotative for "it is said"; *ke* seems to refer to the last speaker who told the narrative; perhaps from *ke'ya'* he said that.

[93] *to'k‘i*, compare note 76, p. 163, *ka'k‘iya*; *to* indefinite pronoun, *k‘i* in reference to the place of the speaker, somewhere not here at a particular place

[94] *le'*, second person singular of *ya* to go, p. 76; terminal *a* changed to *e* before *k'e'yaš* which itself changes to *c'e'yaš*, p. 29.

[95] *c'e'yaš* but, however, with indifferent attitude, p. 145; refers to the preceding *to'k‘i le'* wherever you go, nevertheless.

[96] A name. Names may have two accents, like the present and following, or one accent; p. e., *t‘at‘ą'ka na'žį* buffalo bull standing, and another name *t‘at‘ą'ka-nažį* standing in the manner of a buffalo bull; *šų'ka* dog, domesticated animal; *t‘a* possessive for separable possession, for animals applicable only to dog and horse, p. 128; terminal *a* of *šųka* changes to *e* in possessive, p. 32; *'o'ta* many, a cvc verb; *wį* ending of names of women, see *wį'yą* woman.

[97] *'a-p‘a'* to strike, changeable *a*; *ya* second person active verb; for position of pronoun see p. 83; *k‘i* contact, p. 79; *'a-k‘i'p‘a* to meet, *a* not changeable; *'iya'p‘a* to strike against, not changeable.

[98] from *c‘ap‘a'* to stab.

[99] With accent as part of name.

[1] *wi-* woman, p. 71; *hu* leg; *po* to swell; *wį* ending for names of women.

[2] *t‘ahį'špa*<*t‘a-hu-išpa* deer bone elbow, the awl made of a deer's ulna.

[3] *he'c‘ena*, p. 123.

[4] *g.la'* to go back home, *hą* continuative, *hį* before *ną* and.

[5] *'ak‘o'* the far side from a given point; *t‘ahe'na* the near side from a given point; *-tąhą* on a certain side, from.

[6] *tuwo'* someone, who? nominal; *tuwe'* verbal, p. 114.

[7] *to'k‘iya* somewhere abouts, not here, see note 76, p. 163; p. 124.

[8] *hą* continuative.

[9] *'eye' c'ų*<*'eya' k'ų* what the aforesaid said.

[10] *'e' 'e'* here: it is she; often: instead, see p. 117.

[11] see p. 111.

[12] Declarative particle, used by men p. 110.

[13] Irregular verb, p. 98.

[14] Stem *ȟni.*

[15] *'ic'i* reflexive, p. 103, *kağa* to make, irregular verb, p. 101.

[16] *to'k‘a* some way, *'ece'la* only.

[17] *t‘ų* to bear, to have, pp. 83, 101; *saka* cane (does not occur independently), *ya* to have as —, *ki* possessive.

[18] *'i-a-hą* literally: against on he stands.

[19] *he'c‘eca* it is that kind, p. 123, no. 38; *kta* future, changed to *kte* before *k'ų*, p. 29.

[20] *c'ų*<*k'ų*, pp. 14, 29.

[21] *ta'ku* something; *wa-mak‘a'-ašką'* things ground active on; quadrupeds.

[22] *'oc‘a'že* from *c‘aže'* name; for manufactured objects *'oka'ğe* style of things.

[23] See note 80, p. 163; *la* here intensifying, p. 57.

[24] *nų'pa* two, here distributive adverbial with loss of terminal *a*.

[25] *ma'ni* to walk, *k‘iya* to cause.

[26] *'a-u'* to bring, from *'u'* to come, p. 94; *wic‘a* them, living beings.

[27] *t‘a* ruminant, *t‘ą'ka* large, specifically: buffalo bull.

[28] *kic‘i'* with (only with singular); evidently bear and bull made a pair, p. 138.

[29] *t‘oko'-hą-ya* first-standing-adverb; for change of *hą* to *he*, see pp. 29, 32.

[30] *wąya'ka* to see, *wąb.la'ka* I see;*-pi* plural refers here to the subject.

[31] *'e'tkiyo*, *'e* indefinite demonstrative; *-tkiya* towards.

[32] *na-šlo'ka* to take off shoes, garments; *našlo'k* adverbial, rushing, participle, pp. 34, 137.

[33] *hiyu'*<*hi-u'* arriving here he comes; *-pi* refers to subject.

[34] *yuha'* to hold, to have, *wic‘a* animate object third person plural.

[35] *he'*+*'eya'* to say that, precedes quotation, p. 101.

[36] *'ų'ši* poor, deserving pity; *ka* rather, kind of, p. 55.

[37] *c‘ą* whenever, p. 147; strengthened by *šna*, p. 106.

[38] *'ųšika'* here an energetic quotation, with accent on last syllable; *'ų'šika* it is pitiable.

[39] *'ec‘į'* to think, irregular verb, p. 98; *ki* dative; *p* in rapid speech for *pi* plural.

[40] an idiomatic expression correcting an objectionable action or saying.

[41] *wįğa* to turn at a sharp angle; *ka* instrumental, here neutral "by outer force," p. 47.

[42] *ȟna'ȟna* adverbial.

[43] *k‘ig.la'* to start going back there, p. 92; *kawi'ȟ* modifies *ȟna'ȟna*, both conjointly modify *k‘ig.la'pi*.

[44] *'ų'ši* pitiful, *ya* adverb becomes *ye* before *ȟcį* very, p. 57.

[45] *'o'p* adverb of *'o'p‘a* to join; "with several," see note 66, p. 165; *kic‘i'* with one, p. 138.

[46] *wana'* at that time, now; not always present time.

[47] *są'p* adverbial, see *'i'sąp‘a* exceeding it (p. 143).

[48] *'iya'ya* to go on, p. 92; *a* changes to *į* before future *kta*.

[49] *hą'l*, see p. 118.

[50] *'iš* emphatic independent pronoun, p. 78; *'eya'* also, with personal pronouns.

[51] *'iyo'pta* to progress, *ya* adverbial.

[52] <*le*+*eya'* she said this, p. 101.

(Continued on p. 165)

(Footnotes continued from p. 164)

[53] *laza* does not occur alone, *ta* at, p. 143.

[54] *haka'* last-born; *'e-ha'ke* the last; *-ȟcį* adverbial, p. 57.

[55] *nų'p* two, *to'p* four, *napci'yųk* nine nominal and adjective forms; verbal forms, *nų'pa*, *to'pa*, *napci'yųka*.

[56] *'u'pe'<'u'pi-ye'* woman speaking, p. 110.

[57] *he'* that one, *na* plural of demonstratives.

[58] *ka-t'a'* by striking dead, *wic'a'* third person plural animate object, *a* becomes *į* before *ną*.

[59] See p. 119, no. 14.

[60] *'iyų'ka* to lie down, irregular verb, p. 99; *a* becomes *e* before *kįhą*.

[61] *cįhą* for *kįhą* after *e* changed from *a*, p. 14; *cįhą* refers to preceding, refers to future.

[62] *yu'ta* to eat, irregular verb, p 100. Woman speaking, expresses imperative here by final accent.

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[63] *p'i* good, *ki* dative, *la* to consider, *a* unchangeable.

[64] See p. 122, no. 31.

[65] From *'a-iyaya-hą*, pp. 94, 96; *hį<hą* before *ną*.

[66] *kic'i'* adverb, derived from an obsolete verb *k'i* with one person, see note 45, p. 164; *'o'p* with several, p. 138.

[67] P. 145.

[68] *ka-t' a'* by striking dead; *t'a* irregular adverb, p. 60.

[69] *'iȟpe'ya* to leave lying.

[70] *c'ą* wood, connected with following adjective *o-* in a circumscribed area, *wašte'* good, *co*, p. 54; *ka* rather, p. 55.

[71] See p. 119, no. 14.

[72] *c'e-'ų'pa* to lay on fire, i. e., to roast.

[73] *he'* that, *tąhą* from, in that region.

[74] *hą* continuative.

[75] Contracted from *c'ą-'i'coġa* wood drifts against something.

[76] *ġi* brown, *yela<ya-la*, *ya* adverb, *la* diminutive or emphatic.

[77] (–)*ȟpa'* to be down as far as possible; *ȟpa'ya* to lie prone, inert.

[78] *i* against, *na'-żį* to stand (animate being), see *żį* erect.

[79] Adverb; the element *k'i* nearness does not occur alone; probably identical with the prefix *k'i* in contact, p. 79.

[80] *a* on, *na* with feet, *-slata* to be straight; adverbial *slal*, p. 12; i. e. on tiptoe.

[81] *'a'ya* gradually, to proceed.

[82] *c'a* being of that kind, being that way; always refers to the preceding. *c'a* differs from *kį* in following verbs only: *c'ap'ų'ka* is verbalized by preceding *he'*, p. 146.

[83] *'išta'* eye, *-įma* ?, *hą* continuative.

[84] P. 99.

[85] *'eye' c'ų* the one referred to said.

[86] *le' 'e'* it is this; *le'* this, *'e'* to be.

[87] *ye* before *lo'* after verb not ending in changeable *a*.

[88] *yu* by pulling, *pem.ni'* to be twisted, adverbial; *ksa* to be severed, *yuksa'* to pull off, adverbial; *ksa* without prefix only in *si' ksa'* one footed, also with other parts of body, *c'ąksa'* a club.

[89] *-tąhą*, p. 120, no. 16.

[90] P 79.

[91] Weak accent in simple address; when shouted *t'akoża'*, p. 130.

[92] *wac'į'ya* to have faith in someone, *wac'į'* to think, *-ya* to cause; *wo'wac'įye* something to have faith in.

[93] *yuha'* to have, hold.

[94] Imperative, man speaking, p. 111.

[95] *c'ąku'-'og.na'* adverbial, p. 139.

[96] *-'eya'* also, only with personal pronouns. *'i'š* p. 78; *'e* it is; *ya* adverbial.

[97] *'ec'e'-ȟc'į* it being that verily p. 121, no. 29, p. 57.

[98] *k'u'ciyela* (*k'u'ta* down below) verb; *šų'kak'u'ciyela* wolf with short legs, i. e., low (name).

[99] *'ihų'ni*, p. 96.

[1] For *t'i-ma'hel* house inside, pp. 49, 71.

[2] First person *we'c'o* I invite him.

[3] *hinų'* exclamation, woman speaking, *hųhi'* man speaking, sudden surprise.

[4] *to'hįniš . . . šni k'ų* the one who never before, p. 105.

[5] *wą'ca* once, p. 114, *ȟcį* adverbial, verily, p. 57.

[6] P. 110.

[7] *yup'i'* to make good, *ya* adverbial, done to a nicety; *wayu'p'ika* to be skillful in.

[8] *mak'a'ta* in the earth *om.ni'ca* bean.

[9] *'ohą'* (lit. to stand iu) to cook, to wear moccasins.

[10] *wo'k'u* to give to eat; *wo*, food, p. 71; *k'u* to give.

[11] *wo'ta* to eat; *yu'ta* to eat something.

[12] Terminal accent for imperative, woman speaking p. 111.

[13] *wa-tu'k'a* to be tired, stem *tu* (?).

[14] *'e'ųpa<'ai'ųpa* laid down in that direction, pp. 96, 99.

[15] *k'u'l* down, adverbial, see note 98, above; p. 58.

[16] *yû* cry of distress.

[17] *-ȟlo'ka* to have a hole; *'oȟlo'ka* a hole; *'oȟlo'kya* having a hole; *'opa'ȟloke* place where punctured. The retention of *a* in *oȟlo'ka* is irregular.

[18] *'etą'* from: also some; *'etą'hą* from there; *hetą'* from there, p. 119, no. 15.

[19] *'e'yokas' į<'ai'-o-ka-s'į* in that direction-in-by outer force-craning neck, p. 96.

[20] *yuk'e'ġa* to scratch, *g.luk'e'ġa* to scratch one's own, p. 87.

[21] *nį'skot'ąka<le'-įsko-t'ą'ka* this as large as large, *l* changes to *n* before nasalized vowel, p. 11; *hį'skot'ąka<he* that as large as large.

(Continued on p. 166)

(Footnotes continued from p. 165)

[22] *yupo* to make swell, *g.lupo'* she made swell her own, p. 87.
[23] *ma* me, *ka* by striking, *tʻį<tʻa* before future, dead, *kte<kta* before *se'ca*, p. 29.
[24] *ka-ħle'ca* to tear by striking, adverbial *kaħle'l.*

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[25] *wašte'* good; *waħte'-šni* lit. not very good; the wretch!
[26] *'ıye' 'eha'* be instead of the right one, p. 159.
[27] See note 4, p. 165; both *to'hįniš* and *tu'hįniš* (S.) occur; *tų'weniš<to'hųwe-ni-š.*
[28] *kʻalya'* causing it to be hot, *kʻa'ta* hot, p. 59.
[29] *'e'g.le<'ai'g.le* in that direction she set it up, p. 7.
[30] *'ecʻų'* to do, stem *kʻų*; *to'kʻų* to do something, p. 98.
[31] *'ao'kakį* inclining body so as to see; *-kį* not vertical; *'ao'wakakį* I strike so as to be out of vertical over it.
[32] *pʻo'wiwila<pʻa-o-wiwi'la* head-in-soft place.
[33] *'iyo'ħpeya<'i-o-ħpe-ya* against into lie she caused it, compare note 77, p. 165. Idiom: to boil.
[34] Often *he'cʻena* is used instead of *he'cʻeg.la*; or *he'cʻeg.lala*; compare *he'cʻekna* Y.
[35] *kʻalki'ya<kʻa'ta-kiya* he caused it to be hot, p. 73.
[36] *wo'hąhe<wa-ohąhą*, see note 9, p. 165; *hą* continuative, becomes *he* before *k'ų* which changes to *c'ų*.
[37] *'e'kig.le*, see note 29; *ki* for him.
[38] *tkʻa'š* implies approval of speaker, p. 145.
[39] *tʻe'pa* to be consumed, *tʻepya'* to make consumed; *tʻepye'kʻiya* he caused him to make it consumed, p. 74.
[40] *'o-i-ħpe-ya* into-against-to lie-he caused it; compare note 33, p. 166.
[41] *tį* to be stretched out; *na* with the foot; *natį'tį* to kick; adverbial.
[42] *'išta'* eye; *ġų'ġa* to have the eyes almost closed.
[43] *nų'p* adjective, p. 113.
[44] *tʻi* tent in composition; *'anų'k* on each side, pp. 49, 71, 143; *'anų'kʻa-są* bald eagle; see note 44, p. 166.
[45] *wą-ya'ka* to see, *wicʻa* them, adverbial.
[46] *'a'tayaš . . . šni* not at all.
[47] *slolya'* to know; *šni* not; *ħcį* verily.
[48] *cʻe'ġa* kettle; contracted: two kettles-full; *cʻe'ġa nų'p* two kettles.
[49] *kʻinų'kʻą* each of them separately; p. 49; apart each equally (doing, getting, etc.).
[50] *'apʻe'* to wait for.
[51] *wašte'* good, *m.na* to have an odor.
[52] *hiyu'<hi' 'u'*, p. 92.
[53] Literally: to use.
[54] *cʻį'* to desire, *la* diminutive; here intensifying, p. 56; *ħca* very, verbal; *ka* rather, here intensifying *ħcaka' ye lo'* it is the real thing (colloquial).
[55] *'ųma'* one of two.
[56] *'ece'kce* reduplicated form of *'ece'*.
[57] *'e'wicʻakicig.le<'ai'-wicʻa-kici-g.le* for them-in their place-he set it up, p. 91.
[58] *k' e'yaš* refers to the preceding.
[59] *slolya'* to know, *o-* within a certain space; (*sdoca'* S.) *šni* not; *ħcį* verily.
[60] *'o'hąketa<'o-i'hąke-ta.*
[61] P. 151.
[62] *mi'cišpą* mine is done, p. 87.
[63] *cʻa*, p. 146.
[64] *ħe* mountain, used in a general way as "away"; *yata* see, p. 143, No. 10.
[65] P. 150.

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[66] *'etą'* some, see note 18, p. 165.
[67] *'iyo'ħpeya* see note 33, above; *mic'i* reflexive, p. 103.
[68] *kį*, p. 133.
[69] Also *ta'kowe'*; from *ta'ku-'ole'* what seeking.
[70] *heye'ca<heya'-ka*, p. 55.
[71] P. 112, *heye'ca tkʻa'* by the way!
[72] *wa'ta* I eat it.
[73] Separable possession, p. 132.
[74] P. 145.
[75] *ta'kuni . . . šni* nothing, p. 105.
[75a] Parenthetical.
[76] *cʻe* for *c'a* before imperative, p. 146.
[77] *he'cʻiyatąhą* from that side from me; *le'cʻiyatąhą* from this side from you, p. 124, no. 43.
[78] *tʻą* to be touching; *pa* by pushing.
[79] P. 94, imperative, woman speaking.
[80] *'a'ya* to go carrying, p. 94; *b.la* I go, becomes *m.nį* after change of *a* to *į* which makes the preceding *b.l* nasalized, p. 11.
[81] Adverb of active verb, p. 37.
[82] *tʻiwo'kšą<tʻi-o-kšą* around the tent, *-kšą* curved, also *tʻiyo'kšą.*
[83] *hi-ya'ya* to pass, p. 92.
[84] *'ehą'* at the right place, p. 117, no. 4; *kicʻi'* reciprocal each got to the place where the other was, p. 103.
[85] *'ehą'k'ų, 'ehą'ke cį k'ų,* or *'ehą'ke c'ų* its end the past *'ehą'k'ehą'* in the long ago Y. *'ehą'k'ų 'ehą'* see *'ehą'ni* also *'ehą'na.*
[86] See note 39, p. 166; *wa* indefinite object, p. 52.
[87] *-yešą'* adversative, p. 145.
[88] *k'i'za* to fight, *kicʻi'zapi* they fought each other; *kicʻi' kicʻi'za* he fights with him.
[89] *cʻa-p'a'* to stab, *kicʻi* each other.
[90] *kte'* to kill.
[91] P. 118, no. 6.
[92] *'o-i-hąke*, see note 60, p. 166.

THE FRIENDSHIP SONG

(Ella Deloria, Dakota Texts, New York 1932, pp. 223 et seq.)

wicʻa′ṡa	nų′p[94]	kʻola′kicʻiyapi[95]	yų′kʻą′	le′cʻel[96]	wi′wahokicʻiyapi[97]	ṡkʻe′’.	’olo′wą[98]	wą
Men	two	had each other as friends	then	this way	they made a promise to each other	it is said.	Song	a

’iye′[99]	ka′ġapi[1]	ną	he′	kʻola′kicʻiyapi-’oloˋwą	cʻa[2]	’iye′pi[99]	kį[3]	nupʻį′la[4]	’ahi′yayapikta[5]
by themselves	they made	and	that	friendship song	it being so	they	the ones	only the two	were going to sing it

ke′ya′pi[6]	ṡkʻe′’.	tohą′tuke[7]	cʻe′yaṡ	’ųma′	ta′ku	tʻeȟi′ka[8]	wążi′	’e′l	na′żį	hą′tąhąṡ[9]
they said that	it is said.	At any time	at all	the one	anything	difficult	a	there	stood	if

’olo′wą	kį	he′	’ahi′yayįkta[5]	ke′ya′pi[6]	ṡkʻe′’.	he′cʻel[10]	’ų′ma	kį	naȟ’ų′	kįhą[11]	wą′cak[12]
song	the	that	he will sing	they say	it is said.	Thus	one of two	the	heard it	when	at once

tʻakʻo′laku[13]	kį	’ana′kikṡįkta[14]	wą[15]	he′cʻel	slolki′yapi[16]	ṡkʻe′’.	yų′kʻą′	to′hųwel[17]
his friend	the	future running to the rescue	a	thus	they know their own	it is said.	Then	at a certain time

’ozu′ye[18]	wą	’e′l	nupʻį′	’o′pʻapi	ṡkʻe′’.	’o′hįni	to′kʻiya[19]	ya′pi	cʻą′[20]	nupʻį′	’ece′-’opʻapi[21]
war party	a	there	both	joined	it is said.	Always	where	they went	whenever	both	always joined

cʻąke′	wana′	’akʻe′	ȟtaye′tu[22]	hą′l	’e′tʻipi[23]	cʻa	’e′l	’ų′pi[24]	yų′kʻą′	’ųma′	b.leya′ta[25]
and so	now	again	evening	when	they went to camp	it being so	there	they were	then	the one	lake to

m.ni′	hiyo′yeṡipi[26]	cʻąke′	cʻe′ġa	yuha′	ną	li′la	’oi′yokpaza[27]	cʻąke′	natʻą′tʻąkel[28]
water	they ordered to go for	and so	kettle	he held	and	very	it was dark	and so	feeling with his feet

’iwa′ṡteg.la[29]	ya′hą	ṡkʻe′’.	wana′	b.le′	kį	’e′l	’ihų′ni[30]	ną	cʻe′ġa	kį	m.ni′	kį
gently	he was going	it is said.	Now	lake	the	there	he reached	and	kettle	the	water	the

’ekta′	’ipa′g.mųk[31]	’ożu′la[32]	’icu′-wacʻį[33]	kʻeṡ[34]	kʻa′zela[35]	cʻąke′	są′p[36]	cʻoka′takiya[37]
towards	dipping	full	to take he tried	but	it was shallow	and so	farther	towards the middle

cʻopʻa′-’iyuˋtʻa[38]	ya′hį	ną	hąke′ya[39]	wana′	’aṡme′laka[40]	cʻa	’e′l	m.ni′	’icu′	kį
wading testing	he was going	and	at last	now	it was somewhat deeper	it being so	there	water	taking	the

’icʻų′hą[41]	b.le′	kį	’e′l	’ena′na[42]	ta′ku	k’eya′[43]	sapsa′pya[44]	hiye′ya[45]	cʻa	wąya′ka
while	lake	the	there	here and there	something	some	black	were there	it being so	he saw them

ṡkʻe′’.	k’e′yaṡ	hena′	’į′yą-tʻąka[46]	ke′cʻį′[47]	ȟcehą′l[48]	wicʻa′ho[49]	wą	naȟ’ų′	cʻąke′
it is said.	But	those	stones large	he thought that	when	human voice	a	he heard	and so

pʻiya′-’anaˋġoptą.[50]	yų′kʻą′	wicʻa′ṡa	wą	to′kʻi	cʻąya′ka[51]	ṡkʻe′’.	’ina′ȟni	’ekta′kiya
again he listened.	Then	man	a	somewhere	moaned	it is said.	Hurriedly	towards there

yį′	ną	’e′l	’ihų′ni	ną	yutʻą′tʻą[52]	yų′kʻą′	wicʻa′ṡa	wą	nata′	kį	’a′taya	’ona′ṡloka[53]
he went	and	there	he reached	and	felt about,	then	man	a	scalp	the	entire	peeled off by itself

cʻa	’iṡta′	kį	’aka′ȟpeya[54]	hiyu′[55]	k’e′yaṡ	ni′	ȟpa′ya	ṡkʻe′’.	cʻąke′	g.liya′ȟpeic’iyį[56]
it being so	eyes	the	falling upon	it came	but	alive	he lay	it is said.	And so	he caused him to fall back on himself

ną	’olo′wą	k’ų	he′	’ahi′yaya[56a]	m.ni-cʻo′p[57]	k’į′	na′żį	ṡkʻe′’.	yų′kʻą′	tʻiya′ta[58]	naȟ’ų′pi
and	song	the aforesaid	that	singing it	water wading	carrying on shoulder	he stood	it is said.	Then	at the camp	they heard it

cʻąke′	tʻakʻo′laku	k’ų	heya′	ṡkʻe′’	—	kʻola′	ta′ku	tʻeȟi′ka	slolye′[59]	lo′.	tohą′l
and so	his friend	the aforesaid	said	it is said	—	“My friend	something	difficult	knows	m. sp.	At what time

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See footnotes on pages 168-169.

he′c‘etu[60]	*c‘ą′*	*’olo′wą*	*kį*	*he′*	*’ųka′hiyayapikta*[61]	*ke′ya′-’iwahoųkic‘iyapi*[62]	*k’ų*	—	*’eyį′*	*ną*
it is that way	whenever	song	the	that	we are going to sing	saying that we mutually promised”		—	he said	and

he′c‘ena	*wi′p‘e*	*g.luha′*[63]	*’ekta′kiya*	*’į′yąka*	*ṡk‘e’’.*	*yų′k‘ą′*	*t‘ak‘o′laku*	*k’ų*	*he′*	*ta′ku*
at once	weapons	having his	towards there	he ran	it is said.	Then	his friend	the aforesaid	that	something

k’į′	*ną*	*ku′hą*	*c‘a*	*’e′l*	*’ihų′ni*	*ną*	—	*k‘ola′*[64]	*to′k‘a*	*huwo′?*	—	*’eya′*	*ṡk‘e’’*
carried on back	and	was coming back	it being so	there	he reached	and	—	“Friend	what is it	m. sp.?”	—	he said	it is said

c‘ąke′	*’oki′yaka*[65]	*ṡk‘e’’.*	*he′c‘ena*	*wic‘a′ṡa*	*wą*	*nata′*	*ṡloka′he*[66]	*’ų*[67]	*he′*	*t‘iya′ta*
and so	he told him	it is said.	At once	man	a	scalp	peeled off	the aforesaid	that	to camp

’ak‘i′pi	*yų′k‘ą′*	*hena′keȟcį*[68]	*lak‘o′tapi*	*c‘a*	*wic‘a′ktepi*[69]	*ną*	*’iṡna′la*	*’oka′ptapi*[70]	*ke′ya′*
they carried him back	then	those verily	were Dakotas	it being so	they killed them	and	him alone	they left over	he said that

ṡk‘e’’.	*’ihį′hąna*	*c‘ąke′*	*’e′wąwic‘ayakapi;*[71]	*yų′k‘ą′*	*hena′*	*hų′kpap‘ayapi*[72]	*c‘a*	*naka′poyela*[73]
it is said.	Next morning	and so	they went to see them;	then	those	were *Hų′kpap‘aya*	it being so	swollen by themselves

’ec‘e′capi[74]	*c‘ąke′*	*’oi′yekiye-ṡi`capi*[75]	*ṡk‘e’’.*	*hena′*	*t‘o′ka*	*kį*	*na′żįwic‘ayapi*[76]	*ną*	*’iyu′ha*
they were thus	and so	to recognize they were had (hard)	it is said.	Those	enemies	the	had made them stand	and	all

wic‘a′ktepi	*kc′c‘į′pi*	*ną*	*b.le′*	*kį*	*’ekta′*	*’oi′ȟpewic‘ayapi*[77]	*ṡk‘e’’.*	*wążi′*	*ni′*	*k’e′yaṡ*
they had killed them	they thought that	and	lake	the	into	they had thrown them	it is said.	One	was alive	but

slolya′piṡni’.	*hetą′*	*to′hųweni*	*b.le′*	*kį*	*he′*	*’e′l*	*tuwe′ni*	*m.ni-ya′tke*	*ṡni*	*ṡk‘e’’.*
they did not know it.	From that	never	lake	the	that	there	nobody	water drinks	not	it is said.

NOTES TO PAGE 167

[94] *nųp* adjective (p. 113).

[95] *k‘ola′* friend; *kic‘i* reciprocal (p. 103); *ya* to have for- (p. 130); *pi* dual exclusive (p. 66).

[96] *le′c‘el* in this manner (p. 122, no. 33).

[97] *waha′ya; wa* indefinite object (p. 52); *ho* voice (p. 72); *ya* to cause; *iwa′haya* to promise, *kic‘i* reciprocal (p. 103).

[98] *lową′* to sing; *’o-* nominalizing (p. 41).

[99] Independent pronoun.

[1] *ka′ġa* to make.

[2] *he′ . . . c‘a* the *he′* makes the following noun verbal.

[3] Emphatic pronouns may be strengthened by the article: *miye′ kį le ’ųma′šike′* the one who is I, I am poor.

[4] *la* with numerals: only.

[5] *’ahi′yaya* to take along going there (p. 94); *pi* exclusive dual; *kta* future.

[6] *ke′ya′* double accent<*ka′’eya′* to say that.

[7] *tahą′tu* it is at some time; *ka* rather (p. 55); *tohą′tuke c′e′yaš* idiomatic: at any time at all.

[8] Better *ta′ku wążi′ t‘eȟi′ka c‘a* a something difficult being of that kind; *ta′ku t‘eȟi′ka wążi′* a difficult thing.

[9] If (p. 147).

[10] *he′c‘el* in that manner, see note 96.

[11] *kįhą* when, relating to future (p. 148).

[12] *wą′cak* adverbial from obsolete *wą′cak‘a* it is once, p. 114.

[13] Possessive third person (p. 131).

[14] *a* on, *na* with feet, *ki* his own, *-kšį* to curl around, idiomatically: he runs to the rescue.

[15] *wą* makes the preceding a noun; *c‘a* might be used in its place here: it being so.

[16] *-sdaca* S. to know, *slalya′* T., *ya* to cause; *ki* his own.

[17] *ta′hųwel* also *tų′wel*<*ta′hą wą ’e′l* at a certain indefinite time.

[18] *zuya′* to go to war.

[19] *ta′k‘iya* at some indefinite place, away from speaker and covering some extent (p. 124, no. 41).

[20] *c‘ą′* (p. 147).

[21] *’ece′-* always, an invariably repeated act; *s’a* often (*wi′hina′p‘a ece′* Y. the sun rises regularly; *maġa′żu s’a* it rains often.)

[22] P. 58.

[23] *e′*<*ai′* (p. 75).

(Continued on p. 169)

(Footnotes continued from p. 168)

[24] *'ų'* to be at a place, to exist somewhere.

[25] *b.le'* lake, *ta* after monosyllables *yata* (p. 143).

[26] *hiyo'-ya* to go after something (p. 93); *ši* to order (p. 75).

[27] *o-* within limits; *'iyo'kpaza* it is dark on account of; compare *'iyo'kip'i* be is bappy on account of, *'oi'yokip'i'* a pleasant place or time.

[28] *na-* with feet; *t'ą* to feel; duplicated: to feel about; *kel* in a way (p. 56).

[29] *'iwa'štela*; *'iwa'štena* Y.; *'iwa'stedą* S.; compare *he'c'ena, he'c'eg.na, he'c'eg.lala.*

[30] *i-* reaching there; *hųni* to reacb (p. 96).

[31] *-g.m'ųka* to trap *pa* by pushing, *i* against.

[32] *o-* in, *żu* full, *la* diminutive.

[33] *wac'i* (p. 98); the preceding verbs are adverbial.

[34] *k'eš* but regularly (p. 146).

[35] *k'a'za* shallow, *la* diminutive.

[36] *sąp* exceeding, from *sąp'a* (p. 143).

[37] *c'oka'* middle; see c'o kernel; *-takiya* towards (p. 143, no. 10).

[38] *'iyu't'a* (p. 74).

[39] *hąke'* end, adverbial.

[40] *'a-* on (p. 39); *šma* deep; *la* diminutive; *ka* rather.

[41] *'ic'ų'hą* while (p. 146); *k'ohą'*.

[42] *'ena'* reduplicated; *na* plural of demonstratives.

[43] *k'eya'* indefinite plural article (p. 133).

[44] Plural of inanimate object formed by reduplication (p. 157); *ya* adverb of neutral verb.

[45] Plural for scattered objects lying (p. 127).

[46] *t'ąka* adjective witbout accent.

[47] *'ec'i'* irregular verb (p. 98); with demonstrative *ka ke'c'i'*.

[48] Conjunction (p. 118, no. 8).

[49] *wic'a'* buman; *ho* voice.

[50] *p'i* good, proper; *p'iya'* adverbial; repetitive; *'ana'ġoplą*, or *'anų'ġoptą*, first person *nų'ġowaptą* or *'ana'waġoptą*, from *nų'ġe* ear, *-ptą* to turn about; a change presumahly due to an erroneous folk etymology, *na* being conceived as a prefix.

[51] Probably contracted from *c'e'ya-'oyaka* to tell crying? *c'aı'ya* to talk, bemoan bard luck, complain as crying (over, object) *c'ąya'ka*, to moan in pain (1st p. not used) *'ic'ą'*, to wail (transitive).

[52] Compare note 28 above; *yu-* with the bands (p. 45).

[53] *o-* in (p. 40); *na* by itself (p. 46); *-šloka* something fitting in or on something is removed.

[54] *a* on (p. 39); *ka* by force (p. 46); *ȟp.ya* adverhial to be down; to fall upon, to cover.

[55] *hi-u* (p. 92).

[56] *g.liya'-ȟpe-ic'i-ya* to start returning-falling down-self-be caused; i. e., be threw him on his own shoulders.

[56] *a* See note 5, p. 168.

[57] *m.ni'* water, *c'op'a'* to wade.

[58] Monosyllabic stem takes *ya* before *ta* at (p. 143).

[59] *slolya'* changes to *slolye'* before *lo'* (p. 29).

NOTES TO PAGE 168

[60] Page 123 No. 35.

[61] *ųk-pi* we two exclusive; *ųk* before vowel (p. 77); *kta* future. (See note 5, p. 168.)

[62] *'eya'* compounded with otber verbs (p.73); compare *'eya'-lową* he sang saying, i. e., witb words; *heya'-pą* be sbouted saying. (See also note 97, P.168.)

[63] Possessive of *yuha'*.

[64] *k'ola'* address, if not a call.

[65] *oki'yaka*, first person, *owa'kiyaka*, dative of *oya'ka*.

[66] *he<hą* before *k'ų*.

[67] *'ų* for *k'ų*. In western Teton the *k'* is often suppressed.

[68] *hena'-ka-ȟcį* those ratber verily, every one of those.

[69] *kte'* to kill.

[70] *'o-ka-pta* to leave over.

[71] *'a-i-wą[wic'a]yaka-pi* (plural) arriving there [them] they saw (*wąya'ka*).

[72] *<ho-įkpa-p'a-ya* camp circle end on.

[73] *na-ka-po-yela* swelling by itself, stem *po'* to swell.

[74] *'ec'e'ca* it is the right way, the natural way.

[75] *'iye'kiya* to recognize.

[76] *na'żį-wic'a-ya-pi* stand-them-caused (plural) i. e., kept them at bay.

[77] Compare note 54 above, *waȟpa'ya* I lie; *'iȟpe'waya* I cause to lie, i. e., I throw down.

THE TWIN SPIRITS[78]

(Ella Deloria, Dakota Texts, New York 1932, pp 193 et seq.)

c‘ekpa′	*nų′p*[79]	*hoa′g.lag.la*[80]	*tukte′l*	*ya′pikta-ak‘iˋl*[81]	*’oma′nihąpi*[82]	*ṡk‘e″.*	*wana′*	*tukte′l*	*tąyą′*
Twins	two	along the camp circle	somewhere	to go pl. fut.—looking for	they were going about	it is said.	Now	somewhere	well

se′ca	*k‘eṡ*	*’ec‘ą′l*[83]	*’ųma′*	*’e′l*	*takų′l*[84]	*’iyo′kip‘iṡni*[85]	*c‘ą′*	*’iyo′pteya*[86]	*’iya′yahąpi*	*ṡk‘e″.*
probably	but	at the time whenever	one of the two	there	some little thing	was not pleased with it	whenever	passing through (between tents)	they were passing	it is said.

yų′k‘ą′	*ka′l*[87]	*c‘oka′p*	*t‘i′pi*	*wą*	*t‘ą′ka*	*skaye′la*[88]	*hą′,*	*yų′k‘ą′*	*t‘e′ca-iteyakel*[89]	*’ec‘e′ca*[90]
Then	yonder	in middle	tent	a	large	white	stood,	then	new evidently	it was that way

c‘ąke′	*tok‘e′*	*’ec‘a′c‘a*[91]	*’e′l*	*’c′yokas’įpi*[92]	*yų′k‘ą′*	*t‘ima′*[93]	*wik‘o′ṡkalaka*	*wą*	*k‘oṡka′laka*
and so	aimlessly		there	they peeped in	and then	in the tent	young woman	a	young man

wą	*kic‘i′*[94]	*yąka′pi*	*k‘e′yaṡ*	*nųp‘į′*[95]	*li′la*	*’ową′yak-waṡteˋpi*[96]	*ṡk‘e″.*	*he′c‘eya′*	*wį′yą*	*kį*
a	with	they sat	but	both	very	to see were good	it is said.	Only recently	woman	the

he′	*yu′zapi*[97]	*ną*	*’ag.li′pi*[98]	*c‘a*	*he′l*	*yąka′pi*	*ṡk‘e″.*	*he′l*	*tąyą′*	*s’e*	*le′c‘eca*[99]	*c‘ąke′*
that	they took	and	they brought her back	it being so	there	they sat	it is said.	There	well	as though	it was this way	and so

t‘iyo′pa	*kį*	*’e′l*	*c‘ekpa′*	*kį*	*na′żįpi*	*ną*	*wa′k‘iyapi*[1]	*k‘e′yaṡ*	*t‘ima′*	*yąka′pi*	*kį*	*’a′tayaṡ*
doorway	the	at	twins	the	stood	and	conferred	but	in the tent	they sat	the	entirely

wąwi′c‘ayakapiṡni[2]	*ną*	*nawi′c‘aḣ′ųpiṡni*[3]	*ṡk‘e″.*	*c‘ekpa′*	*kį*	*nųp‘į′*	*ża′ta*	*’ewi′c‘akiyapi*[4]
did not see them	and	did not hear them	it is said.	Twins	the	both	Forked	they called them

ṡk‘e″;	*’ųma′*	*ża′ta-t‘ąka*[5]	*’eci′yapi*[4]	*ną*	*’ųma′*	*’i′ṡ*	*ża′ta-cik’ala*[5]	*’eci′yapi*	*ṡk‘e″.*	*yų′k‘ą′*
it is said;	the one	Forked-Great	they called him	and	the other	him	Forked-Little	they called him	it is said.	Then

ża′ta-cik’ala	*’e′*[6]	*c‘a*	*leya′*[7]	*ṡk‘e″*	—	*’iho′*[8]	*żata′*	*tok‘e′tuke*	*c‘c′yaṡ*[9]	*le′l*	*’ųyį′kte*	*lo′*	—	*’eya′*
Forked-Little	it was	it being that	this said	it is said,		“O	Forked!	it is rather some way	but	here	we two will go”	m. sp.	—	he said

c‘ąke′	*’ųma′*	*kį*	*’i′ṡ’eya′*	*he′c‘etula*[10]	*kį*	*’ų′*	*t‘i′ma*	*’iya′yapi*	*ną*	*hų′kupikte*	*cį*
and so	other	the	he also	considered it right	the	with	into the tent	they went	and	their future mother	the

t‘ąma′hel[11]	*’i′yotakapi*	*ṡk‘e″.*	*t‘e′hą*	*ye′ṡ*[12]	*tąyą′*	*waa′p‘c*[13]	*yąka′hąpi*	*k‘ų*	*wana′*	*hina′p‘a-*
in body	they sat down	it is said.	Though a long time		well	waiting	they had been sitting	the past	now	to come out

pikta-iyeˋhątu[14]	*ḣceha′l*	*wa′k‘inicapi*[15]	*ną*	*ta′k*	*t‘ąį′piṡni*[16]	*ṡk‘e″.*	*tukte′-ųmaˋ*[17]	*t‘oke′ya*
future it was right time	just at that moment	they disputed	and	what	they did not appear	it is said.	Which one of the two	first

hina′-p‘įkta	*he′c‘ihą*[18]	*he′*	*’ak‘i′nicapi*	*ṡk‘e″;*	*nųp‘į′*	*t‘oka′p‘apikteḣcį*[19]	*kį*	*’ų′.*[20]
will come out	if	that	they argued	it is said;	both	wanted very much to be first-born	the	on account of.

he′c‘eṡ[21]	*’ekta′ni*[22]	*yu′s*	*kic‘i′yąˋkahąpi*[23]	*ną*	*t‘e′hą-hiyuˋpiṡni*[24]	*c‘ąke′*	*’ų′nihą′*[25]	*hų′kupi*
And so continuing thus	right there	holding	each other they were sitting	and	long time they did not come	and so	being panicky during that time	their mother

k’ų	*t’į′kta*[26]	*c‘a*	*ṡica′wac‘į*[27]	*p‘eżu′ta*[28]	*’iki′g.nipi*[29]	*k’e′yaṡ*	*’owo′-hį′sko*[30]	*he′c‘ųhąpi*[31]
aforesaid	was going to die	it being that	frantically	medicine	they hustled for	but	in so long a time	they were doing it

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See footnotes on pages 173-175.

škʻe′′.	*yų′kʻą′*	*wana′*	*ka′kʻel-pʻeżu`ta*[32]	*kį*	*yatką′*	*yų′kʻą′*	*he′cʻena*	*zuze′ca*	*wą*	*ża′ta*
it is said.	Then	now	as soon as medicine	the	she drank	then	immediately	snake	a	Forked

yąka′pi	*k’ų*	*he′cʻiya*[33]	*hiyu′*	*ną*	*tʻiyo′kakša*[34]	*hiyų′ka*[35]	*cʻąke′*	*ża′ta-tʻąka*	*tʻoke′ya*
they were sitting	the aforesaid	there	entered	and	in the tent coiled	came and lay,	and so	Forked-Great	first

wąya′kį	*ną*	*ża′ta-cik’ala*	*pani′*	*cʻąke′*	*’i′š’eya′*	*wąya′kį*	*ną*	*tʻąsa′k*	*t’a′pi*[36]	*škʻe′′.*
saw it	and	Forked-Little	he nudged	and so	he also	saw it	and	body-stiff	they died	it is said.

nųpʻį′	*zuze′ca*	*kį*	*’ayu′tapi*[37]	*ȟcehą′l*	*cʻeżi′yąpyąp*[38]	*hiyu′ya*	*cʻąke′*	*wa′kʻinicapi-wašte`ka*[39]
Both	snake	the	they looked at	just then	putting out tongue repeatedly	he sent it	and so	the disputers rather good

nake′[40]	—	*hą′ta*	*yo′*	—	*’eya′-hįg.la*[41]	*’i′cʻipahaha*[42]	*hiyu′pi*	*ną*	*’eha′š*[43]	*tukte′-’ųma`*
at last	—	"Watch	out!"	—	saying suddenly	piling up on each other	they came	and	too much	which one one of two

tʻoka′hcya	*kį*	*slolya′pišni*	*škʻe′′.*	*wana′*	*’owi′cʻaųpapi*[44]	*ną*	*ȟpa′yapi′;*	*yų′kʻą′*	*’ate′yapi*[45]
first	the	they did not know	it is said.	Now	they laid them down in	and	they lay:	then	they had for their father

kį	*tʻima′*	*hiyu′*	*ną*	*wąwi′cʻag.lakį*[46]	*ną*	*leya′*	*škʻe′′*	—	*ho,*	*’eya′*[47]	*cʻįkš*	*’ų′mašike*[48]
the	into the tent	came	and	saw them his own	and	said this	it is said	—	"Well	being	sons	I am poor

cʻe′yaš	*’e′l*	*maya′hipi*[49]	*cʻa*	*’ųg.na′*[50]	*maya′lucʻąte-šicapi*[51]	*kį*[50]	*lo′.*	*’ową′żila*[52]	*’ų′šikicʻilaya*[53]
although	there	you have come to me	it being so	(see to it)	you do (not) my heart make bad	(lest)	m. sp.	In one way	loving each other

’ų′	*po′.*[54]	*nųpʻį′*	*’a′kʻiyecʻel*[55]	*tʻecʻi′ȟilape*[56]	*lo′,*	—	*’eya′*	*škʻe′′.*	*pʻo′štą*	*’ų′*	*’owi′cʻaųpapi*[44]
he	(imp.).	Both	alike	I consider you valuable	m. sp.,"	—	he said	it is said.	Cradle	with	they put them into

k’e′yaš	*nųpʻį′*	*’a′kʻiyecʻeca*[55]	*škʻe′′.*	*ną*	*’ehą′ni*	*’ipa′hį*	*k’eya′*	*ġuhe′ya*[57]	*’ipa′tʻapi*
but	both	were alike	it is said.	And	long ago	pillow	ones	in fine parallel lines	they embroidered

cʻa	*he′cʻa*	*kʻinų′kʻą*[58]	*’ipa′hįwicʻakʻiyapi*[59]	*škʻe′′.*	*yų′kʻą′*	*tohą′l*	*tuwe′ni*[60]	*tʻima′*
it being so	that kind	each	they made them to be pillowed	it is said.	Then	at some time	nobody	in the tent

yąkc′šni	*cʻą′šna*[61]	*hį′škopila*[62]	*k’e′yaš*	*wo′g.lakahąpi*[53]	*škʻe′′.*	*’akʻe′*	*hų′kupi*	*kį*	*tʻąka′l*
was not	whenever	they were that small	although	they conversed	it is said.	Again	their mother	the	outside

’iya′ya	*cʻąke′*	*’išna′la*	*ȟpa′yapi*	*yų′kʻą′*	*paptą′yą*[64]	*’iȟpe′ic’iyapi*[54]	*ną*	*kʻinų′kʻą*[58]
went	and so	alone	they were lying	and then	turning by pushing	they threw themselves	and	each

’ipa′hį	*kį*	*to′na-’ipa`tʻapi*	*he′cįhą*	*hena′*	*’ina′ȟni-g.lawa`pi*[65]	*škʻe′′.*	*k’e′yaš*	*nųpʻį′*
pillow	the	how many they embroidered	if	those	hurriedly they counted their own	it is said.	But	both

’a′kʻiyenakecaȟcį[66]	*’o′hiye*[67]	*kį*	*yųka′*	*škʻe′′.*	*yų′kʻą′*	—	*żata`,*	*’ehą′k’ų*[68]	*niya′te*[69]
mutually verily equal amounts	rows	the	lay	it is said.	Then,	—	"Forked,	indeed	your father

’a′kʻiyecel	*tʻeų′ȟilapikta*[56]	*ke′ye′*	*’ų*[70]	*he′cʻeya′-heye`lakʻa*[71]	*’ipa′hį*	*kį*	*’e′l*	*pʻahį′*
alike	he will consider us valuable	he said that	past	really he said that evidently for	pillows	the	there	porcupine

’a′kʻiyenaknakeca[72]	*yuha′ųkʻiyape*[73]	*lo′*	—	*ża′ta-cik’ala*	*’eci′yapi*	*kį*	*’e′*[6]	*cʻa*	*’eya′*
of equal amounts	he made us have	m. sp."	—	Forked-Little	they named	the	it was	it being so	he said

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See footnotes on pages 173-175.

ṡk‘e’’.	*’ak‘e′*	*’isna′la*	*ȟpa′yapi*	*ȟcehą′l*	*ṡų′ka*	*wą*	*t‘i′l*[74]	*hiyu′*	*ną*	*wo′kap‘e*[75]	*wą*
It is said.	Again	alone	they lay	when	dog	a	into tent	came	and	pounding dish	a

yub.le′l[76]	*waka′p‘api*[77]	*’ożu′la*[78]	*yąka′*	*yų′k‘ą′*	*’iya′ȟpaya*	*ṡk‘e’’.*	*yų′k‘ą′*	*ża′ta-t‘ąka*
opening out	pemmican	full of	was	then	he fell upon it	it is said.	Then	Forked-Great

t‘oke′ya	*wąya′kį*	*ną*	—	*wą,*	*żataˋ*	*nihų′*[79]	*’aki′cip‘a*[80]	*yo′.*	*wat‘e′pk‘iyįkte*[81]	*lo′.*
first	saw it	and	—	“O	Forked	your mother	strike it for her	!	it is going to consume it	m. sp.,”

’eya′	*ṡk‘e’’.*	*yų′k‘ą′*	*ża′ta-cik’aka*	—	*hoȟ,*	*niye′ṡ*	*’ec‘a′nų*[82]	*ṡni;*[83]	*niye′ṡ*	*’ik‘i′yela*
he said	it is said.	Then	Forked-Little	—	“Ha,	you however	you do it	not?	you however	near

nųke′[84]	*cį*[85]	—	*’eya′*	*c‘ąke′*	*żata-t‘ąka*	*’ina′żį*	*ną*	*c‘ą′*	*wą*	*’ų′*	*ṡų′ka*	*k’ų*	*kab.lo′b.lo*[86]
you lie”		—	he said	and so	Forked-Great	stood up	and	stick	a	using	dog	the aforesaid	he struck

ną	*kaṡi′cahowaya*[87]	*k‘ig.le′ya*[88]	*ṡk‘e’’.*	*c‘ąke′*	*hų′kupi*	*k’ų*	*t‘ima′*	*g.licu′*[89]	*k’e′yaṡ*	*wana′*
and	causing it to howl by striking	he made it go back	it is said.	And so	their mother	the aforesaid	into the tent	came back	but	now

’ehą′ni	*’oyų′keta*[90]	*k‘iyų′ka*[91].	*c‘ąke′*	—	*’inaˋ,*	*tuwe′niṡni*[92]	*ṡk‘a′*[93]	*he′c‘eȟcį*	*howa′ye′*—
long ago	to the bed	arrived and lay.	And so	—	“Mother	nobody being here	in spite of	verily that way	it howls”—

’eya′	*c‘ąke′*	*c‘ekpa′*	*kį*	*k‘ų′ṡitkupi*[94]	*kį*	*hiyu′*	*ną*	—	*zuze′ca*	*se′ce*[95]	*le′,*	*mit‘a′koża*
she said,	and so	twins	the	their grandmother	the	came	and	—	“Snake	perhaps	this,	my grandchildren

le′l	*ȟpa′yapi*	*k’ų*	—	*’eyį′*	*ną*	*’a′taya*	*’ole′pi*	*k’e′yaṡ*	*ta′kuniṡni*[96]	*ṡk‘e’’.*	*’ak‘e′*	*hų′kupi*
here	lie	the known ones,”	—	she said	and	all over	they searched	although	there was nothing	it is said.	Again	their mother

kį	*to′k‘i*	*’iya′ya*	*yų′k‘ą′*	*p‘e′ta*	*kį*	*’oi′zitaheṡą′*[97]	*he′c‘ena*[98]	*’iya′ya*	*c‘ąke′*	*t‘ate′-kahoˋm.ni*[99]
the	somewhere	went,	then	fire	the	was smoking inside however	still the same way	she went.	And so	wind turned

ną	*t‘iyo′pa*	*kį*	*’a′tayela*[1]	*’uya′*[2]	*c‘ąke′*	*t‘iyo′ṡota*[3]	*ną*	*c‘ekpa′*	*k’ų*	*’oṡo′ta-t’apikte*
and	door	the	entirely	it blew	and so	tent was smoky	and	twins	the	in smoky-die will

s’e[4]	*le′c‘eca*	*ṡk‘e’’.*	*li′la*	*’oni′ya-ṡìcapi,*[5]	*c‘ąke′*	*’ųȟna′ȟ-kaṡkaˋpi*[6]	*kį*	*’ila′zata*[7]	*wihu′ta*[8]
as though	this way it was	it is said.	Very	to breathe it was hard for them,	and so	fireplace-screen	the	behind	tent-base

kį	*’etą′hą*	*p‘a′*	*pat‘ą′kal*[9]	*’iye′ya*	*ȟpa′yapi*	*ną*	*wo′g.lakahąpi*	*hą′l*	*hų′kupi*	*kį*
the	from	head	pushing outside	sending it	they lay	and	were talking	when	their mother	the

t‘ima′	*g.licu′*	*k’e′yaṡ*	*naȟ’ų′ṡni*	*he′c‘el*[10]	*ȟpa′yahąpi*	*ṡk‘e’’.*	*yų′k‘ą′*	—	*hinų′*[11]	*’ųṡika*
into tent	came back	but	not hearing	still	they were lying	it is said.	Then	—	“Oh, w. sp.	poor

mic‘į′kṡi	*to′hįni*[12]	*’oṡo′ta-makit’apila*[13]	*tk‘a′*[14]	*ye le′*	—	*’eyį′*	*ną*	*’iwi′c‘akikcu*[15]	*c‘ąke′*
my sons	never	in smoke little ones died me	almost	w. sp.”	—	she said	and	she took them back	and so

k‘ohą′[16]	*k‘ų′ṡitkupi*[17]	*kį*	*wip‘a′*	*kį*	*’ec‘e′kc‘e*[18]	*’ipa′ha*[19]	*’e′g.le*	*ṡk‘e’’;*	*c‘ąke′*	*’ec‘a′laȟcį*
meanwhile	their grandmother	the	tent head	the	properly	hoisting	she set it	it is said;	and so	very soon

ṡo′ta	*kį*	*kaska′*[20]	*’iya′yį*	*ną*	*’ak‘e′*	*t‘ima′hel*	*’oni′ya-waṡteˋ*[21]	*ṡk‘e’’.*	*he′c‘el*	*’i′żehą*[22]
smoke	the	clearing	went	and	again	in tent	to breathe in it was good	it is said.	In that way	continually

—*’ahą′*	*’eya′pi*	*s’e*	*’ece′-wic‘aˋyuhapi,*[23]	*c‘ąke′*	*nųp‘į′*	*’ic‘a′ġapi*	*ną*	*wana′*	*k‘oṡka′lakapi*
“Careful”	they say	as though	invariably they had them,	and so	both	grew up	and	now	they were young men

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See footnotes on pages 173-175.

k’e′yaṡ	li′la	’ową′yak-waṡteṡtepi [24]	ṡkʻe’’.	’akṡa′ka [25]	li′la	waṡi′cu	s’e	pʻahį′-m.napi [26]
but	very	they were good to look at	it is said.	Unfortunately	very	White-men	like	they porcupine-smelled

ṡkʻe’’.	yų′kʻą′	makʻo′cʻe	wą	’ecʻi′yatąhą	hi′pi	k’ų	he′cʻi	pʻeżu′ta	wą	he′	ta′ku	kį
it is said.	Then	land	a	from the one	they came	the known one	there	medicine	a	that	something	the

’owa′ṡte-slolya`pi, [27]	cʻąke′	wana′sapi [28]	ną	tʻalo′	’o′ta	hą′l	hų′kupi	kį	’e′l	’i′pi	ną
for good they knew,	and so	there was a buffalo-hunting	and	meat	much	when	their mother	the	there	they came	and

leya′pi	ṡkʻe’’	—	’ina`	tʻaṡu′pa-waṡį [29]	nų′p	’ųk’u′pi	ye′	—	’eya′pi,	cʻąke′	—	cʻįkṡ
said this	it is said	—	“Mother,	intestines fat	two	give us,	please”	—	they said,	and so	—	“Sons,

hena′	to′kʻanųpikta [30]	he′?	—	’eya′,	yų′kʻą′	ża′ta-cik’ala	’ayu′ptį	ną	—	’i′ṡe′
these	what will you do with it	w. sp.?”	—	she said,	then	Forked-Little	replied	and	—	“Just

’apʻi′ųkic’iyapikte [31]	lo′	—	’eya′	ṡkʻe’’.	cʻąke′	wana′	he′cʻa-waṡį	k’eya′	wawi′cʻakiƙlayį [32]
we will cure ourselves	m. sp.”	—	he said	it is said.	and so	now	that kind fat	some	she peeled off for them

ną	wicʻa′k’u	cʻąke′	yuha′	manį′l	’i′pi	ṡkʻe’’.	tuwe′ni [33]	’ų′ṡni	wą	’ekta′	cʻetʻi′pi
and	gave it to them	and so	having it	in the wilderness	they arrived	it is said.	Nobody	was there not	a	there	they built a fire

ną	’o′ta	’e′l	’aų′pi [34]	ną	wana′	’iya′sni [35]	tkʻa′ṡ	hehą′l	waṡį′	k’ų	hena′	’e′l
and	many	there	they laid on	and	now	it died down	but	there	fat	the aforesaid	those	there

’aų′pi,	cʻąke′	li′la	’izi′ta [36]	ṡkʻe’’.	cʻąke′	pʻe′ta	kį	’anų′k	yąka′pi	ną	’azi′l-’icʻi-
they laid on	and so	very	it smoked against it	it is said.	And so	fire	the	on both sides	they sat	and	smoking on themselves

yahąpi’; [36]	yų′kʻą′	pʻahį′-m.napi	k’ų	he′	’aki′snipi [37]	ṡkʻe’’.	hehą′yela [38]	’owi′hąke’. [39]
they were making	then	porcupine-smell	the aforesaid	that	died down on them	it is said.	At that point	it ends.

NOTES TO PAGE 170

[79] Adjective, accented (p. 69).

[80] *ho′* campcircle, *’ag.la′g.la* along.

[81] *ya′* to go, *pi* dual exclusive, *kta* future, *’akʻi′ta* to look for. The whole is adverbial.

[82] *o-* in a circumscribed area, *ma′ni* to go; *hą* continuative *pi* plural.

[83] *’ecʻą′l* implies an unwelcome incident (p. 120, no. 20).

[84] *takų′l* some little thing, see *ta′ku* something.

[85] *i* against; *o* in, *ki* dative, *pʻi* good, *ṡni* not.

[86] *’iyo′pteya* to go through or past.

[87] *ka′l* at some place yonder, more definite than *tukte′l*.

[88] *ska* white, *-yela*<*ya-la* adverb (p. 60).

[89] *’iteyakel* adverb (p. 56).

[90] *’ecʻe′ca* T. invariable *a*; S. variable.

[91] *tokʻe′ ’ecʻa′cʻa* an idiom: without particular purpose, aimlessly, just.

[92] *’e′*<*ai′*, o into, *ka* by force, *s’į* craned neck.

[93] For *tʻıma′hel*<*tʻi′-mahe′l* tent inside.

[94] *kicʻi′* with one person (p. 138).

[95] *nųpʻį′* or *nųpʻį′t* both.

[96] *o-* nominal, *wąya′ka* to see, *waṡte′* to be good, *’oniya-waṡte*, note 21, p. 175.

[97] *yu′za* to take, especially to marry.

[98] P. 94.

[99] *le′cʻeca* after *s’e* it seems to be; *’u′ s’e le′cʻeca* he seems to be coming, lit. as though coming it is this way; also abbreviated: *he′ matʻo′ ’e′ s’e le′l* (<*le′cʻeca*) that seems to be Bear; *he′ ’e′ s’e le′l* he seems like to him (he resembles him).

[1] *’akʻi′ya* to discuss, *wa′kʻiya*<*wa-akʻi′ya* to confer, *wa* indefinite object.

[2] *wąya′ka* to see, *wicʻa* them, *pi* plural, *ṡni* not.

[3] *naȟ’ų′* to hear, *wicʻa* them.

[4] *’eya′* to say, *wicʻa* them, *’eki′ya* to say to, or about someone; *to′kʻel ’eni′ciyapi he?* how are you called? *ta′keniciyapi he?* what are you called?

[5] *tʻą′ka, ci′k’ala* as adjectives lose their accents.

[6] *’e′* general verb “to be.”

[7] *’eya′* to say, *leya′*, *heya′*, *ke′ya′* to say this, that (p. 101).

[8] *’iho′* oh, come on!

[9] *tokʻe′tuke cʻe′yaṡ* an idiom: any way<*tokʻe′tu-ka k’e′yaṡ* (pp. 123, 145).

[10] *he′cʻetu* it is right, literally it is that way, *la* to consider.

(Continued on page 174)

(Footnotes continued from p. 173)

[11] *tʻą* body (p. 71), *mahe'l* inside.

[12] *tʻe'hą* a long time, *ye'ṡ* but (p. 145).

[13] *’apʻe'* to wait, *wa* indefinite object.

[14] *hina'pʻa* to come out, *hi* to arrive coming; *’iye'hątu* it is timely.

[15] *wa'kʻinica* to dispute.

[16] *tʻą'į* it is apparent; *ta'k tʻąį'šni* lit. what is not apparent, idiom: it is of no value, "no good."

[17] *tukte'* which one, *’ųma'* one of two.

[18] P. 148.

[19] *tʻoka'pʻa* to be first; *kteh̃cį* lit. future very: to desire strongly.

[20] An incomplete sentence.

[21] <*he'cʻel eṡ* (p. 122, no. 33).

[22] *’ekta'ni* or *’ekta'na* both forms used.

[23] *kicʻi'* reciprocal (p. 103); also *kicʻi'yus yąka'pi* holding each other they were sitting, but the form given in the text is considered as more correct. Compare *’e'l kicʻi'ipi* they visited each other (from *’i'* to arrive going); *hena'yos kicʻi' kicʻi'yuzapi* the two took each other, i. e., the two are married; *kicʻi' kicʻi'za* they are fighting each other; *kicʻi' kicʻi'zapi* they fought him (*kicʻi'* with him, p. 138); *’o'p kicʻi'za* he fought them (*’o'p* with them p. 138).

[24] *tʻe'hą* a long time; *hiyu'* to start coming (p. 92).

[25] <*’o-ini'hą* in — to be upset, panicky about something; idiom for: all too soon.

[26] *t’a'* to die, *kta* future.

[27] *ši'ca* bad, *wacʻį'* to intend; adverb: frantically.

[28] *pʻeżi'* herb, *hu'ta* base.

[29] *’ig.ni'* to hustle for.

[30] *’į'sko* as large as, *hį'sko*<*he-į'sko* as large as that.

[31] *he'cʻų* to do that, irregular verb (p. 98), *hą* continuative.

NOTES TO PAGE 171

[32] *ka'kʻel* from *ka'kʻeca* (p. 123, no. 38).

[33] P. 124, no. 41

[34] *tʻi'* tent, *’oka'kša* to coil in; to be inside in a coiled state.

[35] *hi'* to arrive coming, *yųka'* to lie.

[36] *tʻąsa'k t’a'* they were frightened stiff.

[37] *’ayu'ta* to look at; first person *’ab.lu'ta*.

[38] *cʻeżi'* tongue; compare *’iyo'yąpa* it becomes light, from *ąpa'* daylight.

[39] Ironically: the rather good disputers; *ka* often used ironically (p. 55).

[40] *nake'* at last, too late.

[41] P. 75.

[42] *i'cʻi* together (p. 103), *pa* by pushing (p. 45), *ha* to be unsteady.

[43] Compare *’eha'ṡ slolya'pišni* lit. too much they did not know, they were too ignorant; *’eha'ṡ ’ųci' lową' s’e le'l* too much grandmother as though she sings (see note 99, p. 173), grandmother is wailing too much.

[44] *’oų'pa* to lay down in the cradle.

[45] *’ate'* father, *ya* to have for.

[46] *wąya'ka* he sees it, *wąg.la'ka* he sees his own (p. 87).

[47] Adverb of *’e'* to be.

[48] *’ų'šika* he is poor.

[49] *ma* me, *ya* you, *hi* to arrive coming (p. 77).

[50] *’ųg.na'* . . . *kį* see that you don't, see lest (see p. 140).

[51] *ma* me, *ya* you, *lu* second person of *yu* (p. 77), *c'ąte'* heart, *ši'ca* bad.

[52] *wążi'* one, *la* only (p. 57); *ową'żila* without trouble; in an even, constant manner.

[53] *’ų'šila* to consider poor, worthy of sympathy, to love; *kicʻi* reciprocal (p. 103).

[54] P. 111.

[55] *’a'kʻiyecʻeca* they resemble each other (p. 80).

[56] *t'eh̃i'la* to consider valuable, to love *cʻi* I–thee, *pe*<*pi ye* (p. 109).

[57] *ġuhe'ya* lengthwise, parallel.

[58] Compare *kʻinų'kʻą wo'wapi yuha'pi* each had a book; *kʻinų'kʻąkiya tʻi'pi* each had his separate abode; *yukʻi'nųkʻa* held apart.

[59] *’ipa'hį* pillow, *kʻiya* to cause (p. 100).

[60] *tuwe'ni* . . . *šni* nobody.

[61] *cʻą'* whenever, strengthened by *šna* every time (pp. 106, 147.)

[62] *’į'sko* as large as, see note 30, p, 174; *’įškola* as small as.

[63] *wo'yaka* to discuss, *wo'g.laka* to discuss one's own (p. 87).

[64] *pa* by pushing; *yuptą'ptą* to turn something from side to side; *’ig.lu'ptąptą* to walk proudly, i. e., twisting body from side to side; *-ptąyą* to overturn; *’ih̃pe'ya* to throw down, *ic'i* reflexive (p. 103).

[65] *’ina'h̃ni* to hurry; *yawa'* to count, *g.lawa'* to count one's own (p. 87).

[66] *’iye'nakeca* the right amount, *lena'keca* there are as many as these, *tona'keca* how many?, *’a'kʻiyenakeca* an equal amount for each (p. 121, no. 25).

[67] *’o'hi* to reach to.

[68] *’ehą'k’ų*<*’ehą' k’ų* idiom: now we know.

[69] *niya'te* your father; one of twins speaking to the other says "your father" instead of "our father."

[70] *’ų* here instead of *k’ų*; the *k’* is often dropped by western Teton.

[71] *he'cʻeya'* when combined with following verb "really"; when alone, recently, he just finished; *heya'* he said that, *lakʻa* evidently, for (p. 74).

[72] *’a'kʻiyenaknakeca*, more frequently *’akʻi'yenakelkeca;* see note 66 above.

[73] *yuha'* to have, *ų* . . . us; *kʻiya* to cause, *pe*<*pi ye*.

(Continued on page 175)

(Footnotes continued from p. 174)

NOTES TO PAGE 172

[74] *t'i'l<t'i' 'e'l.*

[75] *wa* indefinite object, *a* nominalizing (p. 41), *ka* by striking, *p'a* to act? (p. 83), see *'ap'a'* to strike, *kap'a'* to pound.

[76] *yub.le'ca* to open out.

[77] *wa* indefinite object, *kap'a'* to pound, *pi* (p. 66).

[78] *a* in, *żu* full, *la* diminutive.

[79] *hų'ku* mother, possessive form second person, (p. 130); see note 69, p. 174.

[80] *'ap'a'* to strike, *kici* second dative (p. 86).

[81] *wa* indefinite object, *t'e'pa* to be consumed, *k'iya* to cause.

[82] *'ec'ų'* irregular verb (p. 98).

[83] Negative interrogative (p. 105).

[84] *yųka'* irregular verb (p. 99).

[85] P. 110.

[86] *kab.la'* to make ridged by striking.

[87] *ka* by force, *śi'ca* bad, *ha'* voice, *howa'ya* to moan.

[88] *k'ig.la'* to start going back home, *ya* to cause.

[89] *g.licu'<g.li-ku* to start coming back home.

[90] *'ayų'ke* bed, from *yųka'* to lie (p. 41); *ta* at (p. 143).

[91] *k'i'* to arrive coming, *yųka'* to lie.

[92] See note 60, p. 174.

[93] *śk'a'* generally quotative, is used here with the meaning "although," with the implication of wonder that something happened; compare *hi' śk'a' wąyą'k-'uśni'* although he came here he did not come to see him (I wonder why); *huśte' śk'a' 'ahi'pi* in spite of his being lame they brought him, *huśte'yeśą 'ahi'pi* blames them for bringing him although he was lame (see p. 145.)

[94] P. 130.

[95] *se'ca* it is probable (p. 29).

[96] *ta'kuniśni* or with verb *ta'kuni . . . śni;* see p. 105.

[97] *'izi'ta* to smoke out of (as from embers), o in, *he<hą* continuative, *yeśą* although, however; *zilya'* to cause to smoke (as incense).

[98] *he'c'ena<he'c'elna* still the same way.

[99] *kaha'm.ni* to turn by outer force, intransitive.

[1] *'ata'ya* or *'a'taya* to meet head on; *'a'tayela* directly.

[2] *'uya'* wind blows, intransitive <*'u'* to come, *ya* to cause (?), to have

[3] *t'i'* tent, *a* in, *śa'ta* it is smoky.

[4] *s'e* as though (p. 107).

[5] *a* in, *ni'ya* to breathe (p. 30), *śi'ca* bad; see notes 96, p. 173; 21 below.

[6] *'ųňna'ġa* fireplace, *ka* by striking. *śka* to tie.

[7] *'ila'za* does not occur alone, *ta* at (p. 143).

[8] *wi-* tent (p. 71), *hu'ta* base.

[9] *pa* by pushing, *t'ąka'l* outside (p. 58).

[10] *he'c'el<he'c'eca.*

[11] *hinų'* woman speaking, *hųhi'* man speaking.

[12] *to'hįni* never, idiomatic for "did you ever!"

[13] o in, *śa'ta* it is smoky, *maki* mine for me, *t'a* to die, *pi* dual exclusive.

[14] P. 112.

[15] *'iki'kcu* to take back.

[16] Pp. 61, 146.

[17] Third person possessive (p. 130).

[18] *'ec'e'kc'e* plural to *ec'e'l* each as it should be, properly

[19] *i* against, *pa* by pushing, *ha* unsteady.

[20] *ka* by outer force, *ska'* white.

[21] See note 5 above.

[22] *yui'że* to confuse, bring out of order.

[23] *'ece'* invariably (p. 139), *yuha'* to have.

NOTES TO PAGE 173

[24] o- nominal, *wąyą'ka* to see, *waśte'* to be good, reduplicated.

[25] P. 140.

[26] *p'ahį'* porcupine, *m.na* to have an odor.

[27] *'awa'śle* remedy, *a* nominalizing (p. 41), *waśte'* good.

[28] Stem *na'sa* communal hunt.

[29] *t'a* ruminant, *śu'pe* intestines, *e* changes to *a* after *t'a* (p. 34), *wa* something, *śį* fat.

[30] *to'k'ų* to do what, irregular verb (p. 98).

[31] *'ap'i'ya* to cure, *ųk* we before vowel (p. 77), *ic'i* reflexive (p. 103).

[32] *yuňla'ya* to peel off. *waki'ňlaya* to peel off for.

[33] See note 60. p. 174.

[34] *'ą'* to lay on *'a 'ta 'el 'ą'pi*, they piled wood on fire.

[35] *sni* cold.

[36] *'azi'ta* to smoke on, see note 97, above; *ic'i* reflexive (p. 103), *ya* to cause, *hą* continuative, *pi* exclusive dual.

[37] *'asni'* it died down on, *ki* first dative.

[38] That is as far as it goes, here adverb.

[39] The point at which it ends, here verbal.

SANTEE TEXT

THE SKEPTIC

From a manuscript written by Samuel Pond in 1839 and kept in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society

’itʻo′	*tuwe′*[40]	*ta′ku*	*wakʻą′daṡni*[41]	*wacʻį′-ių*[42]	*’oki′hi-wacʻįˋ*[43]	*’oya′kapi’.*
Now	somebody	something	holy considered not	by his mind only	to succeed tried	they tell it.

kʻoṡka′[44]	*wą*	*heya’’,*[45]	*’itʻo′*	*wo′tihni-mdeˋ*[46]	*c’a*[47]	*ta′ku*	*makʻa′*	*’ama′ni*[48]	*kį*
Youth	a	said that,	“Now	to find food I go	and	things	earth	walking on	the

to′naḣį[49]	*wacʻį′*	*kįhą*[50]	*makʻa′ḣtąwaye kte*[51,52]	*’eya’’.*[53]	*’ų′kʻą′*[54]	*’atku′ku*[55]	*kį*	*heya’’,*[53]
just as many as	I want	when	to ground fall I cause shall”	he said.	Then	his father	the	said that,

ḣo,	*cʻįṡ,*[56]	*wakʻą′*	*tukʻa′*	*heha′*[57]	*cʻe*[58]	*’eya’’;*	*’ų′kʻą′*	*heya’’,*	*to′kʻeḣį*	*wakʻą′kta,’’*[59]
“O	son,	it is holy	but	you say that	quot.,”	he said;	then	he said that,	“How indeed	holy it (will be),”

’eya’’.	*’ų′kʻą′*	*’akʻe′*	*heya’’,*	*hiyaˋ*	*wakʻą′ cʻe,*[60]	*’eya’’.*	*’ų′kʻą′*	*’akʻe′*	*heya’’,*	*ta′ku*
he said.	Then	again	he said that,	“No	it is holy	he said.	Then	again	he said that,	“What

’ici′wakʻą,[61]	*’eya’’.*	*’ų′kʻą′*	*’akʻe′*	*heya’’,*	*ḣena′*	*nitʻa′waṡni*	*tukʻa′*	*heha’’,*[62]	*’eya’’.*	*’ų′kʻą′*
it is holy on account of?”	he said.	Then	again	he said that,	“Those	yours not	but	you say that,”	he said.	Then

’akʻe′	*heya’’,*	*tkʻa′*[63]	*tuwe′*	*tʻa′wa,*[64]	*’cya’’.*	—	*’iha′*[65]	*tuwe′*[40]	*tʻa′wa*	*sdonwa′yeṡni*
again	he said that.	“But	who	they are his?”	he said.	—	“Well	who	they are his	I know not

tukʻa′[66]	*ta′ku*	*wakʻą′*	*he′*	*tʻa′wa,*[67]	*’eya’’.*	*’ų′kʻą′*	*hcya’’,*	*he′*	*tuwe′*	*tʻa′wa*	*kį*	*wąda′ka,*[68]
but	something	holy	that	they are his,”	he said.	Then	he said that,	“That one	who	they are his	the	you see?

’eya’’.	—	*hiyaˋ,*	*wąmda′keṡni,*	*cʻątc′*	*’ece′dą*	*’ų′*	*’imdu′kcą,*[69]	*’eya’’.*	—	*hįteˋ,*[65]	*to′kʻeṡ*[70]
he said.	—	No.	I see not	heart	only	with	I think it,”	he said.	—	“There it is!	how

sdonya′ye	*cik’ųṡ*[71]	*heha’’.*	*ta′kuṡni*	*cʻą′*[72]	*wakʻą′*	*yuzi′n*[73]	*’e′n*	*’a′dapi,*	*niye′k’e*[74]
know you	that for	you say that.	A nothing	whenever	holy	stretching	there	ye take along	you indeed!

ta′ku	*wakʻą′*	*yąka′*	*wąda′kapi,*[75]	*’eci′ya’.*	*k’a,*	*hą′*[75a]	*’eya’’;*	*’ihoˋ,*	*’ecʻaˋ,*	*ta′ku*	*wakʻą′*
something	holy	sits	ye see it,”	he said to him.	And,	“Yes”	he said;	“Come on,	in that case	something	holy

wani′ca	*cʻe,*	*niṡna′na*[76]	*wama′nica*[77]	*wo′teca*[78]	*kʻo′*	*’owa′s*	*tʻa′wa*	*wo′,*[79]	*’eci′ya’.*	*’ų′kʻą′*
there is none,		you alone	small animals	food animals	also	all	his	he!”	he said to him.	Then

kʻoṡka′[44]	*kį*	*heya’’,*	*’ecʻį*[80]	*ḣena′*	*’itu′ya-’icʻaˋġapi*[81]	*tuwe′*	*tʻa′wa*	*tʻąį′ka,*[82]	*’eya’’;*
youth	the	said that,	“Of course,	those	in vain they grow,	who	it is his	it is hardly apparent,”	he said;

k’a	*he′cʻen*[83]	*wi′hni-ya’.*	*’ų′kʻą′*	*heḣa′ka*[84]	*wą*	*wąya′ka*	*cʻa*	*kʻute′*	*tukʻa′*[66]	*napʻe′ṡni’.*
and	so	to hunt he went.	Then	elk	a	he saw	it being so	he shot it	but	it ran away not.

’akʻe′ṡ	*kʻute′*	*tkʻa′*[85]	*napʻe′ṡni*	*(iyaotan).*	*wana′*	*kʻute′-kapįˋ*	*heha′n*	*’owa′hąketa*[86]
But again	he shot it	but	it ran away not	?	Now	of shooting he was tired	then	at last

’ahde′	*-yuˋs*	*kʻute′*	*tukʻa′*[66]	*napʻe′ṡni*	*k’a . . . (onau?).*[87]	*’į′yą*	*wą*	*’icu′*	*k’a*	*’ų′*
set against	holding	he shot	but	it ran away not	and	Stone	a	he took	and	using it

’apʻe′kta,	*’ų′kʻą′*	*wahį′yażice*[88]	*’ų′*	*ta′ku*	*’apʻa′pi*	*’iye′cʻen*	*’apʻa’’.*	*’ų′kʻą′*	*kʻoṡka′*[44]
he was going to strike it,	then	bird’s down	with	something	they strike	like	he struck.	Then	youth

kį	*heya’’*	*’e*	*’ehą′k’ų*	*woˋteca*[78]	*’itu′ya-ini′cʻaġeṡni*	*do′.*[89]	*’ų′kʻą′*	*tuwe′*	*heya’’,*	*wama′ni*
the	said that,	“Ah	it must be	food animal	in vain you grow not.”		Then	someone	said that,	“Animals

makʻa′	*’akʻą′n*	*’ų′*	*k’ų*	*wicʻa′ṡta*[90]	*tʻawa′-ihdawapi-pʻicaṡni’*[91]	*wicʻa′ṡta*	*wą*	*to′kʻi*	*’eya’’.*
earth	on	live	the,	men	to try to own- good it is not,”	man	a	somewhere	said.

hetą′hą	*kʻoṡka′*[44]	*kį*	*ku′*	*k’a*	*hdi′*	*heya’’,*	*’ateˋ,*	*to′kʻiya*	*maḣpi′ya*	*kį*	*makʻa′*	*kį,*
From there	youth	the	came home	and	arriving	said that,	“Father,	somewhere	sky	the	earth	the

cʻą′	*pʻeżi′*	*kʻo′,*	*’ate*	*’ųki′api*	*’iye′cʻen*	*’ia′*	*ke′ya′pi*	*naya′ḣ’ųṡni*[92]	*’eci′ya’.*	*’ų′kʻą′*
woods	grass	also,	father	we talk	like	they talk	it is said	you heard not?”	he said to him.	Then

heya’,	*ha′o*	*ta′ku*	*sdonwa′yeṡni*	*tukʻa′*[66]	*’iyu′kcą*[93]	*wicʻa′ṡta*	*wążi′kżi*	*ta′ku*	*wakʻą′*
he said that,	“Yes	anything	I know not	but	by thinking	men	certain ones	something	holy

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See footnotes on page 177.

yukʻą'	*cʻe,*	*’eya'pi*	*nawa'ȟ’ų*	*do',*[94]	*’eya'’.*	*’ų'kʻą',*	*tuwe'dą*[95]	*’ųki'api*	*’iye'cʻen*[96]	*’ia'*
exists,		they say	I hear,"		he said.	Then,	"Nobody	we speak	like	speaking

yukʻe'šni	*ke'ya'pi*	*nce',*[97]	*’eya'’.*	—	*’ateˋ*	*ta'ku*	*’ųki'api*	*’iye'cʻen*[96]	*yukʻe'*	*do',*	*’eya'’,*
exists not,	they say	no doubt"	he said.	—	"Father	something	we speak	like	exists",		he said,

tukʻa'[66]	*to'kʻiya*	*he'*	*ta'ku*	*’owa'kaȟniġešni*	*do',*[89]	*’eya'’.*	*’ų'kʻą'*	*’ateˋ,*	*heȟa'ka*	*wą*
"but	where	that	something	I understand not,"		he said.	Then	"Father,	elk	a

he'	*’ų'*	*’eta'hą*	*isdo'nwaya*	*cʻe,*[60]	*’eya'’.*	*’ų'kʻą'*	*’atku'ku*	*kį*	*heya'’,*	*hiyaˋ*	*cʻįš,*[56]	*ta'ku*
that	using	from	I learned it,"		he said.	Then	his father	the	said that,	"No	son,	something

wakʻą'	*wani'ce*	*do';*	*k’a*	*kʻoška'*	*waȟ’ą'ic’ida*[98]	*’iya'yapi*[99]	*he'*	*’e'*	*niwa'kʻąpi*	*do',*
holy	there is none;		and	youth	conceited	you talk	instead of	that	you are holy,"	

’eci'ya’.	*k’a*	*waya'takunišni*[1]	*’ece'dan*[2]	*’oya'kihipi*	*he'*	*he'c'etu*	*do',*[94]	*’eya'’.*
he said to him;	"And	you deny of nothing	only	you are able	that	it is the way",		he said.

NOTES TO PAGE 176

[40] T. *tuwa' wą*, T. always *tuwa'*.
[41] *da* to consider.
[42] T. *wacʻį'-yų, yų*, see p. 138.
[43] T. inserts *cʻa* it being so.
[44] T. *kʻoška'laka.*
[45] The quotative regularly omitted (p. 106).
[46] T. *tol-’i'g.ni-m.nį ną*; S. *wota* food: *’iȟni* to hunt for, *mda* I go, before *c’a* and, changes to *e*, not to *į* as in T.
[47] *c’a* from *k’a* and; after *e* changed from *a*.
[48] *makʻa' ’ama'ni* quadrupeds.
[49] T. *to'naȟcį*; *to'na* indefinite plural.
[50] *kįhą* refers to the preceding.
[51] *makʻa'* earth; *ȟta* or *ȟtan* (illegible), an unknown stem. A light pencil mark in the ms. gives the translation "to fall." Riggs gives *makaȟtąya* to destroy very much (he does not distinguish between *k* and *kʻ*), as though *ȟtą* were from *ȟtį*; compare *makʻa'heya* to succeed after great efforts.
[52] T. *wayį'kte.*
[53] T. *’eye'’*, terminal *a* is not changed to *e* in S.
[54] T. *yų'kʻą'.*
[55] See p. 130.
[56] T. *’oȟ, cʻįkš*, terms of relationship in address unaccented (p. 130).
[57] *’eya'* irregular verb (p. 101).
[58] T. *tkʻa' hehe' lo', cʻe*, see p. 106.
[59] T. *to'keȟcį wakʻą'ka cʻa* how verily kind of holy it being so.
[60] T. *wakʻą'ye lo'* the terminal *cʻe* is not used in statements in T.
[61] T. *’iwa'kʻą he, he* interrogative particle.
[62] T. *tkʻa' hehe' lo'.*
[63] T. *’ecʻa.*
[64] T. *tuwa' tʻa'wa he.*
[65] T. *hoȟ* (?).
[66] T. prefers *k’e'yaš.*
[67] T. *hena' tʻa'wa ye lo'.*
[68] T. *wąla'ka he.*
[69] T. *’ib.lu'kcą ye lo'*, third person *’iyu'kcą.*
[70] T. *to'kʻįš.*
[71] T. *ca c’ų'š.*
[72] T. *ta'kšnika cʻą'.*
[73] T. *wo'wakʻą-yuži'ca*
[74] T. *’a'lape, niyeˋštukʻa*, from *’a'ya* to take along.
[75] T. *yąke' cį k’o' wąla'kape lo'.*
[75a] This may be *ha'n* < *heha'n* then.
[76] T. *nišna'la.*
[77] Kind of things walking.
[78] T. *wama'kʻašką'* those moving on earth, *wo'teca* only herbivorous animals.
[79] T. *’oya's’į tʻa'waya yo'*; *was* for *’owa's’į.*
[80] T. *cʻį'.*
[81] T. insert *kį.*
[82] T. *tʻąį'pika.*
[83] T. *he'c'eš.*
[84] *he-ȟa'ka* horns branched.
[85] T. *tkʻa'š.*
[86] T. *cʻąke' hehą'l ’o'hąketa.*
[87] Not legible.
[88] *hį* fur, *żi* fuzz.
[89] T. *ye lo'.*
[90] T. *wicʻa'ša.*
[91] T. *tʻa'wa-ig.lawapikta ’iye'cʻetušni’*; *’ihda'wa* possessive of *yawa'* to count. In T *pʻica'* is used only with active verbs
[92] T. *’ųki'yapi ’iye'cʻel ’iya'pi ke'ya'pi kį naya'ȟ’ųšni he?*
[93] T. *’iyu'kcąyą*, see *wo'kcąka* to be a kind of soothsayer.

NOTES TO PAGE 177

[94] T. *we lo'.*
[95] T. *tuwe'ni.*
[96] T. *ųki'yapi ’ecʻe'l.*
[97] T. *nacʻe'ce.*
[98] T. *waȟ’ą'ic’ilaya ȟ’ą* to act, *’ic’i-la* to consider oneself.
[99] T. insert *kį.*
[1] *wa* something, *ya-* with mouth, *ta'kunišni* nothing.
[2] T. *’ece'la.*

FREE TRANSLATION

Now! they tell about somebody who considered nothing holy and only tried to succeed by means of his will power.

A young man said, "I shall go to find food; and when I want some great number of those that walk the ground, I'll fell them to the ground," he said. Then his father said, "O son, it is holy and you say that!" said he. Then (the son) said, "Just in which way will it be holy?" he said. Then again (the father) said, "No, it is holy," he said. Then (the son) said again, "Why is it holy?" Then (the father) said again, "Those are not yours and you say that!" said he. Then (the son) said again, "But whose are they?" he said.—"Well, to whom they belong I do not know, but they belong to something holy," said he. Then (the son) said, "The one to whom they belong, did you see him?" said he.—"No, I did not see him, only with my heart do I think it," said he.—"There it is! How do you know it that you (can) say it. Even if it is a nothing, stretching (your imagination) you take it to be holy; ye indeed see something holy sitting (there)!" he said to him. And, "Yes," said (the father), "Come on! so there is nothing holy; own yourself all those that just walk and also the game animals!" said he to him. Then the youth said, "Of course, those just grow up, who owns them is hardly evident," said he; and so he went hunting. Then an elk he saw; it being so he shot it, but it did not run away. He shot it again, but it did not run away. Now he was tired of shooting, then at last setting (his arrow) against it he shot, but it did not run away and ? He took a stone and was about to strike it with it, then as though he had struck something with bird's down, like that he struck it. Then the youth said, "Ah, it must be that game animals do not just grow up." Then someone said, "It is not good that man tries to own those walking on earth who live," said a man somewhere. The youth came (away) from there and on arriving said, "Father, somewhere the sky, the earth, trees and also grass talk, father, just like we talk. Do you not hear them say so?" said he to him. Then he said, "Yes, I do not know anything, but it is in the thought of certain men that something holy exists, I hear them say so," said he. Then, "Nothing exists that talks as we do, they say undoubtedly," said (the father).—"Father, something exists speaking as we do," said he, "but where that something is I do not understand," said he. Then, "Father, from an elk I learned it," said he. Then his father said, "No son! there is nothing holy; and ye youths who conceitedly talk; instead of that you are extraordinary," said he to him, "and ye are only able to treat things as nothing. That is the way," said he.

SANTEE TEXT[1]

(From Stephen Return Riggs, Dakota Grammar, Texts and Ethnography, Washington, 1893, p. 83

wicʻa′ȟpi	*hįȟpa′ya*[2]
Star	falls

’oya′te	*wą*	*ka′kʻen*	*tʻi′pi’;*	*’ų′kʻą′*	*winu′ȟįca*	*nu′m*	*tʻąka′n*	*wąka′pi’;*	*’ų′kʻą′*
People	a	thus	lived;	and then	women	two	outdoors	lay;	then

wicʻa′ȟpi	*kį*	*’iye′ġa*	*wąya′kapi’.*	*’ų′kʻą′*	*’įyų*	*’ųma′*	*heya’’*	—	*’ice`pʻąśi*	*’itʻo′*	*wicʻa′ȟpi*
star	the	shining	they saw.	Then	behold!	one	said that	—	“Cousin,	so now	star

wą	*’iye′ġeȟca*	*’e*	*yąke′*	*cį*	*he′*	*hihna′waye*	*c’eṡ,*	—	*’eya’’.*	*’ų′kʻą′*	*’ųma′*	*kį*	*’i′ṡ—*
a	verily shining	it being so	sitting	the	that one	for husband I have	oh if!”	—	she said.	Then	other	the	she—

mi′ṡ	*’itʻo′*	*ka*	*wicʻa′ȟpi*	*wą*	*ki′tąna-’iyeȟya*	*yąkc′*	*cį*	*he′*	*hih.na′waye*	*c’eṡ*	—	*’eya’’.—*
“I	so now	that yonder	star	a	little shining	sitting	the	that one	for husband I have	oh if!”	—	she said.

’ų′kʻą′	*’ih.nu′hąna*	*nupʻi′n*	*’ekta′*	*’awi′cʻakʻipi,*	*ke′ya′pi’.*
Then	suddenly	both	there	they took them,	they say.

makʻo′cʻe	*wą*	*waśte′ȟįca*	*hokśi′cʻekpa-’ożu`żuya*	*namda′ya*	*waśte′*	*wąka′*	*’e*
Country	a	very good	twin flowers growing thick	blooming	beautiful	it lay	it being so

’ekta′	*’ų′pi’.*	*’ų′kʻą′*	*wicʻa′ȟpi*	*wą*	*ni′na*	*’iye′ġe*	*cik’ų*	*he′*	*wicʻa′śta-tʻą`ka;*	*k’a*	*’ųma′*
then	they were.	Then	star	a	very	shining	the aforesaid	that one	man large; (full-grown)	and	other

k’ų	*he′*	*kʻośka′*	*ke′ya′pi’.*	*he′cʻen*	*kʻinu′kʻą*	*hih.na′wicʻayapi’.*	*’ų′kʻą′*	*’ųma′*	*wana′*
the aforesaid	that	youth	they say.	So	each respectively	as husbands they had them.	Then	one	now

’ih.du′ś’aka’.	*makʻo′cʻe*	*kį*	*tʻi′psįna*	*’o′ta*	*hu′*	*waśte′śte’.*	*he′cʻen*	*wį′yą*	*k’ų*	*wążi′*
was pregnant.	Country	the	pomme blanche	many	stalks	were beautiful.	So	woman	the aforesaid	one

bopte′kta	*kʻeṡ*	*hįh.na′ku*	*kį*	*tʻeȟi′da.*	—	*’u′śtą*	*wo′*	*tuwe′dą*	*de′cʻi*	*he′cʻų*	*ṡni*	*cʻe—*
was going to dig it	but every time	her husband	the	considered it hard.	—	“Stop	imp.,	nobody	here	does that	not	(quotative)—

’eya′	*’ece’’.*	*’ų′kʻą′*	*’ih.da′ka*	*’a′ye*	*c’a*	*’e′tʻipi’.*	*’ų′kʻą′*	*wį′yą-’ih.du`ś’ake*		*cį*
he said	regularly.	Then	moving	they progressed	and	arriving there they camped.	Then	woman	pregnant	the

wakʻe′ya	*’itʻi′caġe*	*c’a*	*tʻima′hen*	*pʻiye′kta*	*’e*	*tʻima′hen*	*hiyu′*[2]	*’ų′kʻą′*	*tʻi′psįna*	*wą*
tent	built tent	and	in tent	was going to arrange	it being so	in tent	started to come,	then	pomme blanche	a

hu′	*tʻą′ka*	*waśte′*	*’e*	*’ai′tʻicaġa’;*	*ų′kʻą′*	—	*’itʻo′*	*de′*	*wak’a′*	*kê.*	—	*’ecʻį’’*	*’etą′hąṡ*
stalk	large	good	it being so	over it she built a tent;	then	—	“Lo!	this	I dig	(soliloquy)”	—	she thought.	“From it indeed

tuwe′	*wąma′yakeca*	—	*’ecʻį′,*	*k’a*	*hų′pʻe*	*’icu′*	*k’a*	*bopte′*	*c’a*	*’iyu′pta*	*’icu′*	*’icʻų′hą*
who	sees me rather”	—	she thought,	and	digging stick	she took	and	dug	and	breaking the sod	took it,	meanwhile

makʻo′cʻe	*yuo′ȟdog*	*’iye′ya,*	*k’a*	*’oh.na′*	*hiyu′,*	*k’a*	*makʻa′*	*kį*	*’ekta′*	*tʻezi′-kamdas*	*hįȟpa′ya*
country	opening	sent,	and	in through	she started coming	and	earth	the	there	belly bursting	she fell

ke′ya′pi’.	*he′cʻen*	*winų′ȟįca*	*k’ų*	*’e′*	*t’a′*	*tukʻa′*	*hokśi′yok’opa*	*kį*	*’e′*	*t’e′ṡni*
they say.	So	woman	the aforesaid	it was	died	but	child	the	it was	did not die

naġa′nġata	*wąka’’.*	*wicʻa′ȟįca*	*wą*	*’e′n*	*hi’’*	*hokśi′yopa*	*kį*	*’icu′*	*k’a*	*’itpi′h.nake*	*c’a*
kicking	lay.	Old man	a	there	arrived coming;	child	the	he took	and	placed it in front	and

tʻiya′ta	*kʻi′*	*k’a*	*heya’’*	—	*waką`ka*	*ta′ku*	*wą*	*wąmda′ka,*	*’ų′kʻą′*	*cʻąte′*	*maśi′ce*	*do′*	—
at tent	he arrived going back	and	said that	—	“Old woman,	something	a	I saw,	and then	heart	was had to me	m. sp.”	—

eya’’.	*’ų′kʻą′*	*tʻawi′cu*	*kį*	—	*he′*	*ta′ku he?*	—	*’eya’’.*	*’ų′kʻą′*	—	*winu′ȟįca*	*wą*	*tʻezi′-kamdas*
he said.	Then	his wife	the	—	“That	what?”	—	she said.	Then	—	“Woman	a	belly bursting

t’a′	*wąka’’.*	*’ųkʻą′*	*hokśi′yopa*	*wą*	*naġa′nġata*	*wąka’’;*	*’ah.na′*	*wicʻa′na*	*tukʻa′*	*cʻe*	—
dead	lay.	Then	child	a	kicking	lay;	moreover	boy	but	quotative”	—

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[1] The grammar of the original is not always consistent; corrected according to what appears to be present usage.

[2] Here translated literally; general meaning “to enter, to come out of a container.”

'eya''.	*wicʻa`ȟįca*	*to'kʻeca*	*'aya'ku*	*ṡni*	*he?*	—	*'ų'kʻą'*	*de'*	*'e*	*do'*	—	*'eye'*	*c'a*
he said.	"Old man	why	you bring him	not	?	—	Then	this	is it	m. sp."	—	he said	and

'itpi'tąhą	*'icu''.*	*'ų'kʻą'*	*tʻawi'cu*	*kį*	*heya''*	—	*wicʻa`ȟįca*	*'itʻo'*	*de'*	*'icʻa'ȟ-ųye'*	*cʻeṡ*	—
belly from	he took it.	And then	his wife	the	said that	—	"Old man,	lo	this	to grow we cause	oh if!"	—

'eya''.	*'ų'kʻą'*	*wicʻa'ȟįca*	*k'ų*	*heya''*	—	*waką`ka*	*tʻi-`a'hmihbeųye*	*kta*	*cʻe*	—	*'eye'*
she said.	Then	old man	the aforesaid	said that	—	"Old woman,	tent we cause it to roll on	will	quotative"	—	he said

c'a	*tʻi-cʻe'ṡka*	*kį*	*'oh.na'*	*kaȟ'o'n*	*'iye'ya'.*	*'ų'kʻą'*	*'ahmi'hmą*	*hiya'ye*	*c'a*	*hįȟpa'ya'.*
and	tent chest	the	through	tossed	he sent him.	Then	rolling on	it went	and	fell down.

'ų'kʻą'	*sdohą'hą*	*tʻi'n*	*hiyu''.*	*tukʻa'*	*'akʻe'*	*'icu'*	*k'a*	*tʻicʻe'*	*'oh.na'*	*kaȟo'ya*[3]
Then	creeping	into the tent	he started coming.	But	again	he took him	and	tent top	through	tossed

'iye'ya'.	*'ų'kʻą'*	*heha'n*	*ma'ni*	*tʻi'n*	*hiyu''.*	*tukʻa'*	*'akʻe'*	*'icu'*	*k'a*	*'ecʻe'n*	*'iye'ya'.*
he sent.	Then	then	walking	into the house	he started coming.	But	again	he took him	and	thus	sent him.

'ų'kʻą'	*heha'n*	*hokṡi'na*	*wą*	*cʻąsa'kana*	*k'eya'*	*yuha'*	*tʻi'n*	*hiyu'*	*k'a*	—	*tʻuka`ṡina*
Then	then	boy	a	sticks fresh little	some	having	into the tent	started coming	and	—	"Grandfather

dena'	*wąhį'kpe*	*mi'caġa*[4]	*ye'*	—	*'eya''.*	*tukʻa'*	*'akʻe'*	*'icu'*	*k'a*	*'ecʻe'n*	*'iye'ya';*	*'ų'kʻą'*
these	arrows	make for me	imp."	—	he said.	But	again	he took him	and	thus	sent him;	then

heha'n	*to'kʻi*	*'iya'ya*	*tʻąį'ṡni'.*	*'ų'kʻą'*	*kʻoṡka'*	*wą*	*cʻąsa'ka*	*k'eya'*	*yuha'*	*tʻi'n*	*hiyu'*
next	where	he went	was not apparent.	Then	youth	a	sticks fresh	some	having	into the tent	started coming

k'a	—	*dena'*	*tʻuka`ṡina*	*mi'caġa*	*wo'*	—	*'eya''.*	*he'cʻen*	*wąhį'kpe*	*'o'ta*	*ki'caġa'.*	*he'cʻen*
and	—	"These	grandfather	make for me	imp."	—	he said.	So	arrows	many	he made for him.	So

pte'	*'o'ta*	*wicʻa'o*	*cʻa'*	*wakʻe'ya*	*wą*	*tʻą'ka*	*'ic'i'cʻaġapi*	*k'a*	*cʻatku'*	*kį*	*'e'n*	*wąka'n*
buffaloes	many	he shot them	whenever	tent	a	large	they made for themselves	and	rear seat	the	there	high

'ohe'-h.dekʻiyapi	*ni'na*	*waṡe'capi'.*
caused him to place his bed	very	they were well provided.

'ų'kʻą'	*wicʻa'ȟįca*	*kį*	*heya''*	—	*waką`ka*	*tąyą'*	*'ųya'kʻų*	*'e*	*'im.du'ṡkį*	*cʻe,*	*įtʻo'*
Then	old man	the	said	—	"Old woman	well	we are	it being so	I am glad,		so now

'e'yawapaha	*kte*	*do';*	—	*'eye'*	*c'a*	*hąȟ'ą'naȟį*	*tʻicʻc'-įkpata*	*'i'yotąke*	*c'a*	*heya''*	—
I proclaim	fut.	m. sp.";	—	he said	and	early morning	tent top-top at	he sat	and	said that	—

miye'	*tʻa'żu-watʻų`*	*tʻaṡi'yaka-ṡį*	*m.dado'pa*	—	*'cya''.*	*'ų'kʻą'*	*he'*	*tʻaṡi'yakapʻopʻopa*
"I	my pile I have	big gut fat	I chew soft substance"	—	he said.	Then	that	meadowlark

he'	*'c'*	*k'e'ya'pi'.*	*zitka'na*	*wą*	*tʻasi'yakapʻopʻopa*	*'eci'yapi*	*kį*	*he'*	*'e'';*	*makʻu'*	*zi'*	*k'a*
that is		they say.	Bird	a	meadowlark	they call it	the	that	is;	breast	yellow	and

cʻoka'ya	*sa'pe*	*cį*	*he'*	*ą'pa-o'-zi*	*kį*	*he'*	*tʻatʻą'ka*	*he'-ṡduṡduta*	*'e*	*'ina'p'į*	*ke'ya'pi'.*
middle	black	the	that	dawn yellow	the	that	buffalo bull	horn smooth	it being so	he wears around neck	they say.

heha'n	*kʻoṡka'*	*k'ų*	*heya''*	—	*tʻuka`ṡįna,*	*'itʻo'*	*'oma'wanini*	*kta*	*cʻe*	—	*'eya''.*
Then	young man	aforesaid	said that	—	"Grandfather	so now	I wander	future	quotative"	—	he said.

'ų'kʻą'	*wicʻa'ȟįca*	*kį*	*heya''*	—	*ho*	*tʻako`ża*	*kʻoṡka'*	*'ecʻa'*	*'oya'te*	*'ecʻe'n*	*wawą'yag*
Then	old man	the	said that	—	"Yes,	grandchild,	young man	whenever	people	along the way	to see

'oma'ni	*ce'*	—	*'cya'*	*ke'ya'pi'.*
wanders	always"	—	he said,	they say.

'ų'kʻą'	*he'cʻen*	*kʻoṡka'*	*k'ų*	*'iya'ye*	*c'a*	*'oya'te*	*wą*	*tʻi'pi*	*'e'n*	*'i''.*	*'ų'kʻą'*	*'įyu*
Then	so	young man	aforesaid	went	and	people	a	lived	there	arrived going.	Then	behold,

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[3] According to preceding line *kaȟ'o'n*, T *kaȟ'o'l*

[4] *T micaġi ye'*

c‘ąh.de′śka	k‘ute′pi	’e′n	’i′’.	’ų′k‘ą′	k‘ośka′na	wą	’e′n	wawą′yaka	ke′ya′pi’.	he′c‘en
wood hoop	they shot	there	he arrived going.	Then	youth	a	there	was looking on	they say.	So

’e′n	’ina′żį	k’a	—	’it‘o′	kic‘u′wa	kic‘i′	wawą′m.dake	kta	—	’eya′’.	he′c‘en	kic‘i′
then	he stood	and	—	“So now	friend	with him	I look on	future”	—	he said.	So	with him

na′żį′.	’ų′k‘ą′	heya′’	—	kic‘u`wa	yat‘i′	’ekta′	’ųhde′	kta	—	’eya′’.	he′c‘en	kic‘i′
he stood.	Then	he said that	—	“Friend	you live	there	we two go	future	—	he said.	So	with him

hde′	c’a	kic‘i′	k‘i′’.	’ų′k‘ą′	he′	k‘ų′śitku	’ic‘a′ḣya	he′c‘a	he′c‘en	k‘ų′kiśitku	kic‘i′
he went home	and	with him	arrived back home.	Then	that	his grandmother	made him grow	such	so	his grandmother	with him

t‘i′	’e′n	’i′,	ke′ya′pi’.
lived	there	he arrived	they say.

’ų′k‘ą′,—’ųcì	kic‘u′wa	kic‘i′	wah.di′	c‘e,	ta′ku	yu′te	kta	’iki′h.niye′	—	’eya′’.
Then-“Grandmother	my friend	with him	I came home,		something	to eat	future	provide imp.”	—	he said.

’ų′k‘ą′	k‘u′kiśitku	kį	heya′’	—	t‘ako`ża	to′k‘en	waḣ′ą′kta	he?	—	’eya′’.	’ų′k‘ą′	k‘ośka′-’ųma
Then	his grandmother	the	said that	—	“Grandchild	how	I act shall	?”	—	she said.	Then	youth other

k’ų	heya′	—	to′k‘etu	hwo′?	ųcì′na,	—	’eya′’.	’ų′k‘ą′,	—	’oya′te	kį	de′	wana′
the aforesaid	said that	—	“How is it	?	little grandmother?”	—	he said.	Then	—	people	the	this	now

’i′puza-wic‘a′-t’e	kta	c‘e	—	’eya′’.	—	tuwe′	m.ni′	huwe′-i	k‘eś	hdi′śni	’ece′’	—	’eya′’.
of thirst die	will	quotative”	—	she said.	—	“Who	water	goes to get	but whenever	comes home not	ever”	—	she said.

’ų′k‘ą′	—	kic‘u`wa	c‘e′ġa	’icu′	wo′,	m.ni′	huwe′-’ųye	kta	c‘e	—	’eya′’.	’ų′k‘ą′,	—	t‘ako′ża
Then	—	“Friend	kettle	take	imp.,	water	to get we go,	fut. quot.”		—	he said.	Then,	—	“Grandchild

ki′tą	’ic‘a′ḣwaye	cik’ų′	—	’eya′’.	—	taku′śniśni	’ik‘o′yap‘a	—	’eye′	c’a	he′c‘en	kic‘i′
hardly	I made grow	the past”	—	she said.	—	“Trifles	you fear”	—	he said	and	so	with him

ye′	c’a	mde-ka′hda	’ina′żįpi’.	’ų′k‘ą′	m.ni′	kį	kah.da′	wak‘i′śkokpa	m.ni′	ożu′gżudą
he went	and	lake-alongside	they stood.	Then	water	the	alongside	buckets	water	each full

hiye′ya’.	’ų′k‘ą′	—	tuwe′	m.ni′	huwe′-hi	c‘a′	ta′ku	’e	yakte′	’ece′	ke′ya′pi	k’ų
were about.	Then	—	“Who	water	to get arrives	whenever	something	it being so	you kill	always	they say	the aforesaid

to′k‘i	’ida′da	hwo′?	de′	m.ni′	huwe′-wahi	do′	—	’eya′’.
where	you go	?	This	water	to get I arrive	m. sp.,”	—	he said.

’ų′k‘ą′	’ihnu′hąna	to′k‘i	’iya′yapi	t‘ąį′śni’.	he′c‘en	’įyų	t‘i-hą′ska	wą	kak‘i′yot‘ąna
Then	suddenly	where	they went	was apparent not.	So	behold!	tent long	a	in that direction

’iye′ya,	c‘a	’ohna′	k’ośka′	k’a	wik‘o′śka	’ożu′na	hiye′ya’;	wana′	’apa′	t’a′pi
it extended		in	youths	and	maidens	full	were;	now	some	were dead

k’a	’apa′	t’e-’i′cakiśya	(yąka′pi)	hiye′ya	’e′n	’o′p‘eya	’i′pi’.	’ų′k‘ą′	—	dena′	to′k‘en
and	some	dying suffering		they were	there	joining	they came.	Then	—	“These	how

duk‘ą′pi	he?	—	’eya′’.	’ų′k‘ą′,	—	ta′ku	yak‘a′	he?	dena′	m.ni′	huwe′-’ųhipi	k‘eś	ta′ku
you are here?”		—	he said.	Then,	—	“What	you mean?		These	water	to get we came	but each time	something

wą	naų′pcapi	’ece′e	c‘e	—	’eya′pi	ke′ya′pi’.
a	swallowed us	always	quotative”	—	they said	they say.

’ų′k‘ą′	k‘ośka′	k’ų	p‘a′	kį	’e′n	ta′ku	’iya′p‘ap‘a-yąka’.	’ų′k‘ą′	—	de′	ta′ku	he?
Then	youth	the aforesaid	head	the	there	something	was striking continually	Then	—	“This	what	?”

—	’eya′’.	’ų′k‘ą′	—	hą′ta	(wo′)	he′	c‘ąte′	’e′	’e	c‘e	—	’eya′pi’.	’ų′k‘ą′	he′	he′c‘en
—	he said.	Then	—	Keep away	m. sp.,	that	heart	it	is	quot.”	—	they said.	Then	that	so

’isą′	’e′h.daku	k’a	baśpu′śpu-yąka’.	’ų′k‘ą′	’ihnu′hąna	ta′ku	ni′na	ḣa′m-hįhda’.	’ų′k‘ą′
knife	he took his	and	was cutting it up continually.	Then	suddenly	something	very	made loud noise.	Then

he′	t‘ąma′hen	t‘ą′ka	’e	hena′	nawi′c‘apca	tuk‘a′	c‘ąte′	kį	baśpu′pi	nak‘a′ś	(ohna′
that	body inside	large	it being so	those	swallowed them	but	heart	the	cut off from its cord	consequently	in

t’e′	*cį*	*’ekta′*	*hi‘)*	*t’a′,*	*ke′ya′pi’.*	*he′c‘en*	*c‘uwi′*	*kį*	*paȟdo′ke*	*c’a*	*k‘oṡka′*	*wik‘o′ṡka*
dead	the	there	arrived)	it died,	they say.	So	side	the	he pushed a hole	and	youths	maidens

k‘o	*’o′m*	*hdicu’’.*
also	with them	went home.

’ųk‘ą′	*’oya′te*	*kį*	*ni′na*	*p‘ida′wic‘aya*	*’e*	*he′c‘en*	*wik‘o′ṡka*	*nu′m*	*k’u′pi’.*	*tuk‘a′*
Then	people	the	very	he made them glad	it being so	so	maidens	two	they gave him.	But

—	*’o′hįni*	*’oma′niyą*	*waų′*	*’e*	*he′c‘en*	*kic‘u′wa*	*’iye′*	*wic‘a′yuze*	*kta*	*c‘e*	—	*’eye′*	*c’a*
—	“Always	traveling	I am	it being so	so	friend	he	marries them	will	quot.”	—	he said	and

k‘oṡka′na	*k’ų*	*nup‘i′n*	*k’u’’.*	*’ų′k‘ą′*	*he′c‘en*	*ho′c‘okam*	*wak‘e′ya*	*wą*	*’it‘i′caġapi*	*k’a*
little youth	the aforesaid	both	gave.	Then	so	camp circle middle	tent	a	they built a tent	and

hokṡi′na	*k’ų*	*k‘ų′ṡitku*	*kic‘i′*	*’ak‘i′yuha*	*’e′n*	*’awi′c‘ak‘ipi’.*	*wik‘o′ṡka*	*nų′pa*	*k’ų*
boy	the aforesaid	his grandmother	with	carrying them together	there	they brought them.	Maidens	were two	the aforesaid

hena′	*’o′m*	*’e′n*	*’ahi′t‘ipi’.*
those	with them	there	they arrived and lived.

ASSINIBOIN

THE RED FOX

(Assiniboin above and Teton below recorded by Ella Deloria)

’įt‘o′	*ka′n*	*t‘iwi′c‘ota*	*t‘i′p‘.*	*t‘iwi′c‘ota*	*tuk‘a′*	*wążį′na*	*hųga′*	*c‘a*	*wit‘ą′ga*	*’ot‘i′,*	*hųṡta.*
’it‘o′	*ka′l*	*t‘iwi′c‘ota*	*t‘i′pi’.*	*t‘iwi′c‘ota*	*k’e′yaṡ*	*wążi′la*	*hųka′*	*c‘ąke′*	*t‘it‘ą′ka*	*’ot‘i′*	*ṡk‘e’’.*
Well now	yonder	families many	lived.	They were many families	but	one only	---	it being so	tent large	he lived in	it is said.

c‘ųwį′tku	*nu′m*	*wik‘o′ṡkebi*	*hųṡta.*	*że′c‘a*	*ṡų′ga-ṡana*		*hąya′k‘ena*		*hiya′ya*
c‘ųwį′tku	*nų′p*	*wik‘o′ṡkalakapi*	*ṡk‘e’’.*	*he′c‘eṡ*	*ṡųġi′la*	*wą*	*hį′hąniȟcį*	*ṡna*	*hiya′ya*
His daughters	two	were young girls,	it is said.	That way	fox red	a	early	regularly	passed

hųṡta.	*że′*	*tuwa′*	*yu′za*	*ṡten*	*c‘ųwį′tku*	*nųp‘i′n*	*k’u′kta*	*geya′*	*hųṡta.*	*że′c‘en*	*hąya′k‘ena*
ṡk‘e’’.	*he′*	*tuwa′*	*’oyu′spe*	*cįhą*	*c‘ųwį′tku*	*nųp‘į′*	*k’u′kta*	*ke′ya′*	*ṡk‘e’’.*	*he′c‘eṡ*	*hį′hąnaȟcį*
it is said.	That	whoever	caught it	when	his daughters	both	give will	he said that	it is said.	Thus	early morning

k‘oṡka′	*kį*	*’iyu′hana*	*kikta′bi.*		*k‘uwa′bi*	*hų′ṡta.*	*k‘uwa′bi*	*k‘eṡ*	*tuwe′ni*	*yu′zeṡ‘.*
k‘oṡka′laka	*kį*	*’iyu′hala*	*kikta′pi*	*ną*	*k‘uwa′pi*	*ṡk‘e’’*	*k‘uwa′pi*	*k‘eṡ*	*tuwe′ni*	*’oyu′speṡni’.*
youth	the	all	arose	and	they chased it	it is said.	They chased it	but never	nobody	caught it.

że′c‘i	*’ihą′ge*	*’ekta′*	*wągą′gąna*	*wążį′*	*t‘ako′żakpagu*	*hokṡi′na*		*kic‘i′*	*t‘i′.*	*że′*
he′c‘i	*t‘ii′hąke*	*’ekta′*	*’winu′ȟcala*	*wą*	*t‘ako′żakpaku*	*hokṡi′la*	*wą*	*kic‘i′*	*t‘i’’.*	*he′*
There	end of camp	at	old woman	a	her grandchild	boy	a	with	lived.	That one

c‘akni′yaȟpe-k‘uwa.	*hokṡi′na*		*że′*	*’ec‘e′n*	*’ec‘ų′.*	*że′*	*k‘uwa′bi*			*hokṡi′na*	*że′*	*kte′.*
(c‘ągli′yaȟpe?) k‘uwa’’.	*hokṡi′la*	*kį*	*he′*	*’ec‘e′l*	*’ec‘ų′.*	*he′*	*k‘uwa′pi*	*k’ų*	*he′*	*hokṡi′la*	*kį*	*kte’’.*
with a trap pursued it.	Boy	the	that	according	did.	That one	they chased it			boy	that one	killed it.

t‘anu′	*że′n*	*’e′knaga*		*ṡųga-ṡana*		*’akna′*	*’iȟpa′ya*	*t’a.*	*hąya′k‘ena*	*kikta′*	*hįk*	*wana′*
t‘alo′	*he′l*	*’e′g.naka*	*c‘ąke′*	*suġi′la*	*kį*	*’ag.na′*	*’iȟpa′yį*	*ną t’e’’.*	*hį′hą′naȟcį*	*kikta′*	—	*wana′*
Meat	there	he placed it	fox	red	the	on	it fell	and died.	Early	he arose	and then	now

ṡų′ga-ṡana		*t’a*	*wųka′.*	*że′c‘ed*	*t‘i′ta*	*’ak‘i′*	*hųṡta.*	*że′c‘ed*	*k‘ų′ṡitku*		*yuġa′ba*	*c’ed*	*hųga′*
ṡųġi′la	*k’ų*	*t’a′*	*yųke’’.*	*he′c‘eṡ*	*t‘iya′ta*	*’ak‘i′*	*ṡk‘e’’.*	*he′c‘eṡ*	*k‘ų′ṡitku*	*kį*	*yuġa′pe*	*c’ųhą′*	*hųka′*
fox red	aforesaid	dead	lay.	And so	to his tent	he took it	it is said.	And so	his grandmother	the	skinned it	then	---

że′	*t‘i′*		*’ekta′*	*ta′ku*	*’ope′m.ni*	*’ai’’.*	*że′c‘ed*	*yum.na′ya;*	*wana′*	*waṡte′kina*	*że′c‘ed*	*wana′*
wą	*t‘i′*	*kį*	*’ekta′*	*ta′ku*	*’ope′m.ni*	*’ai’’.*	*he′c‘eṡ*	*yubla′ye’;*	*wana′ṡ*	*waṡte′kila’.*	*he′c‘eṡ*	*wana′*
that	lived	the	to	something	wrapped in	she took it.	And so	he unfolded it;	now	he liked his own.	And so	now

c‘ųwį'tku	*nųp‘i'n*	*hokši'na*		*hįkna'yąpikta*	*ga'ya*	*hųšta.*	*wio'kicizipam*	*že'c‘ed*	*'owį'ža*
c‘ųwį'tku	*nųp‘į'*	*hokši'la*	*kį*	*hįg.na'yąpikta*	*ke'ya'*	*šk‘e''*	*t‘iki'cağapi*	*c‘ąke'*	*wik‘o'škalaka*
his daughters	both	boy	the	they were to have him for husband	he said that,	it is said.	They erected a tipi for him	and so	(A) wedding (T) girl

	'ųma'		*'ekta'*	*'e'kiknak*^{a}*.*	*'ųma'*	*waȟte'našį.*	*hokši'na*		*'owį'ža k‘iya'na*	*ya'*	*hą'tą*
kį	*'ųma'*	*owį'ža*	*'ekta'*	*'e'kig.nake'.*	*'ųma'*	*waȟte'lašni'.*	*hokši'la*	*kį*	*'owį'ža-k‘iyela*	*ya'*	*c‘ą'šna*
the	one of the two	wedding	to	she took and left it.	The other one	despised him.	Boy	the	bed near	he went	if, then

'iyo'k‘išį.	*hųkta' ya'!*	*hųkta' ya'!*	*ne'n*	*yau'ktešįc‘*	*'eya'*	*hųšta.*	*že'c‘ed*	*hokši'na*		*ni'na*
'iyo'k‘išni'.	*ak‘o' g.la'*	*ak‘o' g.la'*	*le'l*	*yau'ktešni ye'*	*'eya'*	*šk‘e''*	*he'c‘eš*	*hokši'la*	*k'ų*	*li'la*
she forbade him.	"Go away,	go away!	Here	you will not come"	she said,	it is said.	And so	boy	aforesaid	very

c‘ąte'	*ši'ca*	*hųšta.*	*'ųma'*	*hi'*		*že'*	*c‘į'gešį.*	*'ųma'*	*waȟte'našį*		*že'*	*'ec‘*	*ni'na*	*c‘į.*
c‘ąte'	*ši'ca*	*šk‘e''.*	*'ųma'*	*hi'*	*k'ų*	*he'š*	*c‘į'kešni'.*	*'ųma'*	*waȟte'lašn'i*	*k'ų*	*he'*	*'ece'*	*li'la*	*c‘į''.*
heart	had	it is said.	The one	came	aforesaid	that one	he did not want.	The other	despised him	aforesaid	that	only	very	he wanted.

že'c‘ed	*wik‘i'šneye*	*šį*	*wio'kicizipam*	*'e'n ye'šį*	*mani'n*	*'oma'ni.*	*'ų'šika*	*hųšta.*
he'c‘eš	*wik‘i'šleye*	*šni*	*t‘iki'cağapi k'ų*	*'e'l ye'šni*	*manį'l*	*'oma'ni'.*	*'ų'šika*	*šk‘e''.*
And so	having intercourse	not	they erected a tipi for him	there not going	in the wilds	he wandered.	He was pitiable	it is said.

('inu'm-yahi		*žeha'n*	*'ak‘e'*	*'oc‘i'cim.nakįkta.)*
('inų'pa-yahi	*kįhą*	*hehą'l*	*'ak‘e'*	*'oc‘i'ciyakįkte'.)*
(A second time you come	when	then	again	I shall tell you.)

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MEMOIRS OF THE
NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

VOLUME XXIII

Third Memoir

OBSERVATIONS AND MEASUREMENTS ON THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

BY

ALEŠ HRDLIČKA

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BY

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OBSERVATIONS AND MEASUREMENTS ON THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Aleš Hrdlička

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In 1925 the writer completed and published a study on the old elements of the American population.[1] The object of that study from its beginning was to establish reliable standards on the most characteristic and genetically uniform part of the American population, and with this aim constantly present in mind all the observations and measurements were made personally, under due regulations, with the same instruments and with scrupulous care.

The results of the study showed some remarkable differences between the cultured contingent of the "old Americans" and the belated mountaineers of equally old extraction, to the advantage of the former. This made it very desirable to study in the same ways and by the same observer the mentally most active and advanced in the old American population, to find whether or not and how they differed from the cultured old Americans at large.

A group of such persons in somewhere near sufficient numbers and availability was best to be found, it was recognized, in the membership of the National Academy of Sciences. The matter was therefore brought before the Academy, the consent of the members was given. The examinations began in the building of the Academy in 1926, and were continued until 1933. In 1928 the undertaking became associated with the Committee on Biographical Memoirs, thus securing the aid of Doctor Charles B. Davenport, Chairman of the Committee, which is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

At the annual meeting in 1932 the first brief general report on the results of the work was given to the Academy and in 1933 another portion, observations on the forehead, was discussed before the American Philosophical Society.[2] In 1933–34 Dr. Davenport's laboratory aided the work with such simpler mathematical determinations as seemed to offer some hope of usefulness. In 1935 a second report on the results of the study was given to the National Academy, and since then the present final treatise on the work has been in preparation for publication.

Among the members of the Academy the study met in general with the kindest cooperation; but there were also some difficulties. It being impracticable to visit the members in their homes or institutions, or to secure elsewhere the proper accommodations, the examinations could only be carried on during the annual meetings at Washington; these meetings are generally attended by less than a half of the members, those present are busy with the proceedings, and not a few can come only to present their own or hear some special communication; the result of all of which was that on the average not more than about 20 members could be secured for the measurements each year. An even greater difficulty was encountered with those who were too old or too feeble to attend the meetings in Washington, and a considerable number of such members passed away before they could be examined. Under these conditions it became impossible to get the whole membership of the Academy; but eventually data were obtained on 100 otherwise unselected members of old American derivation,[3] and on 50 of European or of recent American parentage.

The series, especially the latter, are numerically less than desirable. It is known to anthropologists that a satisfactory series among the living should contain at least 200 individuals;

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[1] The Old Americans, 1925, 8°, 1-XIII and 438 pp., Williams and Wilkins Co., Baltimore, Md.

[2] The Forehead. Proc. Am. Philos. Soc., 1933, LXXII, 315-324; reprinted in the Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1934.

[3] At least three generations on each side, inclusive of the subject, born Americans.

nevertheless, groups of 100 and even 50 may safely be expected to show definite trends both physically or physiologically.

But another serious factor intrudes into both of the groups and that is the advanced age of most of the individuals composing the membership. Except mentally, normal adult life culminates around 50, after which inexorable senility begins to set in; and senility affects progressively nearly all the features and functions of the body.

The results of the study of the members of the Academy are thus necessarily more or less biased by the factor of age.[4] This must be borne in mind throughout their comparison with the data on the old Americans at large, a series that comprised numerous young to middle-aged adults and from which all subjects showing senile changes were excluded. Notwithstanding this serious obstacle, however, a certain amount of useful comparison will be possible.

The measurements and observations were taken by the methods and with instruments described in my Anthropometry [5] and in The Old Americans.[6] To obviate any possible misunderstanding an explanation of the measurement and procedure will be given under each determination.

AGE

The mean age of the 150 members of the Academy who were examined was 59.67 years. The mean age of the total membership of the Academy from 1920 to 1927 [7] ranged from 58.94 to 61.10, with the general average of 59.96. It is evident that the group measured showed no bias in age.

A more detailed picture of the age distribution in those examined is given in table 1. On the whole there is but a small difference between the two series, i. e., between the members of old and those of more recent American status. On closer inspection the old Americans in the series are seen to include a larger proportion of individuals of 60 or less, the not old Americans a larger proportion of those above 60.

The ranges of ages in both series are very extensive. They amount to 81.5 percent of the average in the 100 old Americans, and to 65.3 percent in the other 50 members.

TABLE 1.—*Members of the Academy: Ages*

ALL MEMBERS

	Subjects	Total of ages	Mean	Youngest	Oldest
		Years	*Years*	*Years*	*Years*
The whole series	150	8, 951	*59. 67*	35	83
MEMBERS ACCORDING TO DERIVATION					
Old Americans	100	5, 890	*58. 90*	35	83
Not old Americans	50	3, 061	*61. 22*	42	82
MEMBERS UP TO 60 YEARS, INCLUSIVE; AND OVER 60					
Members up to 60 years:	*Percent*				
Old Americans (60)	*60*	3, 132	*52. 20*	35	60
Not old Americans (22)	*44*	1, 137	*51. 68*	42	60
Members over 60 years:					
Old Americans (40)	*40*	2, 758	*68. 95*	61	83
Not old Americans (28)	*56*	1, 924	*68. 71*	61	82

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[4] The effects of this factor on measurements were discussed by me recently before the American Philosophical Society: V. Growth During Adult Life, Proc. Am. Philos. Soc., 1936, LXXVI, 847–897.

[5] Wistar Institute, Philadelphia, 1920, new ed.: Practical Anthropometry, *ibid.*, 1939.

[6] Baltimore, 1925.

[7] Data furnished by Paul Brockett, Executive Secretary.

The conditions shown above are not favorable from the anthropological point of view. Old age is a potent modifier of the features and even dimensions, and thereby a very disturbing factor. The studies on the old Americans at large were limited, barring a few justified exceptions, to subjects up to 60; should the Academy series be limited in the same manner there would remain but 60 of the old American and 22 of the not old American members; numbers that could not be expected to give thoroughly satisfactory results. Moreover, even in the series up to 60 there is a considerable predominance of the older subjects, as may be seen from the following table of age distribution:

Table 2.—*Age distribution of examined members*

Years	35–40	41–50	51–60	61–70	71–80	81–83
Old Americans (100):						
Number	3	20	37	26	13	1
Percent	*3*	*20*	*37*	*26*	*13*	*1*
Not old Americans (50):						
Number	1	8	13	17	10	1
Percent	*2*	*16*	*26*	*34*	*20*	*2*

These frequencies are so unexpectedly interesting in themselves that they deserve to be shown graphically. Their regularity is probably largely due to demographic causes; that is, gradually increasing death rate with age; but there is more in the showing than just that. This however is a side issue. What concerns us here is the evidence that the observations on the academicians are essentially observations on elderly and old men. In a large majority of them development in most of the parts of the body has been completed, while in a good many of them, notwithstanding their above-average preservation shown later, there have set in already more or less involutionary (senile) changes. This unfavorable nature of the material can in no way be overcome, it will affect all the results, and these facts, as already mentioned, must be constantly remembered in the perusal of the data, more especially in the comparisons with less weighted outside series.

The consciousness of these defects would not however justify a too pessimistic attitude toward the study. Many of the determinations will have a value, and the records should be found highly useful in comparison with data on similar groups in other parts of the world, and when like observations are repeated on the American academicians in the future.

DESCRIPTIVE FEATURES

A general inspection of the members of the Academy revealed an unexpectedly wholesome status. Such a status could probably not be equaled in any random group of individuals of similar ages taken at large. Extremes in any respect were absent. The mass of the members could only be characterized as physically normal to above the general average. There were found but a very few noteworthy anomalies and none of these was of a degenerative nature. It may be stated, therefore, that barring rare exceptions, those who have become members of the Academy within the last 30 years were in general characterized, aside from their mentalities, also by physical normality to superiority. The old maxim of *mens sana in corpore sano* is certainly sustained by this group. Even the few subnormals were in no instance such in the essentials or to any marked degree.

The detailed scrutiny resulted in a number of outstanding determinations. There was no truly red-haired person, or highly blond, or markedly curly-haired in those examined. The measurements of the old American [8] section of the membership, and those of members of European birth, while differing in some details, more particularly in the descriptive features, in the main agreed closely. The eyes, hair, and other features in the old American group of the academicians, and in the not old American group as well, indicated in a large majority of the cases racial mixture (within the bounds of the white race), those that could be regarded as pure types being in decided minorities. There were found no marked developmental asymmetries of the head, face, or body. The heads, though of different shapes, gave as a rule the impression of large, the faces of medium proportions, with the malar region (cheekbones) more or less subdued, prognathy absent, the lower jaws never heavy or with bulky angles, the necks medium, the chests average to ample, the trunks and limbs in no case disproportionate, arms, legs, hands, and feet mostly not delicate but well-developed and fairly muscular.

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[8] Members both of whose parents as well as all four grandparents, at least, were born in the United States.

VISUAL OBSERVATIONS

These observations, similarly as with measurements, while interesting, would be of only limited value if they could not be contrasted with similar and fully comparable determinations on like groups of the general population. Such comparisons fortunately, as already mentioned, are possible, though the differing age factor is troublesome. One advantage is that the observations to be drawn upon for this purpose are by the same observer and were carried out with the same methods. They were made between 1910 and 1925 on substantial numbers of descendants of the old American families. The fact that the studies on the members of the Academy followed within but a short interval those on the old Americans at large enhances further the comparability of the series.

A word may be useful here about the reliability of the visual observations. Such observations naturally cannot aspire to the accuracy of precise measurements; their value would necessarily be uncertain if made by the under-instructed and inexperienced; there may develop some bias in the recording of the less definite characters even among trained men and perhaps in the same observer; but where there is a clear understanding of the subject, ample experience and due care, and no considerable lapse of time between the observations on the series to be compared, such determinations are quite trustworthy, of value, and indispensable for a fuller knowledge of the group studied.

A word further is due as to the use of color plaques or blocks and other "standards" for gaging the color of the skin, hair, and eyes. Such standards have so far been the products of individuals and have had various faults; as a rule they are merely numbered and such numbers convey no intelligible information to the reader; there is no assurance that their repeated editions or makes, or even all the samples of the same turn-out, are strictly uniform; and they are not available or even known to many workers, not to mention the readers. For these reasons the writer has preferred the expert rational method of appraisal, recording, and presentation, the results of which may be given with fair lucidity and be understood.

OBSERVATIONAL DATA

THE SKIN

Though we term ourselves the "white" race our skin is not white, as anyone may see if he lays his arm on a sheet of white paper. We have, in fact, no really appropriate generic name for the color of our skin and thus will keep on calling it "white."

An examination of the skin on parts unaffected by exposure in a large number of individuals soon shows that the "white" is not the same in all cases. Among European and American whites the skin of the body in a large majority of individuals is what may be called medium white, or near medium; but in some subjects there are aberrations from this medium in the direction of lighter to florid, and especially in that of darker shades to marked tan. There is no line of demarkation in all of this, but an experienced observer with good eyesight finds but little difficulty in recording the conditions. The safe way is to class as medium all the nuances about the distinctness of which from the medium there is uncertainty. When this is done there remain only the cases in which the skin of the body is decidedly lighter (less pigmented) than the medium, and those in which it is certainly naturally slightly darker to distinctly tan—and these are our subdivisions.

Results.—Detailed records on the color of the skin are available for 250 adult male old Americans at large, 100 subjects of the same class of the Academy, and for 50 academicians of European birth or parentage. The three series give the following picture:

TABLE 3.—*Skin color*

	Mean age	Distinctly lighter than medium	Medium (or near)	Slightly, but distinctly, to somewhat darker than medium
Members of the Academy:		*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	58. 90	1. 0	93. 0	6. 0
Not old Americans (50)	61. 22	----------	88. 0	12. 0
Old Americans at large (250)	37. 00	. 8	84. 8	14. 4

The data agree fairly closely. There are apparent differences and these may have some slight significance; but when the two series of old Americans are united, the discrepancies practically disappear. In nearly nine-tenths of each of the groups the skin is medium white or near, in but approximately 1 case in 100 it is distinctly lighter, in approximately 1 in 10 slightly to somewhat darker. The differences in the exact percentages may possibly be simply accidental, or connected with the unequalities of the number of subjects in the three series. Whether age enters into the subject as a factor is uncertain; the mean age of the 36 darker subjects in the old Americans at large was 35.7, of that whole series 37.2 years; that of the 6 darker old American academicians was 60, of all 58.7 years; that of the 6 darker academicians not old Americans 64.5, of this entire group 61 years. There is no special indication in this one way or the other. The fact is there is known as yet nothing definite as to the effects of age on the color of the skin, and our data do not help in that direction.

In the study of the old Americans at large, the darker skin correlated in general with darker hair and brown or mixed eyes, and the same was noticed in the members of the Academy; but the correlation is not reciprocal, for very dark to black hair and brown eyes, though never associated with real light or florid skin, may and not seldom do occur without appreciable skin darkening.

The meaning of distinctly lighter skin is clear: it is always a part of advanced general depigmentation. That of the distinctly darker shades, under normal conditions, is less evident, but ancestral conditions play, according to all indications, the chief role in the manifestation.

The whole subject of skin color within the white race is much in need of a thorough investigation on large series of subjects and with the most efficient means for color determination.

THE HAIR

The hair was noted in reference to color, character, grayness, and loss.

Considerable difficulty was encountered in the members of the Academy as to the color. In a majority of those examined there was so much grayness that a direct estimate of the preceding color of the hair was more or less difficult. In all these cases whatever evidence remained had to be supplemented by information from the subject; such information, however, in subjects of this class was generally free from ambiguity.

The same rational and readily understood classification of hair colors was used as with the old Americans at large; and while there is no line of demarkation between the various shades and those near the thresholds may be classed by even an expert observer at one time with one and at another time with a neighboring category, in the long run such incidents are equalized and the main results are unaffected. The academicians compare in this respect with the old Americans outside of the Academy as seen below: [9]

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[9] The data in this connection extends to 1,009 adult male old Americans at large.

TABLE 4.—*Hair color*

	Lights (true blonds)	Light brown (near but not true blonds)	Medium (medium brown)	Dark to near black	Black	Decidedly reddish to true red
Members of the Academy:	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)		6	45	46	2. 0	[1] 1. 0
Not old Americans (50)		6	34	56	2. 0	[1] 2. 0
Old Americans at large (1,009)	5. 3	16	50	25	1. 1	2. 6

[1] Reddish, not true red.

The above figures are as interesting as they were unexpected. The members of the Academy, both old Americans and not old Americans, though the latter more especially, show decidedly more of hair pigmentation than do the old Americans in general. The members of the Academy give no pronounced blonds and no true reds (though two or three were expected by chance), decidedly smaller proportions of light browns, and decidedly larger percentages of darks to blacks. Taking the dark-to-black hair, the old Americans at large have a little more than one-fourth of such, the old American members of the Academy practically one-half, and the members of the Academy not old Americans close to three-fifths. Even the true black seems to be more represented in the Academy than it is in the old Americans outside of it.

This is a noteworthy showing. It cannot be attributed to error, for no such major error with the same observer in all this work would be possible. There must be another cause or other causes.

A very potent factor in hair pigmentation is age. While pigmentation of the skin under normal conditions probably remains unaffected or suffers but slight changes with age alone, the pigmentation of the hair, it is well known, with all the originally lighter shades is as a rule progressive. Hair that in infancy was flaxen to light brown, in the fifth decade will generally have reached to medium (medium brown) or even dark shade. Thus through this factor alone the members of the Academy, who with few exceptions present a group in which the whole range of hair darkening has been gone through, must give a record of deeper pigmentation than the old Americans at large who include many individuals in the earlier stages of adult life.[10]

Except in the members of the Academy not old Americans (who show throughout somewhat more pigmentation), and with the pronounced blonds and reds, the differences shown by the data, I am inclined to believe, are due to the age factor alone. Should there be any other influence it could only be, it would seem, a correlation between high mental ability and work with darker hair pigmentation, which is not readily preceptable.

Nature of hair.—In the report on the old Americans at large there are the following statements on this point:[11]

> In *thickness* the hair in healthy old American adults may usually be classified as about medium, with an occasional tendency to moderate fineness * * *. As to *shape* the hair of the head in the old Americans is generally straight or nearly so. Pronounced natural wave is very exceptional, and naturally curly hair was met with in only one instance, a male.

Much the same is true of the members of the Academy, especially the old Americans. In none of these could the hair be characterized as coarse or thick, nor again as decidedly fine. As to straightness, matters differ appreciably in the two groups of the Academy. The conditions will best be presented in a small table:

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[10] The section on hair color in The Old Americans (p. 25 et seq.) should be consulted in this connection.

[11] C. c., p. 55.

TABLE 5.—*Nature of hair*

	Straight (or nearly so)	Moderately wavy	Wavy	Somewhat curly (always)
Members of the Academy:	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
100 old Americans	96	2	1	1
50 not old Americans	80	8	8	4

Among the not old American members, it is seen, there is a very perceptibly larger number of wavy to curly hair. The causes doubtless are racial.

Grayness, loss of hair.—Nearly all the members of the Academy showed some gray hair, ranging from a few hairs to all or nearly all; and a large percentage showed also more or less of loss, ranging from slight to almost complete. Accurate data in these respects, under the ordinary methods of examination and gaging, are impossible; but a study of the records, such as they are, showed no significant difference in these respects between the two groups of the members of the Academy, nor between the old American group within the Academy and the old Americans at large studied previously.[12]

Moustache, beard, hair of the body.—A proper study of the moustache and especially that of the beard was impossible, for more than one-half of the members of the Academy wore no moustache and but a few wore a full beard. It is well known that both in color and character the moustache and the beard differ in most cases appreciably from the hair of the head, the moustache tending toward a lighter and more sandy, grizzly, or reddish tinge, while the beard is frequently darker and tending to wavy or even slightly curly. Nothing exceptional was seen or learned in any of these respects in the members of the Academy. Also there was no information about or suggestion of any subnormal or excessive hairiness of the body.

COLOR OF THE EYES

The facts that a cursory examination of the eye color is not reliable, that a more intensive and regulated scrutiny in good light is necessary, and that on such close examination many eyes that offhand appeared pure are really found to be "mixed," together with the rational classification of eye-colors, were discussed and shown in the report on the old Americans at large (pp. 35–47).

The subject received due attention with both subdivisions of the members of the Academy and the general results of this are seen in the next table:

TABLE 6.—*Color of the iris, condensed results*

	Apparently pure lights	Apparently pure browns	Mixed
Members of the Academy:	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	29	11. 0	60. 0
Not old Americans (50)	30	14. 0	56. 0
Old Americans at large (1,009)	31	16. 5	52. 5

The above conditions are remarkably harmonious, particularly as to the pure lights, in all the three groups. In approximately three-fifths of the individuals in each series the iris showed plain signs of admixture of brown-eyed with light-eyed ancestors. There is some predominance of the browns in the old Americans at large. This may be due to the presence in this series of a larger proportion of southerners. Within the Academy the not old Americans show a moderately larger proportion of the brown-eyed, as could have been expected from the racial composition of this group.

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[12] C. c., data on pp. 55–59.

The detailed records disclose various additional items of interest and the data appear definite enough for a valid comparison with those secured on the outsiders:

TABLE 7.—*Color of the iris: More detailed and comparative data*

	Pure lights					Pure browns			Mixed
	Blues			Other lights					
	Light	Medium	Dark	Grayish blue and gray	Greenish blue and greenish	Light	Medium	Dark	Blue, gray, or greenish, with traces of brown
Members of the Academy:	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
			All *29*				All *11*		
Old Americans (100)	1	[1] 18	4	6	----	1	7	3	60
			All *30*				All *14*		
Not old Americans (50)	4	[2] 20	2	4	----	-----	10	4	56
			All *31*				All *16.5*		
Old Americans at large (1,009)	7.9	[3] 14.8	1.1	2.2	5.0	4.5	9.3	2.7	52.5

[1] Includes 2 (2 percent) slate blue. [2] Includes 1 (2 percent) slate blue. [3] Includes a few slate blue.

There are, it is seen, but minor differences between the two classes of members of the Academy. There is more of appreciable difference between the academicians and the old Americans at large; however, the latter have shown more light blues, greenish, and light browns. These differences are connected in all probability with age. The pigmentation of the iris is certainly affected by age, and that both during the adult stage proper and during senility.

The main facts brought out are that the two groups of the members of the Academy show no important differences in eye color; and that, though there are some apparent dissimilarities, both present a close fundamental agreement with the old American population outside of the Academy.

Of the "mixed" eyes the predominant color was, in the order of frequency, medium grayish blue, gray, medium blue, slate blue, brownish, and greenish. The brown in the blue, gray, or greenish eyes occurred as traces, specks, spots, splotches, and in one case as a marked segment; the bluish or grayish in brown eyes was in splotches, or occurred diffusedly in the outer third of the iris. All this is as in the mixed eyes of the old Americans at large.

THE FOREHEAD

The subject of the height of the forehead has been dealt with already in a special article [13] and thus needs to receive here but a brief consideration. The notes here are limited to the descriptive characteristics of the forehead. These relate to the apparent height of the forehead and to its slope.

The apparent height of the forehead does not necessarily mean also a superior height in measurement. It is the visual impression of the region understood under this term in relation to the head and especially the face. The records show the following:

TABLE 8.—*The apparent height of the forehead*

	Slightly to somewhat low	Medium (or near)	High
Members of the Academy:	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	3.0	94	3.0
Not old Americans (50)	4.0	92	4.0
Old Americans at large (250)	8.7	88	3.3

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[13] The Forehead. Proc. Am. Philos. Soc., 1933, LXXII, 315–324.

The two groups of the academicians show practically the same conditions; in the outsiders there are a few more "lows." It is quite possible that the lesser loss of hair above the forehead in the latter class, due to lower ages, has influenced judgment to the above extent.

In the proportion of "high" foreheads the academicians and the old Americans at large are identical, which demonstrates once more the fallacy of associating high foreheads with superior brains.

The equally generalized view that a sloping forehead means mental inferiority is also fallacious. The sloping forehead, if we except pathological brains, is frequently due to a greater than usual development of the frontal sinuses and the supraorbital region. Frequently the upper part of the forehead is not depressed, but the lower part has been carried forward more than usual. Such a condition gives more or less of an external slope to a forehead which inwardly, together with the fore part of the brain, may be quite free from the slant. But even if the slope is due to other causes it does not necessarily mean any inferiority of the brain. Such a forehead may naturally and does in known instances coexist with a brain of high qualities.[14] It may be added that a sloping forehead occurs with both dolicho- and brachycephaly, and that it is in the main a male character.

The conditions shown in this respect by the members of the Academy and in the outside old Americans were as follows:

TABLE 9.—*Slope of the forehead*

	Medium, well-arched	Slight to moderate slope	Marked slope
Members of the Academy:	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	93. 0	7. 0	--------
Not old Americans (50)	94. 0	4. 0	2
Old Americans at large (250)	97. 3	2. 7	--------

In this condition, it is observed, the academicians make a slightly worse showing than the old Americans at large, which shows the valuelessness of the character. In one of the academicians, and in another now dead and not included in the series, the slope was about as pronounced as ever met with among normal whites, yet one of these men is one of the very foremost technicians of this country, while the other was one of its outstanding naturalists and theoreticians. The data present strong evidence for the conclusion that only when a low or sloping forehead is associated with and caused by a subnormal brain, can either of those features be regarded as a mark of inferiority; otherwise it is just a morphological variation, perhaps physiognomic but of no other significance.

In the case of one prominent member the skull, though spacious, showed a typical earlier Aurignacian form. Such heads, too, occur in cases among the oblong-headed groups of the white race, particularly in Scandinavia, as they did and do among the dolichoid American Indians. Such interesting occurrences are cases of survival or perhaps a reversion to the earlier type of our common ancestry and they too have, if everything else is normal, no other significance.

DEFORMATION OF THE HEAD

In only one subject among all the 150 academicians examined was there a mild head deformation, due to a premature occlusion in probably the coronal suture. Such occlusions are generally connected with some nutritional disturbance during childhood and have no further significance.

SUPRAORBITAL RIDGES

These ridges are the more or less attentuated remnants of the heavy protective supraorbital arch of the diluvial man. They are largely a male character and in civilized modern human groups tend to further diminution, both as to mass and in lateral extension; but in rare cases they may, even in an otherwise high-class but muscularly powerful individual, show a development that approaches more or less the old neandertaloid condition.

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[14] Comp. The Old Americans, p. 228.

In the old Americans at large these ridges in general are more or less subdued, but here and there in individuals they may show a strong development and even an approach to an arch. In the members of the Academy the ridges were found predominantly of submedium to but feeble development; but there were a few exceptions. The detailed records showed the following conditions:

Table 10.—*The supraorbital ridges*

	Near none to submedium	About medium	Above medium	Markedly developed
Members of the Academy:	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	39. 0	49. 0	8	4. 0
Not old Americans (50)	36. 0	56. 0	4	4. 0
Old Americans at large (250)	23. 4	65. 4	8	3. 3

There are, evidently, some differences of significance in the three groups. The members of the Academy show a considerably larger proportion of subdeveloped ridges than do the old Americans at large, while the proportion of the more pronounced ridges remains much the same in the three series. The two groups within the Academy differ but slightly. It appears from the above that in persons of lifelong intense intellectual activities the supraorbital ridges on the whole tend to develop less than they do in the old Americans at large. If, in a small proportion of intellectual workers the ridges nevertheless reach a rather marked degree of development, such occurrences may be attributed, it would seem, either to strong general muscular and skeletal development due to work or exercise, or perhaps to a special hereditary transmission in this character.

Eyeslits

There is but little to say in this connection. The members of the Academy gave practically the identical records with the outside old Americans; viz:

Table 11.—*Eyeslits*

	Horizontal (or nearly so)	Slightly to moderately inclined upward
Members of the Academy:	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	97	[1] 3
Not old Americans (50)	98	[2] 2
Old Americans at large (250)	98	2

[1] In 1 on right only.

[2] On right only.

In no one in any of the series was there any trace of epicanthus.

Eyelids

Nothing uncommon in this respect was presented by the members. In the older ones the eye aperture in occasional subjects showed diminution and the upper lids showed more or less of folding and overhang, but all this was as is usual at such ages.

Eyes

In some of the old members the eyes as a whole were deep set; but this is a well-known old-age characteristic, especially perhaps in intellectual workers. It is due partly to diminution in the fat within the orbits, but partly also, it would seem, to some further supraorbital or frontal development during the latter half or more of the adult period.

It is interesting to add that while the use of glasses, for reading at least, was general among the academicians, there was no case in those examined of a serious eye abnormality or defect; and that no blindness exists either now or has existed within the memory of those consulted in any member. Yet all have used their eyes intensively and doubtless in many instances to excess. The explanation is probably good, strong eyes to start with and their further strengthening through exertion.

Ears

With the ears the conditions in the examined were almost equally favorable; a large majority had no defect of hearing at all, and only 1 of the 150 was deaf enough to be obliged to use a mechanical aid. Nor is there any information of any deaf member, though some in old age became hard of hearing.

Malar Regions

The "cheekbones" in the members of the Academy were found in no case bulky or prominent, but were often perceptibly to decidedly reduced. The generalized reduction of these parts constitutes one of the most obvious changes in modern man under the agencies of civilization. More directly it is the result of the diminished facial stresses due to lesser use of the masticatory organs, brought about under higher civilization by changes in the quality of food and in the needed quantities of the same. The records show as follows:

Table 12.—*Development of the malar regions*

	Almost none (externally) to decidedly subdued	Submedium	About medium	Slightly to moderately above medium
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Members of the Academy:				
Old Americans (100)	31	53	14	2
Not old Americans (50)	28	46	24	2
Old Americans at large (250)	11	36	51	2

Here for the first time, the members of the Academy, especially the old American members, present really noteworthy difference from the outsiders. In the old American academicians and to but a moderately lesser extent in the members of European birth or more recent American, derivation, the malar regions showed on the whole considerably more reduction than they did in the old American population at large. The explanation of this can only lie in less work of the masticatory apparatus during the growth period.

Depression at the Nasal Root

This is a relatively simple morphological and physiognomic feature. Detailed records on its status show some differences in our three groups, but these are hardly large enough to be beyond the possible errors or chance aggregations; yet there may be some racial significance, for the main exceptional items occur in the not old American group of the academicians.

Table 13.—*Nasal root depression*

	Near none to slight	Submedium	Medium (or near)	Deep
Members of the Academy:	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	5	8	85	2
Not old Americans (50)	8	14	78	------
Old Americans at large (250)	2	16	81	1

Nose: Shape

By "nose shape" we understand the form of the dorsal ridge of the nose. This form is interestingly variable in man, and in the white races in particular. It is due in the main to the different developments of the bony and cartilaginous nose, but also to that of the soft parts of the organ.

The differences may be merely ontogenetic. The shape of the nose changes more or less, particularly in the males, from birth to the oldest age; they may be of a generalized racial character; they may be hereditary family peculiarities; and they may be individual differentiations for which no cause is discernible. In a group of prevalently elderly males, such as the members of the Academy, the findings may be regarded as those of the fully matured plus some old-age modifications.

There are four main shapes of the nose. They are the concave, the straight, the aquiline or convex, and the wavy or concavo-convex; and the concave as well as the convex may thus be moderate, medium, or pronounced. The concave form is the infantile, the pronouncedly convex the prevalent most advanced adult. All these forms are encountered in the old American adult population at large. The members of the Academy showed these conditions:

Table 14.—*Nose: Shape*

Males	Nose: Concave (slightly to moderately)	Straight or near	Convex			Concavo-convex (slightly to medium)
			Slightly	Medium	Markedly	
Members of the Academy:	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
				Total 41		
Old Americans (100)	--------	29. 0	21. 0	18. 0	2	30. 0
				Total 36		
Not old Americans (50)	--------	40. 0	14. 0	20. 0	2	24. 0
				Total 42		
Old Americans at large (250)	8. 7	22. 0	18. 0	24. 0	----	27. 3

In comparing the above three series it should be borne in mind that the old Americans at large included numerous younger adults with but a very few individuals over 60, while the conditions in the two Academy series are the reverse. In consequence of this, the old Americans at large show a fair number of noses that are still slightly to moderately concave, forms which in the academicians have already completely disappeared, having changed mainly into straight noses. Aside from this, the old Americans in and outside of the Academy present a close agreement. The academicians of more recent European extraction differ in these respects somewhat from the old Americans in general, both in and outside of the Academy, by showing a decidedly higher proportion of straight noses, with somewhat less of both the mildly convex and the concavo-convex forms. In all probability the men of this series when younger had also a larger proportion of concave noses, which later in life have straightened.

The old Americans in general as well as those in the Academy do not conforn, or conform but rarely, it may be observed, to "Uncle Sam," who is represented always with a decidedly convex nose.

NASAL SEPTUM

The free border of the septum that connects the tip of the nose with the subnasal region and divides the nasal cavity into two, differs much with age and also individually in its inclination. In childhood and youth the angle formed by the septum and the subnasal region is often more or less obtuse, in midadult life it is mostly horizontal, in old age it is frequently more or less acute. These conditions, which are connected with the progressive growth of the fleshy nose with age, if viewed as if the subject stood or sat before the examiner, are recorded most conveniently as "septum inclined upward," "septum horizontal," or "septum inclined downward." The nature of the inclination influences considerably the aspect of the nose and face.

Considering the advanced age of many of the members of the Academy we should expect a fairly high proportion of septa inclined downward, and the records bear out this expectation, viz:

TABLE 15.—*Inclination of nasal septum*

	Mean age	Inclined upward			Horizontal or near	Inclined downward		
		Markedly	Moderately	Slightly		Slightly	Moderately	Markedly
Members of the Academy:	*Years*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	58. 9		6. 0	12	59. 0	9. 0	10. 0	4. 0
Not old Americans (50)	61. 2			8	70. 0	14. 0	6. 0	2. 0
Old Americans at large (250)	37. 0	2. 3	9. 7	20	56. 3	8. 9	2. 4	. 4

The above showing reflects remarkably accurately the influence of age. The younger series—the old Americans at large—present most of septa inclined upward, least of those inclined downward, and this applies especially to the more pronounced cases of either condition. In the academicians there is none with a marked slope of the septum upward, but in nearly one-fourth the septum inclines downward in various degrees; and in the members of the Academy not old Americans, who are the older, the inclined-upward septa have become reduced to a few slight cases only.

Aside from the potent factor of age there comes into bearing in these connections also, to some extent, that of race. In some racial groups, such as the Semites, both the frequency and grade of the descending septum in old age are appreciably greater.

SUBNASAL PROGNATHY

Facial protrusion was wholly absent in the members of the Academy, as it was also in the "laboratory group" of the old Americans at large. As to alveolar (subnasal) slant, the conditions were found to be as follows:

TABLE 16.—*Alveolar prognathy*

	None (or feeble)	Moderately noticeable
Members of the Academy:	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	90	10
Not old Americans (50)	94	6
Old Americans at large (250)	92	8

The above results are practically identical in the three series and show a general advanced reduction in alveolar protrusion. This is due to a generally subdued development, in these contingents of the population, of the teeth and of the dental arches.

LIPS

The lips, as all the other soft parts of the face, change with age. No infant is born with thin lips, but these begin to suggest themselves during childhood, increase in definition and frequency during the adult stage, and become common in the old. A potent influence in bringing about the change is the loss of front teeth and absorption of the alveolar processes. Such a loss, it is true, is nowadays generally neutralized by artificial dentures which, if not expertly made, may even accentuate slightly the original alveolar protrusion. In the majority of cases in the aged, however, the alveolar processes have been more or less absorbed and the "plates" tend slightly to underdo rather than overdo the original fullness of the frontal portions of the jaws. This reduces the original protrusion which permits the lips to be drawn more inward and thus to lose in their original external volume. But this agency is secondary to that of the direct effects of age itself on lip diminution. These effects consist evidently of an absorption of some of the tissue of the lips plus, probably, a lessened supply of blood.

The records on the lips of the members of the Academy show thus:

TABLE 17.—*Thickness of the lips*

	Mean age	Somewhat above medium			Both about medium	Submedium			Both thin
		Upper	Lower	Both		Upper	Lower	Both	
Members of the Academy:	*Years*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
			All *7*				All *23*		
Old Americans (100)	58. 9	2	3	2	60. 0	6	1	16	10
			All *10*				All *38*		
Not old Americans (50)	61. 2	---	2	8	50. 0	8	----------	30	2
			All *8.6*				All *0.7*		
Old Americans at large (250)	37. 0	---	----------	----	90. 7	---	----------	----	------
			8. 6				0. 7		

There are, it is seen, rather marked differences in the three series. The available outsiders present a group influenced but very slightly as yet by age, while the members of the Academy and particularly the not old Americans, are affected markedly by their years. Lips above medium in thickness were seemingly once somewhat more common in the members of European birth or parentage than they were in the old Americans both within and outside the Academy; this is doubtless connected with their racial derivation, a very potent factor in this connection.

THE CHIN

The strength, form, and protrusion of the chin are important physiognomic features. It seems superfluous to insist here on the fact that the differences in the development of the chin and the lower jaw reflect merely the muscular and bony development of the individual and only thus indirectly can have any relation to the "character" of the individual, but this is often forgotten. The two groups of the members of the Academy contrast thus with each other and with the outside old Americans:

Table 18.—*The chin.*

	Form			Prominence		
	Rounded	Square (or near)	Pointed	Sub-medium	Medium	Somewhat protruding
Members of the Academy:	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	94. 0	5. 0	1	1	98	1
Not old Americans (50)	92. 0	8. 0	--------	--------	94	6
Old Americans at large (250)	80. 7	19. 3	--------	--------	80	20

There is a remarkable normality of chin conditions in the members of the Academy. They have notably less of the square and less of the prominent or protruding chins than were found among the old Americans at large. In many of the members the whole lower jaw was seen to be of but moderate strength, and in a few it even inclined to be relatively delicate, though as a rule normally conformed.

Angles of the Lower Jaw

The angles of the mandible in many members of the Academy, both old Americans and more recent, were found to be more or less subdued. They were found submedium also in a good proportion of the old Americans at large, but this series shows at the same time a decidedly higher number of cases in which the angles were above the medium. A prominence of the angles means of course, in general, a more than medium development of the muscles of mastication, particularly the masseters. The detailed data follow:

Table 19.—*Angles of the lower jaw*

	Decidedly subdued	Sub-medium	About medium	Moderately prominent	Prominent
Members of the Academy:	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	9. 0	30	56. 0	5. 0	------
Not old Americans (50)	2. 0	34	58. 0	6. 0	------
Old Americans at large (250)	3. 3	26	57. 3	12. 7	0. 7

The factor of age does not enter materially into the above showing. The status of the academicians is plain. They agree fairly well among themselves, but differ from the outsiders in presenting more of the markedly submedium, much less of the above-medium, and none of the prominent mandibular angle regions. The whole showing, taken together with what has been seen with the chin, means merely a prevailing lesser development of the lower jaw in the members of the Academy than in the old Americans at large (laboratory series), in whom it was in turn less than in the general male population of the country.

Body and Limbs

Aside from a few cases due to injury, the members of the Academy presented, so far as the development of the body and limbs was concerned, a remarkably normal lot. In but one individual were seen some traces of early rickets (thorax), and there were no noteworthy deformities, asymmetries, or pathological conditions. This is a showing of significance. The minds that find their way into the Academy are minds usually accompanied with and sustained by normal bodies. There have been and doubtless now are geniuses who physically were or are seriously wanting, but such evidently do not come to be selected for the Academy.

ANOMALIES

Major congenital anomalies were rare in the academicians. Only 7 of the 150 examined members presented something noteworthy in this line, and in none of these could the abnormality be regarded as of a degenerative nature. The 7 cases are as follows:

(1) In one member—a large patch of brown on a leg, below the knee.
(2) In one member—markedly webbed toes (second and third) on each foot.
(3) In one member—second right toe turning congenitally downward.
(4) In one member—the great toes, both sides, showing considerably more than the usual separation from the rest.
(5) In one member—outstanding ears.
(6) One member never had any eyebrows, or but very little.
(7) One member had four accessory nipples on the body.

Some of these anomalies (2, 4, 7) are simple atavisms, others (1, 5) are probably of more recent hereditary nature, and some (3, 6) may be incidental or semipathological.

DEDUCTIONS FROM OBSERVATIONS

A survey of the results of visual observations on the members of the Academy and their comparison with those on a large series of old Americans at large, leads in the main to the deductions given below. A direct comparison of the members with outsiders was somewhat difficult, due to the much more advanced age of many of the members. A contrast of the two groups within the Academy, namely those of old American ancestry and those of more recent derivation, is imperfect due to uneven and not sufficiently adequate numbers. Notwithstanding these drawbacks certain facts come out fairly definitely and are not without value. They may be enumerated thus:

Pigmentation of the skin.—The members of the Academy of old American extraction showed smaller proportion of tan shades of the skin than the members of more recent European derivation, and both groups showed less than the old American outsiders. The higher age and higher general culture of the members have probably not influenced this showing.

Pigmentation of the hair.—The members of the Academy failed to present any pronounced blonds or any true reds; and they showed decidedly fewer "lights" and more "darks" than did the old Americans at large. An influential factor in this, however, was the advanced age of the academicians; they gave the record of the ultimate pigmentation of the hair which in many of the younger outsiders had not yet been reached; but that this may be the whole explanation of the differences is doubtful.

Pigmentation of the iris.—In color of the eyes the two groups of the members of the Academy, and the old Americans outside, differ scarcely at all so far as the "pure" lights are concerned; but of the darks the members of more recent European derivation show a slight excess over the old Americans in the Academy, and are in turn exceeded by the old Americans at large. Age has had some, but not all, of the influence in these connections.

Pigmentation in general.—In full-fledged adults and before senility sets in, there are certain correlations between the pigmentation of the skin, hair and the iris, but there are also exceptions. A darker skin goes as a rule with dark hair and eyes; but dark and even black hair may exist in the same individual with white skin, and even with blue, especially a dark blue, iris. Old age disturbs all this. It is accompanied by a slowly progressive diminution of pigment production. But the consequent "fading" or depigmentation affects the different parts concerned unevenly. The hair of the head suffers earliest and most, the face and the iris next, the hair of the body, and the skin still later. These processes have doubtless modified more or less the showings, in these respects, of the many older members of the Academy. A direct comparison of the academicians with the outsiders as to pigmentation would only be fully possible therefore if the two groups either corresponded closely in age with each other or if only those who did so correspond were compared.

Viewed in this light the results of the observations on pigmentation in the members of the Academy lose much of what may have seemed exceptional. What remains unexplained is the absence among the 150 members of the Academy of true reds in hair and beard with the concomitant "rosed" skin and peculiar constitution; and of high blonds. Both of these types, though scarce, occur in the old American population at large. Their absence in the Academy may be accidental, though the odds are against this; or they may be associated with temperaments or other qualities which lead their possessors into lines of activities that are not represented in the Academy.

Forehead.—In the development of the forehead the academicians show in no important respect anything exceptional. Somewhat sloping foreheads, if anything, appear rather more frequent among them than among the old Americans at large.

Supraorbital ridges; the malars and the jaws; angles of the lower jaw.—In all these features the members of the Academy show, on the average, a somewhat weaker development than that presented by the old Americans outside, who in turn have shown somewhat weaker average development of these parts than is found in the more recent and laboring contingents of the population. These are differences of merely ontogenetic nature, due to social conditions that involved in these different groups different amounts of work, particularly that of the organs of mastication, whence their stronger or weaker development. In those members of the Academy who had been brought up on the farm or had otherwise in youth worked or exercised hard, the parts under consideration were found as well developed as in the outsiders of corresponding occupations. The supraorbital ridges may show strength or weakness also phylogenetically, yet their development in general is also subject to ontogenetic conditions.

The palpebral fissures (or eyeslits).—Members of the Academy, both groups, give identical showing with the old Americans at large—in 97 to 98 percent the fissures are horizontal or near, in 2 to 3 percent slightly to somewhat oblique (external canthi higher).

Nasal root.—The members of the Academy of more recent European extraction have shown a greater tendency to a shallow or no depression at the nasal root than have the old Americans either within or outside the Academy. The point is of no great importance and the showing may possibly be accidental; if not then it must be connected with the derivation of the subjects.

The nose.—The shape of the nasal ridge presents some difference in the two series of the academicians, those of more recent immigration showing markedly more straights with correspondingly less of convex and concavo-convex forms; and both series differ from the old Americans outside who show still less of straights, and a certain proportion of concaves which are absent in the Academy. These latter differences are due to the materially lower age of the nonmembers; those between the two groups of members can only be of hereditary and possibly racial causation.

Nasal septum.—Differences in the inclination of the septum are in the main due to age, the slant upward being the infantile, the slant downward the old-age character. In almost one-fourth of the members of the Academy, both series, the septum showed more or less of a downward inclination, which is twice as much and in the more pronounced cases more than three times as much as found in the old American nonmembers; while with septa-inclined-upwards conditions were even more markedly reversed. But the nonmembers averaged by over 20 years the junior and included numerous young adults.

Alveolar prognathism.—Members of the Academy of both groups and the old Americans at large gave similar records in this respect. In about 1 in 12 subjects in each group there was a slightly to moderately above average slant of the upper alveolar process, but there was nothing in either group, especially in the members, that would deserve the term prognathy.

Lips.—Among the old made Americans at large, in 90.7 percent one or both lips were about medium, in 0.7 percent submedium to thin, in 8.6 percent above medium; in the old American members of the Academy 60 percent were about medium, 33 percent submedium to thin, and 7 percent above medium; in the members of more recent extraction there were but 50 percent medium, 40 percent submedium to thin, and 10 percent above medium. The academicians of both groups, it is plain, show a marked prevalence of lips of subaverage thickness. This doubtless is due largely to the advanced age of many of the members, but to some extent is also connected with the frequently only moderate development of their alveolar processes and their protrusion.

The chin.—The chin in the members of the Academy, both groups, was found to be much less frequently square than in the old Americans at large. This is another expression of the more moderate development of the jaws in the members.

Body and limbs.—With very rare exceptions the body and limbs of the academicians were found to be normal. None could be described as very rugged, but none either as feeble, except in some instances through age. In many of the members the preservation and relative vigor of the body, notwithstanding their age, were remarkable and showed both a good endowment as well as exercise and care.

Anomalies.—The proportion of more noteworthy anomalies in the members was small, and what there was reflected no weakness.

General conclusions.—The general conclusions from the visual observations on the members of the Academy and their comparison with old Americans at large are:

The academicians represent a remarkably normal lot, indicating that a certain physical superiority accompanies the mental selection.

The two groupings within the Academy, i. e., the old Americans and those of later European derivation, differ somewhat in particulars of racial origin, but correspond closely in all the more important characteristics, including those that distinguish the members from the old American people outside the Academy.

The principal differences of the members from the outside population consist of the absence in the former of highly blond and truly red hair, with the characteristic partly depigmented and "rosed" skin that accompanies genuine red hair; and of a generally somewhat feebler development of the facial parts of the skull, including the supraorbital ridges. In all probability the academicians present also a somewhat greater average thinness of the skull, as may be judged from the smooth contours of the same and the somewhat less developed masticatory and other musculature attached to the cranium.

MEASUREMENTS

Measurements of the body and its parts are generally given little if any reflection; yet they have more significance than do the measurements of inert objects. For what is measured on the body is the result, *at the age-period of the measurement*, of the functions of growth and development, modified by normal inherent variability and by sex, race, family inheritances, occupation, environmental and even pathological factors. In the measurements of man therefore we are dealing with determinations of very considerable complexity which, if satisfactory results are to be obtained, calls for dealing with large numbers of subjects, as far as possible normal, of one sex and of a definite and restricted age category.

To comply with such stipulations in such a body as the members of the National Academy is difficult. There are two serious obstacles—the number of available subjects, and the wide range of the ages of the members, with many more or less already involved in senile changes in the body. Thus what can be presented in the following pages must be taken only as what was feasible under the difficult conditions. But this does not mean that the data are incapable of showing much of value, for notwithstanding their limitations, they do bring forth many points of substantial interest.

A serious question that came up in connection with the treatment of the data was that of the usefulness in such series of data as these of any except the simplest mathematical determinations. In my view of the matter it would be fallacious to believe that a "biometric" treatment of the data could either add anything to the facts brought out by simpler treatment, or show anything the latter was not able to show. In reality, with data of such a complex nature such a treatment would tend more to cover and conceal than to extract and clarify matters. Biometrics used indiscriminately, as it often is today, is not only a great waster of time and energy but to anthropology, which constantly is obliged to deal with inadequate and complex determinations, it is liable to do harm instead of good. Besides, it involves the danger following the easy route of the replacing of brains by figures.

So much, I feel, is needed in introduction to the records which follow.

HEIGHT OF THE BODY[15]

The mean stature of the academicians is high, even though in many of the members it it certainly has already suffered some lowering through age.[16] Its average still exceeds by approximately three-fifths of an inch that of American males in general, and practically equals that of the old Americans at large, though the data on these relate only to adults not yet affected by decline. It is certain that if the statures of the academicians had been taken at their optimum physical stage they would have exceeded on the average those of the old Americans at large. This speaks either for an above-average somatic endowment of the academicians, or for especially favorable conditions during the growth period of many members of this group.

TABLE 20.—*Stature*

	Members of the Academy			Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	All	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	150	100	50	727
Mean age, years	59. 67	58. 90	61. 22	28. 5
Average	173. 97	173. 80±0. 44	174. 30±0. 53	174. 30
Minimum	156. 7	156. 7	165. 1	153. 7
Maximum	189. 8	189. 8	186. 9	193. 0
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*19. 03*	*19. 04*	*12. 51*	*22. 55*
σ	6. 14	6. 45±0. 31	5. 55±0. 37	5. 80
CV	*3. 53*	*3. 71*±0. 18	*3. 18*±0. 21	*3. 33*

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION—STATURE: MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMY

	152.5–157.4	157.5–162.4	162.5–167.4	167.5–172.4	172.5–177.4	177.5–182.4	182.5–187.4	187.5–189.8
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans	1	2	11	32	24	21	8	1
Not old Americans	--------	--------	8	34	28	22	8	------

STATURE OF MEMBERS BY AGE

	Members of the Academy	
	Old Americans	Not old Americans
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	60	22
Mean age, years	52. 2	51. 7
Average stature	175. 09±0. 57	175. 23±0. 77
σ	6. 56±0. 40	5. 32±0. 54
CV	3. 75±0. 23	3. 04±0. 31
Over 60 years of age	40	28
Mean age, years	69. 0	68. 9
Average stature	171. 75±0. 60	173. 75±0. 69
σ	5. 65±0. 43	5. 45±0. 49
CV	3. 29±0. 25	3. 14±0. 28

---

[15] Method: Subject without shoes and coat; standing upright against wall; heels together; heels, buttocks, and shoulders but not the head (unless it does so without effort) touching the wall; eyes looking straight forward. Measurement taken on anthropometric board, broad tape or the marked wall itself, by a light wooden square which is brought, properly leveled, to top of head until resistance is felt; the procedure being repeated two or three times until assuredly correct reading is had.

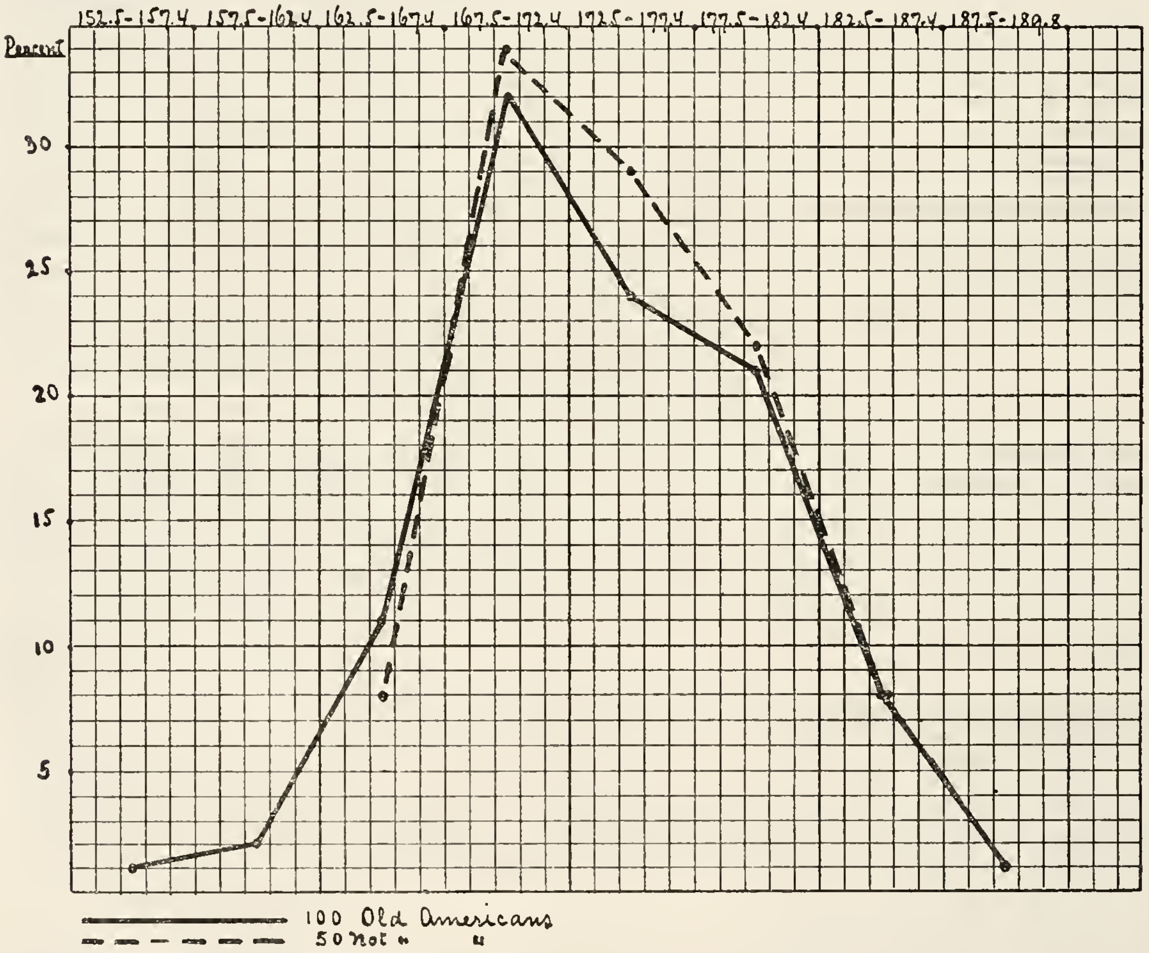
[16] In the writer's own case, between the ages of 55 and 63, though everything was normal and there had been plenty of exercise and no illness, the stature declined from 170.2 to 168.8 centimeters, and between 63 and 68 years from 168.8 to 166.9 centimeters. (See also The Old Americans, p. 80.)

The two series of members within the Academy, namely, the old Americans and those of European or recent American derivation, are astonishingly alike as regards stature, which may be seen especially in the distribution table and in the chart. What small differences there are favor unexpectedly the more recent group, but the slight superiority of this latter, in view of their much smaller number, may be incidental, as is also evidently their smaller variation.

The above data and comparisons are of course vitiated by old age which affects many of the members. After approximately the fifty-fifth year the body height generally begins slowly to lower, due to absorption in the intervertebral disks in the spine, and due especially to more or less of increase in the normal spinal curvatures; and these processes, though often very gradual, are continuous. What difference they produce may be seen in table 20.

The stature of the members of the Academy of both series up to and including 60 years of age exceeds that of old Americans at large by nearly 1 centimeter or one-third of an inch, even though the latter represent already the highest statured large group of the white race; and it exceeds that of the older by no less than 3.34 centimeters (1.3 inches) in the old American members and by 1.33 centimeters (0.5 inch) in those of European or more recent American extraction.

Stature



The average high stature of the members of more recent derivation is of even somewhat greater interest than that of the old American group in the Academy, for they are derived from peoples shorter in general than are the old Americans at large. The favorable showing of this

Academy group among those over 60 suggests that either the original stature of these subjects was even higher than that of their present contingent up to 60, or that incidentally they happen to be somewhat better preserved than the present group of aged old American academicians.

Weight of the Body

The weight to be dealt with here is the weight stripped; where such a record could not be had directly a due allowance (6 to 8 pounds) was made for the shoes and clothes.

This determination lacks in accuracy, for many different scales had to be used. Furthermore, as the mass of the body in most subjects is seriously affected by age, the results can have but a moderate value. The data on 135 subjects, in fair health, follow:

Table 21.—*Weight (in kilograms)*

	Members of the Academy			Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	All	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	135	88	47	232
Mean age, years	59. 67	58. 90	61. 22	37. 2
Average	73. 82	74. 16±0. 73	73. 19±0. 77	68. 63
Minimum	55. 79	55. 79	56. 70	50. 35
Maximum	98. 43	98. 43	94. 35	98. 56
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*57. 76*	*57. 50*	*51. 30*	*70. 25*
σ	9. 34±0. 38	10. 05±0. 52	7. 73±0. 54	----------
CV	*12. 60*	*13. 56*±0. 69	*10. 63*±0. 74	----------

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION—WEIGHT: MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMY

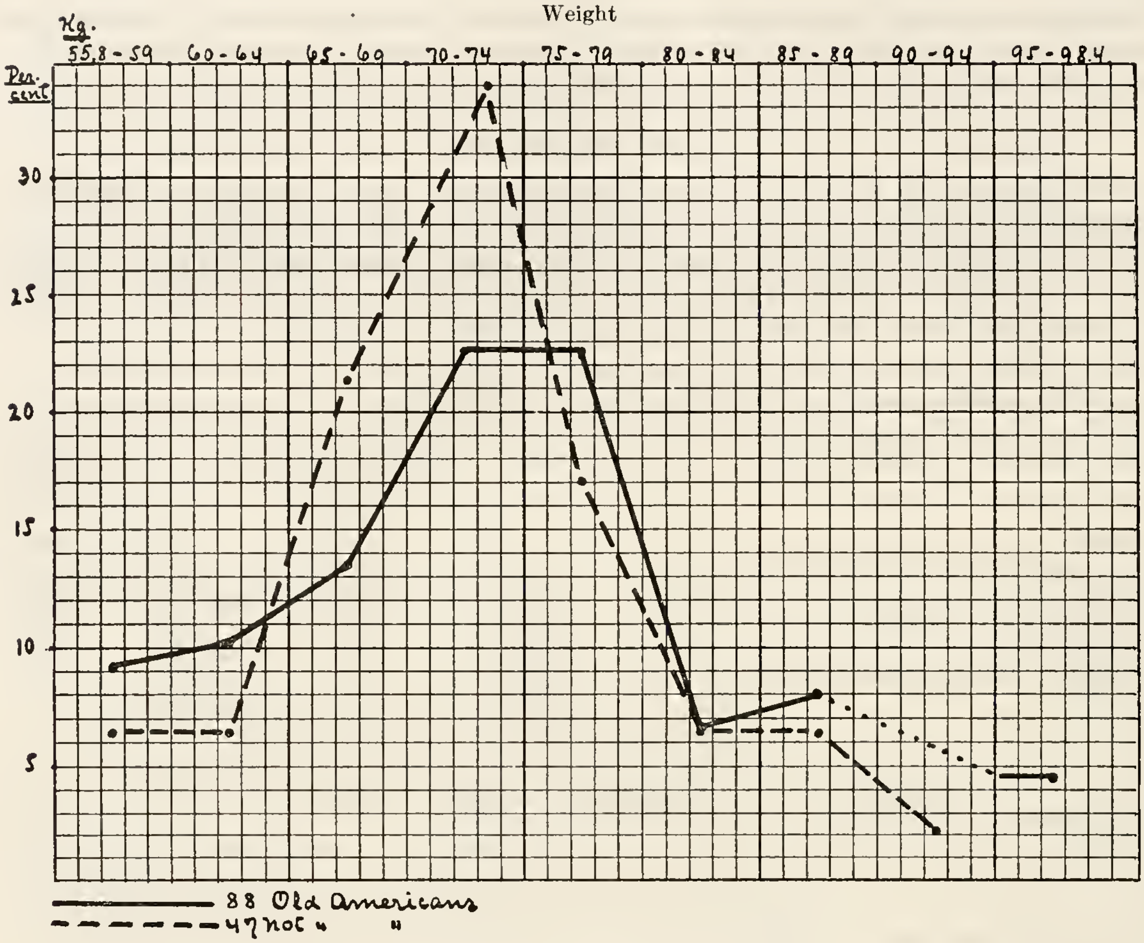
Kilograms	55. 8–59	60–64	65–69	70–74	75–79	80–84	85–89	90–94	95–98. 4
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (88)	9. 09	10. 2	13. 6	22. 7	22. 7	6. 8	8. 0	-------	4. 5
Not old Americans (47)	6. 40	6. 4	21. 3	34. 0	17. 0	6. 4	6. 4	2. 1	-----

WEIGHT IN MEMBERS BY AGE

	Members of the Academy	
	Old Americans	Not old Americans
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	55	21
Average weight	75. 68	73. 70
Over 60 years of age	33	26
Average weight	71. 63	72. 78

Comments.—The academicians of the two series differ but slightly in average weight—what difference there is, is in favor of the old Americans. The table of dispersion indicates that the difference is of some moment, the old American group tending to mass somewhat higher as well as lower than the more recent, and presenting nearly 5 percent of rather obese individuals to none in the other series. The variability is thus significantly greater in the old American group.

Compared with the old Americans at large, of materially lower mean age (37.2 years) the academicians average by over 5 kilograms (11⅓ pounds) the heavier. This in all probability is a result of more than one factor, including ample nourishment, predominantly sedentary habits and lack of exercise, with consequent subactive metabolism.



WEIGHT VERSUS STATURE

Under normal conditions the weight of the body correlates directly with stature, though this correlation has a large range of variation.

The most sensible way of showing the weight-stature relation is by the *weight-height gram: centimeter index.*[17] This index in 232 old Americans at large, of the laboratory series [18] (mean age 37.2 years), averaged 390.8; in American males of all derivations (calculated from life-insurance data), it approximates 401, in Europeans in general 391; [19] in 135 academicians (mean age near 60 years) it is roughly 422.5. The academicians relatively to stature average 9.25 percent heavier. This excess is especially marked in the old American group in the Academy, which gives the average ratio of 426.6 grams per centimeter, to 420.5 in those of more recent lineage—a difference connected probably with the more advanced mean age of the latter group (members, old Americans—mean age 59; members, not old Americans—61 years). The probable causes of the excess of the ratio in both groups of the academicians as compared to that in the old Americans at large, have already been mentioned.

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[17] See following equation:

$$\frac{W \text{ (in gm.)}}{S \text{ (in cm.)}} \cdot$$

For discussion of subject and other methods, see the Old Americans, p. 102 et seq.

[18] The "laboratory series" consisted, as to males, of 250 individuals from among the general population and may thus be regarded as especially representative.

[19] The Old Americans, p. 109.

Table 22.—*Weight-height ratio (grams per centimeter)*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	88	47	232
Average	426. 65 ± 3. 83	420. 50 ± 4. 74	390. 8
Minimum	324	338	
Maximum	562	558	
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*55. 78*	*52. 32*	
σ	53. 00 ± 2. 71	48. 13 ± 3. 35	
CV	12. 42 ± 0. 64	11. 45 ± 0. 80	

DISTRIBUTION

Grams per centimeter	324–350	351–375	376–400	401–425	426–450	451–475	476–500	501–525	526–550	551–562
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (88)	10. 2	4. 5	11. 4	27. 3	17. 0	13. 6	5. 7	4. 5	4. 5	1. 1
Not old Americans (47)	8. 5	6. 4	14. 9	36. 2	17. 0	4. 3	4. 3	4. 3	2. 1	2. 1

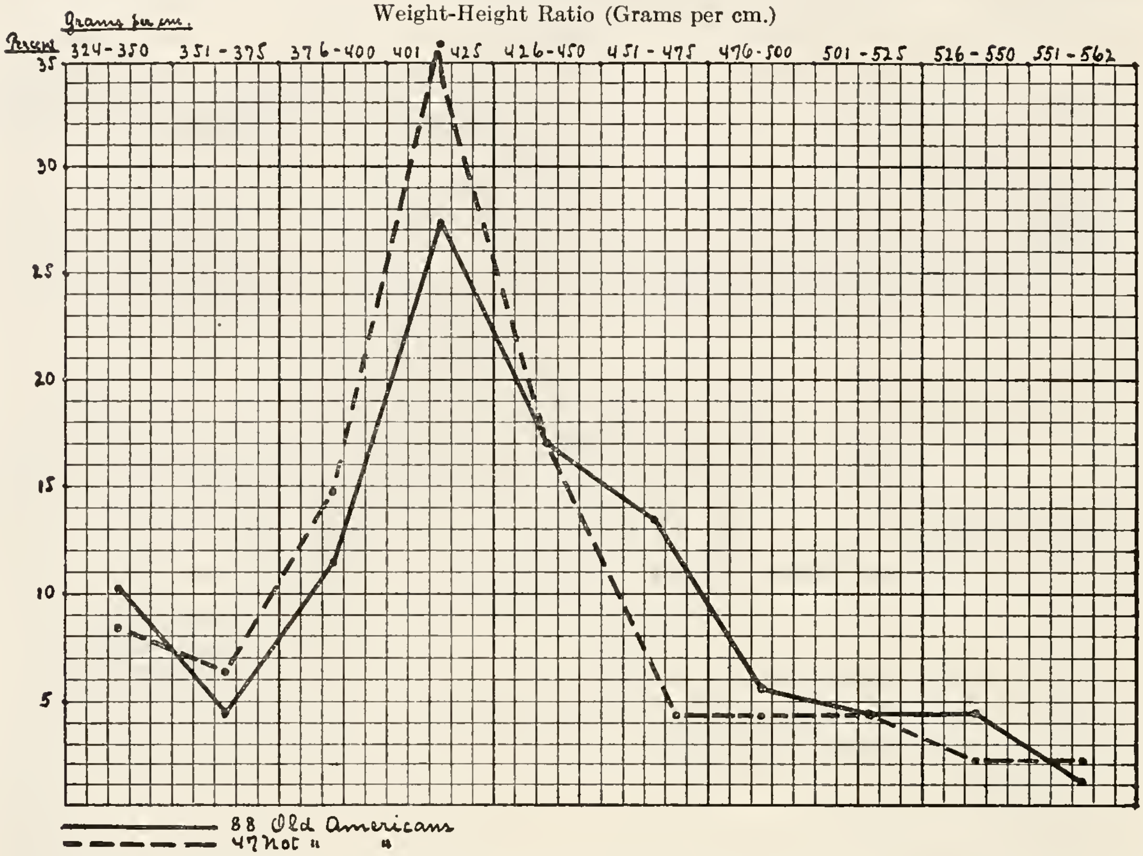
WEIGHT-HEIGHT RATIO BY AGE

	Members of the Academy	
	Old Americans	Not old Americans
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	55	21
Average	432 ± 4. 10	421. 5 ± 5. 50
σ	45. 08 ± 2. 90	37. 38 ± 3. 89
CV	10. 44 ± 0. 67	8. 87 ± 0. 92
Over 60 years of age	33	26
Average	417. 5 ± 7. 56	419. 7 ± 7. 33
σ	63. 38 ± 5. 34	55. 40 ± 5. 18
CV	15. 18 ± 1. 28	13. 20 ± 1. 23

Distribution.—The variation and distribution of the *weight-height* index in the members of the Academy are of interest (table 22). Considering the restricted numbers in the two and especially in the second series, these figures show perhaps more agreement than could have been anticipated. In both groups there are evidently a few subjects in whom the weight-to-stature ratio is subnormal, and some more in whom it is somewhat abnormal; but in about one-half of the total membership the ratio ranges from 401 to 450 grams per centimeter, which may be taken as the most usual condition, at the ages involved, of the academicians. This showing (as well as that of the general means) is however somewhat biased by the senile diminution in stature of the more aged; but the main point, the excess in weight of the members of the Academy over the old Americans at large, remains.

The matter may be tested more closely. Taking only the 76 members of the Academy who at the time of the examination were not over 60 years old, we get as their average weight 75.13 kilograms, while that in the old Americans at large was 68.63 kilograms; and the average weight-height (gram-centimeter) ratio in these academicians, 423.6; in the old Americans at large, 390.8. The members are still absolutely as well as relatively-to-stature significantly the heavier. The details are shown in table 22.

The data accentuate, first of all, the fact that the members on the average are heavier in relation to stature at all ages and especially up to 60. After 60, in both series, the weight ratio diminishes and this even with lowering stature.


Weight-Height Ratio (Grams per cm.)

The academicians of old American families, curiously, show up to 60 a slight preponderance over those born abroad or of more recent European extraction. In explanation of this difference the only suggestion that seems of value is that those of old American derivation have had some differences as to food and habits.

In a few individuals in each of the two series of the Academy the weight-stature ratio, in its turn, is subnormally low, in a few others somewhat abnormally high. Such instances are probably connected with some disturbances of normal metabolism.

HEIGHT SITTING[20]

This measurement gives on one hand the height of the trunk together with the neck and the head, and on the other hand, the length of the lower limbs, below the level of the ischia. The absolute measurements here being of but little concern, we may take up at once their values relative to stature.

In the 247 "laboratory series" old American males at large, the sitting height averaged 52.94 percent of the stature, with the remarkably small range of variation of 13.6 of the average. In the total series of 727 old Americans at large, measured by me before and including many young adults in whom as an age effect the sitting height-stature ratio is known to be slightly lower,[21] the average was 52.6. The general mean in man approximates 53.5, but shows many differences in the various human groups.

In the old American group of the Academy the average comes out practically identical with that of the general (laboratory) group of the old Americans at large, namely 52.84, and it is 52.96, or nearly the same, in the not old Americans the variation being 15.5 in the former and 10.6 in the latter, or 13.9 for the combined group. More concordant data could hardly be expected. The main data follow:

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[20] Subject sitting upright on a bench 46 centimeters high; looking straight forward; with knees bent at right angle; buttocks, shoulders, and occiput touching the wall; procedure of taking and recording the measurement as with stature.

[21] The Old Americans, pp. 116, 117.

Table 23.—*Sitting height in percentage of stature*

	All	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
		Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	150	100	50	247
Average ratio	52. 92	52. 84±0. 096	52. 96±0. 128	52. 94
Minimum	48. 9	48. 9	50. 2	50. 2
Maximum	57. 1	57. 1	55. 8	57. 4
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*15. 50*	*15. 50*	*10. 57*	*13. 60*
σ		1. 42±0. 068	1. 34±0. 091	
CV		2. 69±0. 13	2. 53±0. 17	

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

	48.90–48.99	49–50.99	51–52.99	53–54.99	55–56.99	57–57.12
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	1	6	49	41	2	1
Not old Americans (50)		6	44	46	4	

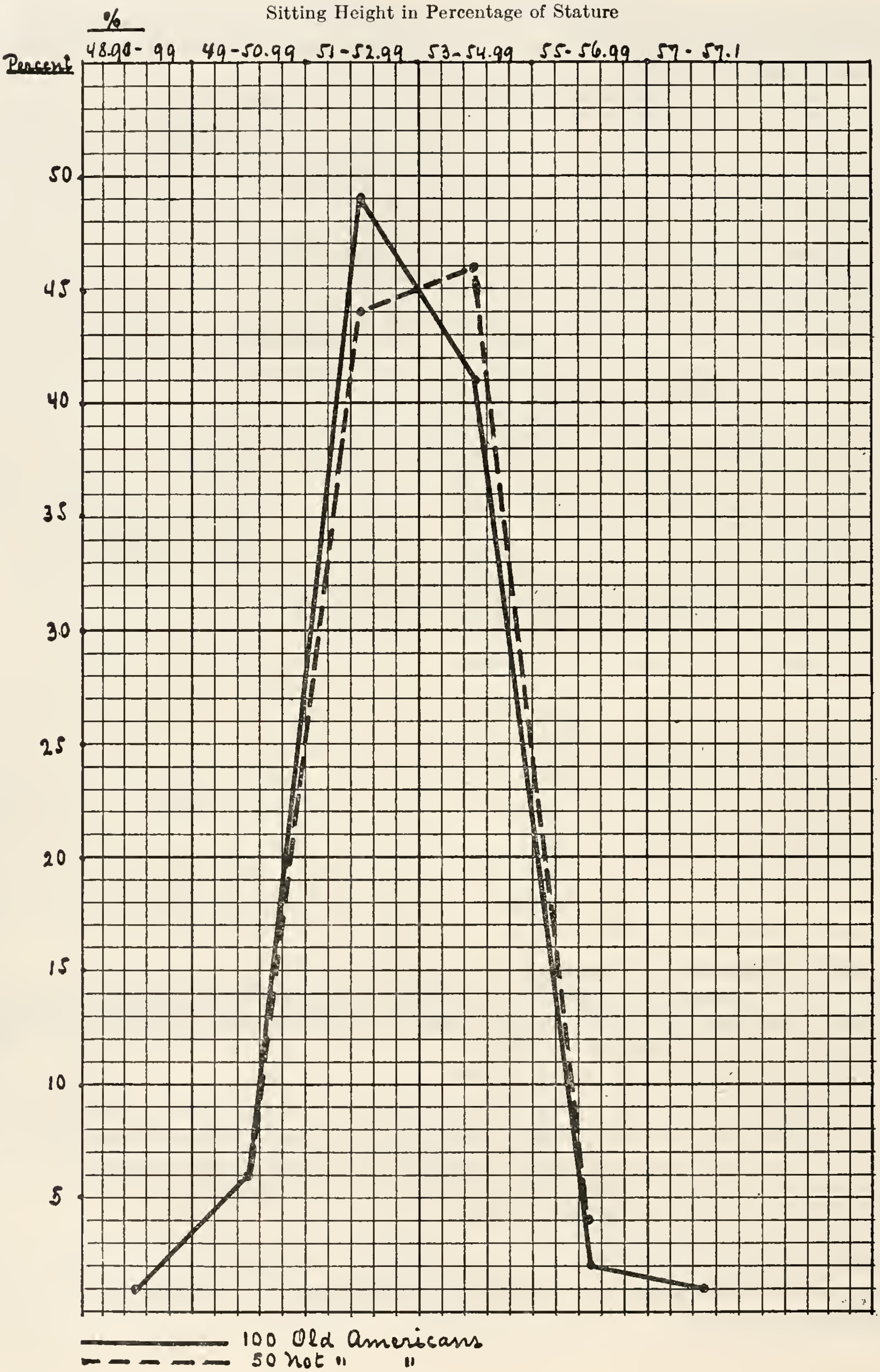
SITTING HEIGHT IN PERCENTAGE OF STATURE, AND AGE

	Members of the Academy	
	Old Americans	Not old Americans
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	60	22
Average ratio	52. 90±0. 129	53. 09±0. 170
σ	1. 48±0. 091	1. 16±0. 120
CV	2. 80±0. 17	2. 18±0. 22
Over 60 years of age	40	28
Average ratio	52. 75±0. 141	52. 86±0. 190
σ	1. 32±0. 099	1. 46±0. 130
CV	2. 50±0. 19	2. 76±0. 25

A striking fact about this seemingly complex determination is its general small variability. Both in the old Americans at large and in the academicians this variability stands at or near the lowest limit of all those shown by the measurements or ratios that were dealt with. The reason for this for the present is difficult to fathom.

The next point of interest to approach will be the influence of age in this connection. Table 23 gives the data on the only two age divisions that with this limited series of subjects are legitimate. Advanced age has evidently had a slight effect on the reduction of the ratio. This conforms to the expectation, for it is known that senile involutionary changes affect the spine more than they do the long bones. The noteworthy fact is that the effects are so small in this group. Regrettably there are as yet no suitable data for comparison with outsiders.

It is evident from all the above that in the trunk-neck-head height, and also in the sitting height-stature ratio and hence the length of the lower limbs, the members of the Academy agree closely among themselves, and that they present nothing exceptional as compared to the general old American population.



Sitting Height in Percentage of Stature

Arm Span

The arm span, or arm spread, is the distance from tip to tip of the longest fingers in maximum extension of the arms.[22] It gives the length of the arms, which would be difficult to measure separately, plus the breadth of the thorax at the shoulders. The average excess of the arm spread over stature in 142 of the academicians was 4.2 centimeters, with considerable individual differences. The crude data, contrasted with those on the old Americans at large (laboratory series) are as follows:

Table 24.—*Arm spread*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	96	46	245
Average excess in centimeters over stature	4. 30	4. 01	4. 42
Minimum	−6. 6	−7. 1	−12. 6
Maximum	+14. 8	+10. 0	+19. 7

The main value of the measurement lies, however, in its relation to stature. In modern white man this relation averages near 104 (101–108).[23] In highly civilized groups it tends to be less, in primitive peoples more than the general average. It presents interesting racial, sex, and individual variations.

In some of the more aged academicians this measurement was impracticable due to changes in the muscles and joints, but in a large majority conditions were fairly normal. The results were as follows:

Table 25.—*Arm spread in percentage of stature*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	96	46	245
Mean age, years	58. 8	61	37. 2
Average	102. 19±0. 18	101. 78±0. 23	102. 6
Minimum	96. 1	98. 3	93
Maximum	108. 2	106. 5	110. 9
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*11. 84*	*8. 05*	*17. 43*
σ	2. 64±0. 13	2. 28±0. 16	----------
CV	2. 58±0. 12	2. 24±0. 16	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	96.1–96.9	97–98.9	99–100.9	101–102.9	103–104.9	105–106.9	107–108.2
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (97)	1. 0	6. 2	23. 7	32. 0	21. 6	11. 3	3. 1
Not old Americans (46)	2. 2	8. 7	26. 1	30. 4	26. 1	6. 5	------

ARM SPREAD VERSUS STATURE AND AGE IN MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMY

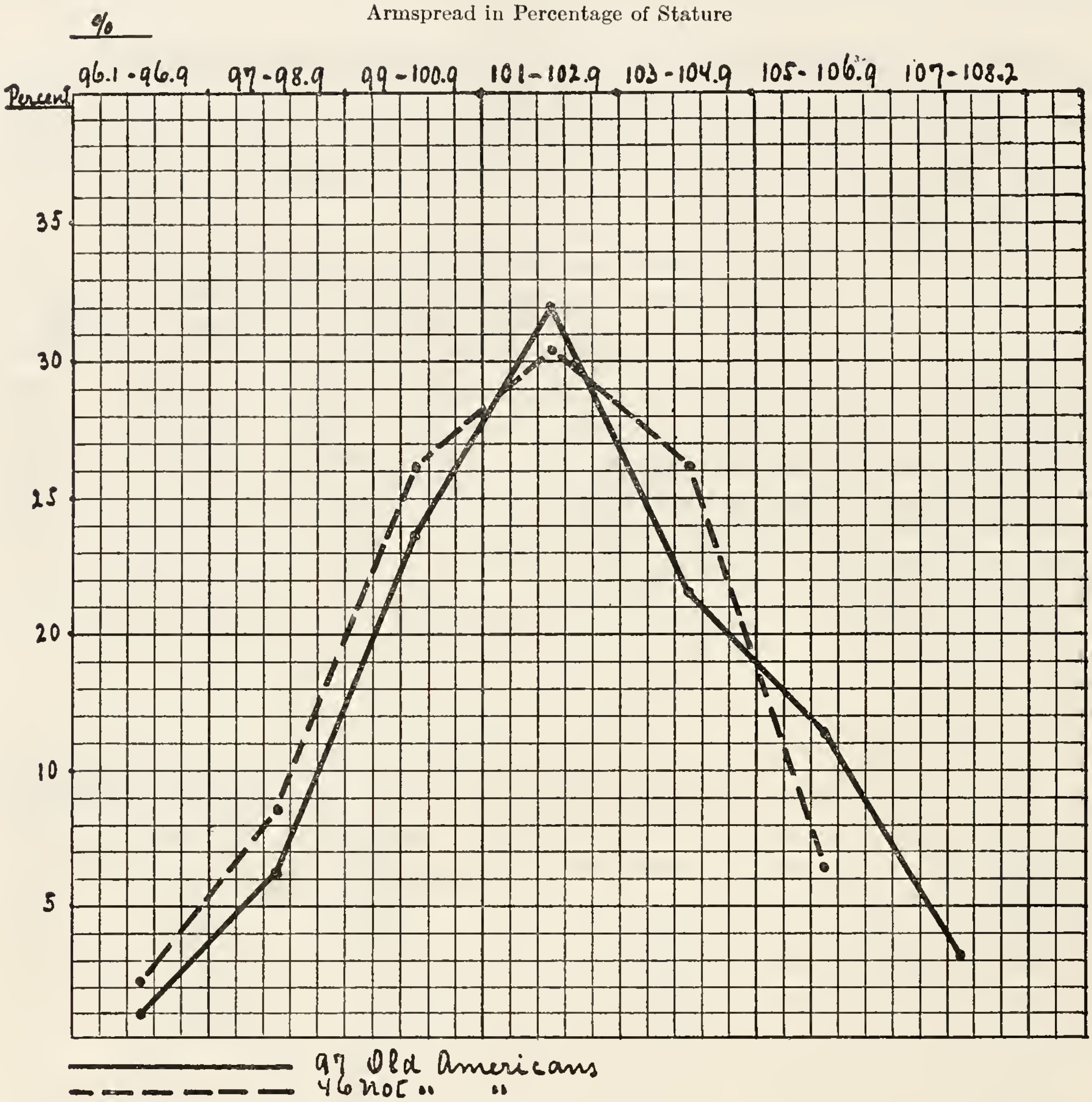
	Members of the Academy	
	Old Americans	Not old Americans
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	58	21
Average	102. 17±0. 25	102. 57±0. 33
σ	2. 78±0. 17	2. 24±0. 23
CV	2. 72±0. 17	2. 18±0. 23
Over 60 years of age	38	25
Average	102. 21±0. 26	101. 12±0. 29
σ	2. 39±0. 18	2. 12±0. 20
CV	2. 34±0. 18	2. 10±0. 20

---

[22] The subject stands facing the observer, one finger touching a raised upright, arms held horizontal (at right angles to the body), and subject directed to stretch to the maximum, while the thumbnail of the right hand of the observer is applied to the medius of the left or free hand of the subject, is pushed by this as the subject stretches and remains when the farthest point is reached to mark the measurement. Two trials.

[23] See the Old Americans, p. 126 et seq.

Armspread in Percentage of Stature



The old Americans and the not old Americans in the Academy show much the same conditions, and the old Americans at large stand close by. The slight differences that do occur in the ratio are not however, I think, accidental. Mathematical insignificance does not necessarily mean also biological insignificance; but the differences are probably due to age. The influence in this connection of the factor of age will be seen from table 25.

There appears no difference in the relation of the arm spread to stature in the old American series, and but a small one in the not old American. This should not be taken for evidence that there are no changes. As has been shown there are material changes with age in stature and thus the above showing can only signify that parallel changes take place in the parts that enter into the arm-spread dimension.

Résumé on the Body.—So far as the main proportions of their bodies are concerned, the data show the following characteristics and differences from the old American stock at large:

The two groups within the Academy, those of old American and those of more recent European derivation, show remarkable similarities with only secondary differences.

Both differ from the old Americans at large in (1) even a higher stature, (2) greater absolute as well as relative weight, and (3) slightly shorter arms relatively to stature.

The Head

In the scrutiny of any human group, the foremost interest, aside from the face, attaches to the study of the head, respectively the skull, as the outward expression of the form and size of the brain, the most important and distinctive organ of man. The numerous forms the head or skull assumes, however, have also been found of value in group and race classification, which became an added incentive for giving this part intensive attention. Regrettably, as so often happens, some workers in their studies on the head or skull have gone to unnecessary and even impeding minutiae which not only cannot tell more about the substantial problems the part presents but tend to obscure these problems.

The skull, particularly the head, as Arthur Tompson has long ago demonstrated, may be regarded as comparable to a plastic bag filled with something that can only behave as a near-liquid and that, were other factors absent, would necessarily give the skull the shape of a simple globe or near-globe, as can actually be observed in a large measure at certain embryonic and fetal stages. If the skull, or that part of it which contains the brain, assumes any different shape, the cause of this must lie essentially in factors outside of the brain. The skull may in fact be defined, in its ultimate shape, as the result of a series of mechanical agencies connected partly with the hereditary endowments of the different cranial constituents, and partly with the action of all such muscular, pressural, and other outside factors that have acted on it from its beginning. How any derangements in the hereditary conditions, or any additions to the mechanical factors, can affect the skull, may be seen in the large number of deformations to which it is subject. A few weeks of incidental or artificial pressure will deform the skull of the newborn infant in directly compensatory way and proportion, and the brain during all the rest of the life of the individual will be incapable of any material restitution or alteration in these changes. And a premature occlusion or other disturbance in any of the cranial sutures will lead to other permanent misshapements. If these facts were clearly borne in mind in every study of the head or the cranium they would obviate much unnecessary detail and confusion.

Another fact of prime import but one often lost sight of, is that every feature of the head, and every group of its correlated features, presents, under a universal biological law, a substantial range of normal, that is, nonpathological or incidental, individual variation. This variation reaches invariably over, and in some dimensions and indices considerably over, 10 percent of the average; in other words, over 5 percent on each side of the mean, so that with individual heads or skulls no deviation within this range can without other proof be regarded as significant.

Another point that may profitably be touched upon in this connection is the choice and methods of head measurements. Two of the main measurements of the vault, namely, those of the greatest length and greatest breadth, are regulated by international anthropometric agreements and involve no difficulty. The value of the third essential dimension, that of the height of the head, has not been sufficiently appreciated in the earlier times of the development of anthropometric techniques and, offering difficulties, has been largely neglected until recent years, when independently several somewhat different methods for taking the measurement on the living came into use. The method followed in these studies was that of the writer, developed by him 40 years ago and used by him and those instructed by him ever since, in extensive studies on both the American white and colored populations. It is the method used in the studies on the old Americans at large and on a series of groups of immigrants to this country, which furnished the indispensable and nowhere else obtainable material for comparison. The method itself will be detailed later.

It seemed necessary to state these facts so as to prevent possible unwarranted expectations or misunderstandings.

The Three Main Diameters of the Head

HEAD LENGTH [24]

The length, breadth, and height of the cranial vault correlate directly and compensate with each other, and the full values of the individual measurements could only be found in racially pure groups. We have no such group in the Academy, but that of the members of old American descent presents a limitedly mixed group which is fairly comparable with that of the subjects of similar derivation outside. The conditions, so far as head length is concerned, are as follows:

Table 26.—*Head length*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (total series, except mountaineers)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	594
Average	19. 94±0. 043	19. 82±0. 055	[1] 19. 76
Minimum	18. 3	18. 7	18. 0
Maximum	21. 5	21. 0	21. 6
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*16. 05*	*11. 60*	*18. 22*
σ	0. 635±0. 030	0. 580±0. 039	----------
CV	3. 18±0. 15	2. 92±0. 20	----------

DISTRIBUTION

Centimeters	18. 3–18. 7	18. 8–19. 2	19. 3–19. 7	19. 8–20. 2	20. 3–20. 7	20. 8–21. 2	21. 3–21. 5
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	2	8	29	30	19	9	3
Not old Americans (50)	2	16	24	32	22	4	------

[1] In the laboratory series of 247–19. 79.

Not much needs to be said in this place as to the above figures. They are not far apart in the three groups, yet the outsiders give a smaller value and that especially as compared with the academicians of similar derivation. The true value of these differences can only be appraised in conjunction with those of the two other main head measurements. The range of individual variation follows naturally the size of the groups. The distribution of the measurement is fairly regular.

HEAD BREADTH

The essentials concerning this measurement are given in the next table. The value of the dimension, taken separately, is as already mentioned quite limited.

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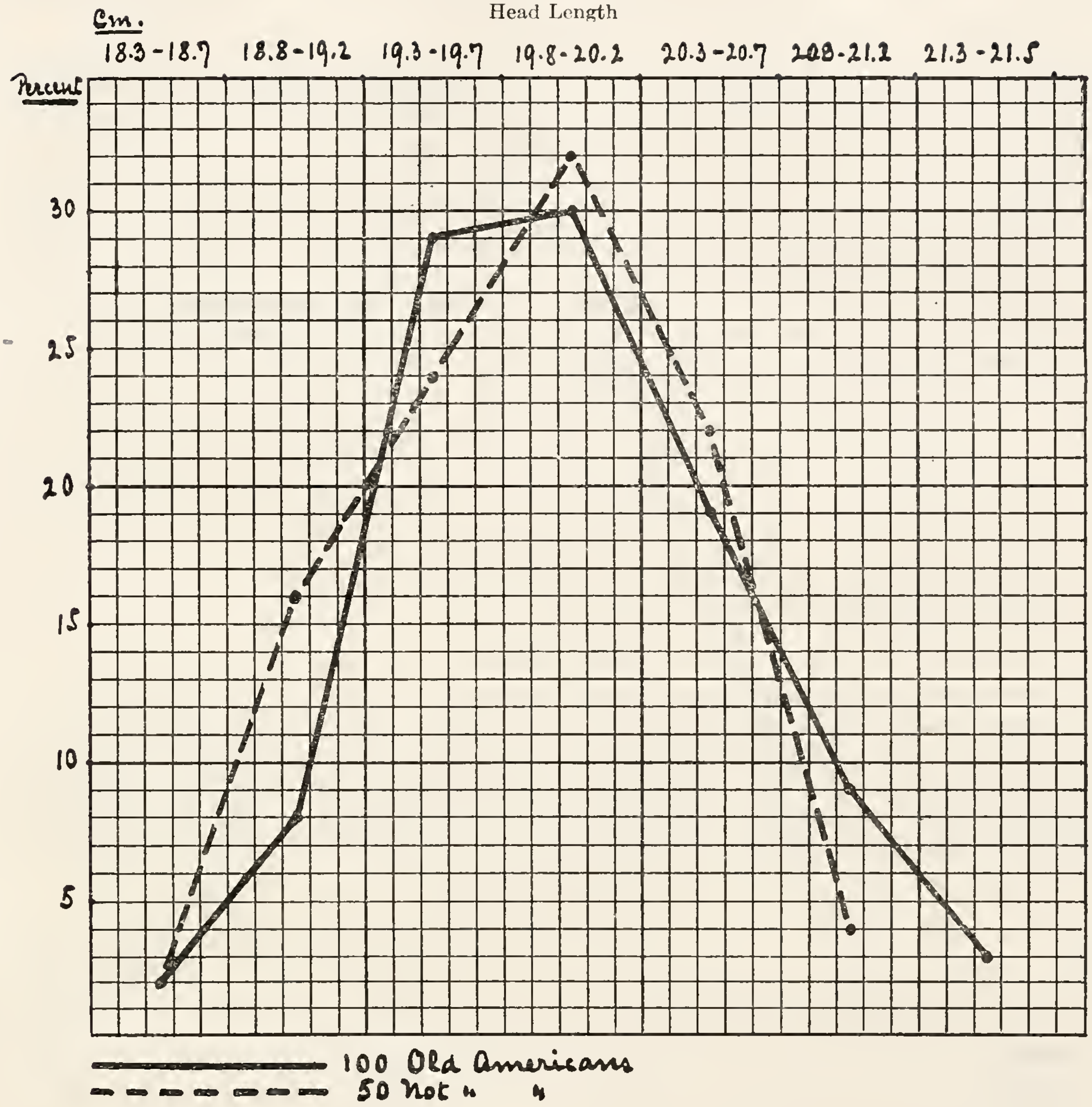
[24] The greatest obtainable length between the glabella and the most distal normal point on the occiput, whatever its location. For directions of technique see the writer's Anthropometry.



The breadth of the head, as head length, is appreciably larger in the academicians than in the old Americans at large; this connects, as will be seen later, with the larger size of their heads as a whole.

The breadth is further seen to be somewhat larger in the academicians of more recent European derivation than in those who come from older American families; this is connected, as will be shown later, with head shape rather than size, and compensates with the smaller head length in this group.

The individual variability is higher, within the Academy, in the not old Americans than it is in the old Americans, which agrees with expectations based on the descent of the two groups. The still higher range in the old Americans at large is due to the much larger number of individuals involved.

TABLE 27.—*Head breadth* [1]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (total series, except mountaineers)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	594
Average	15. 67±0. 035	15. 84±0. 056	[2] 15. 45
Minimum	14. 7	14. 7	13. 8
Maximum	17. 0	17. 4	17. 0
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*14. 68*	*17. 05*	*20. 71*
σ	0. 520±0. 025	0. 585±0. 040	----------
CV	3. 32±0. 16	3. 69±0. 25	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	14. 7	14. 8–15. 2	15. 3–15. 7	15. 8–16. 2	16. 3–16. 7	16. 8–17. 2	17. 3–17. 4
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	2	20	36	27	14	1	------
Not old Americans (50)	2	12	30	34	16	4	2

[1] The greatest transverse diameter of the head above the mastoids. Technique in writer's Anthropometry.

[2] In the 247 laboratory subjects 15.48.

HEAD HEIGHT

The height of the head here dealt with is that from the middle of the line of the floors of the two auditory meatus to bregma.[25] It is the same measurement that has been taken on the large series of the old Americans at large and on numerous groups of immigrants to this country, not counting large numbers of Indians, etc. When properly known it is, I am satisfied, the most satisfactory measurement of head height on the living. Its results, which have more value taken separately than those of head length and breadth, follow:

TABLE 28.—*Head height*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (total series, except mountaineers)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	594
Average	13. 93±0. 038	14. 05±0. 048	[1] 13. 95
Minimum	12. 8	13. 1	12. 4
Maximum	15. 5	14. 9	15. 5
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*19. 38*	*12. 81*	*22. 22*
σ	0. 565±0. 027	0. 500±0. 034	----------
CV	4. 05±0. 19	3. 56±0. 21	----------

DISTRIBUTION

Centimeters	12. 8–13. 2	13. 3–13. 7	13. 8–14. 2	14. 3–14. 7	14. 8–15. 2	15. 3–15. 5
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	12	27	30	24	6	1
Not old Americans (50)	8	16	40	30	6	--------

[1] In the 247 laboratory subjects 13.93.

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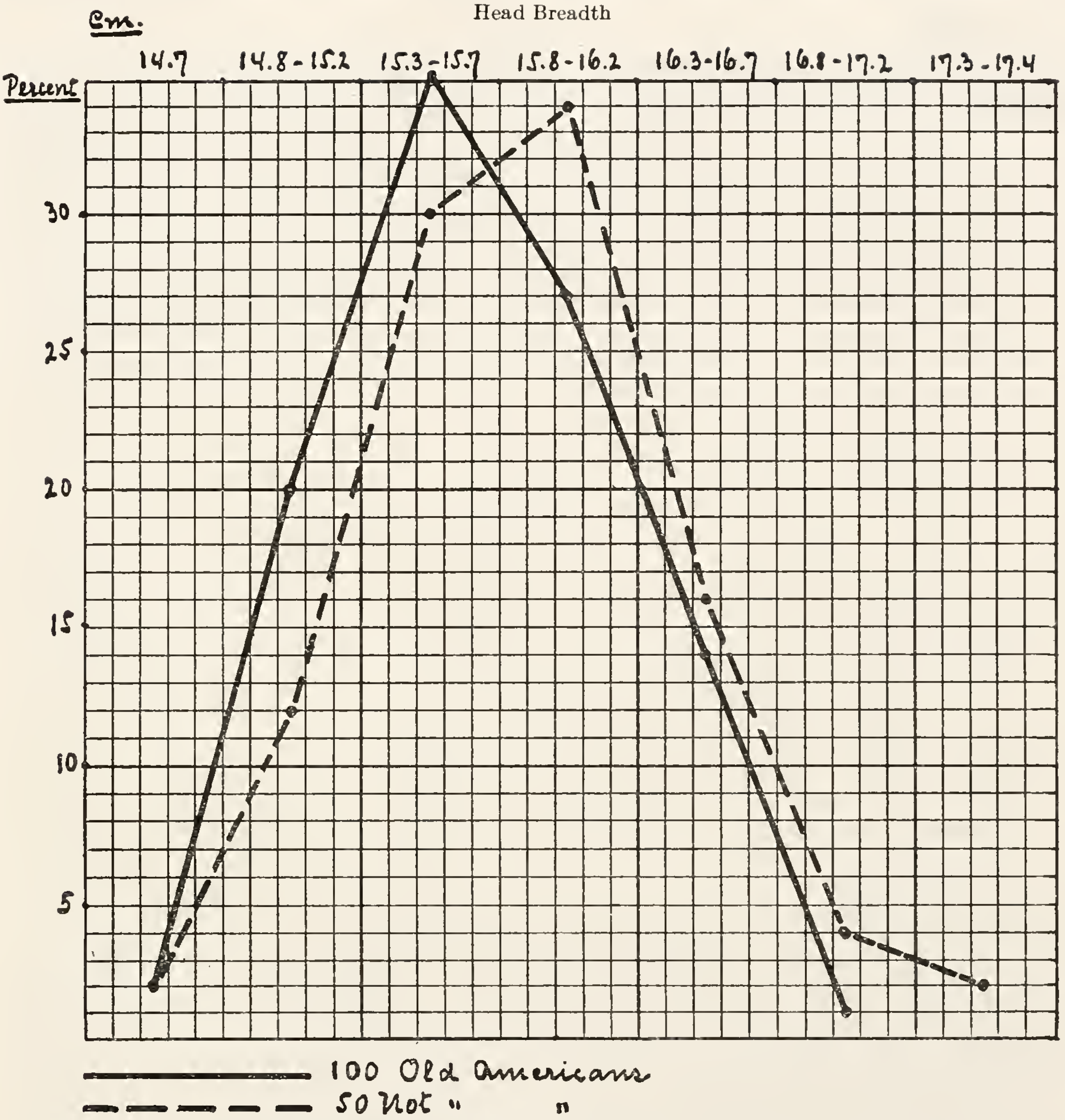
[25] For technique see my Anthropometry.

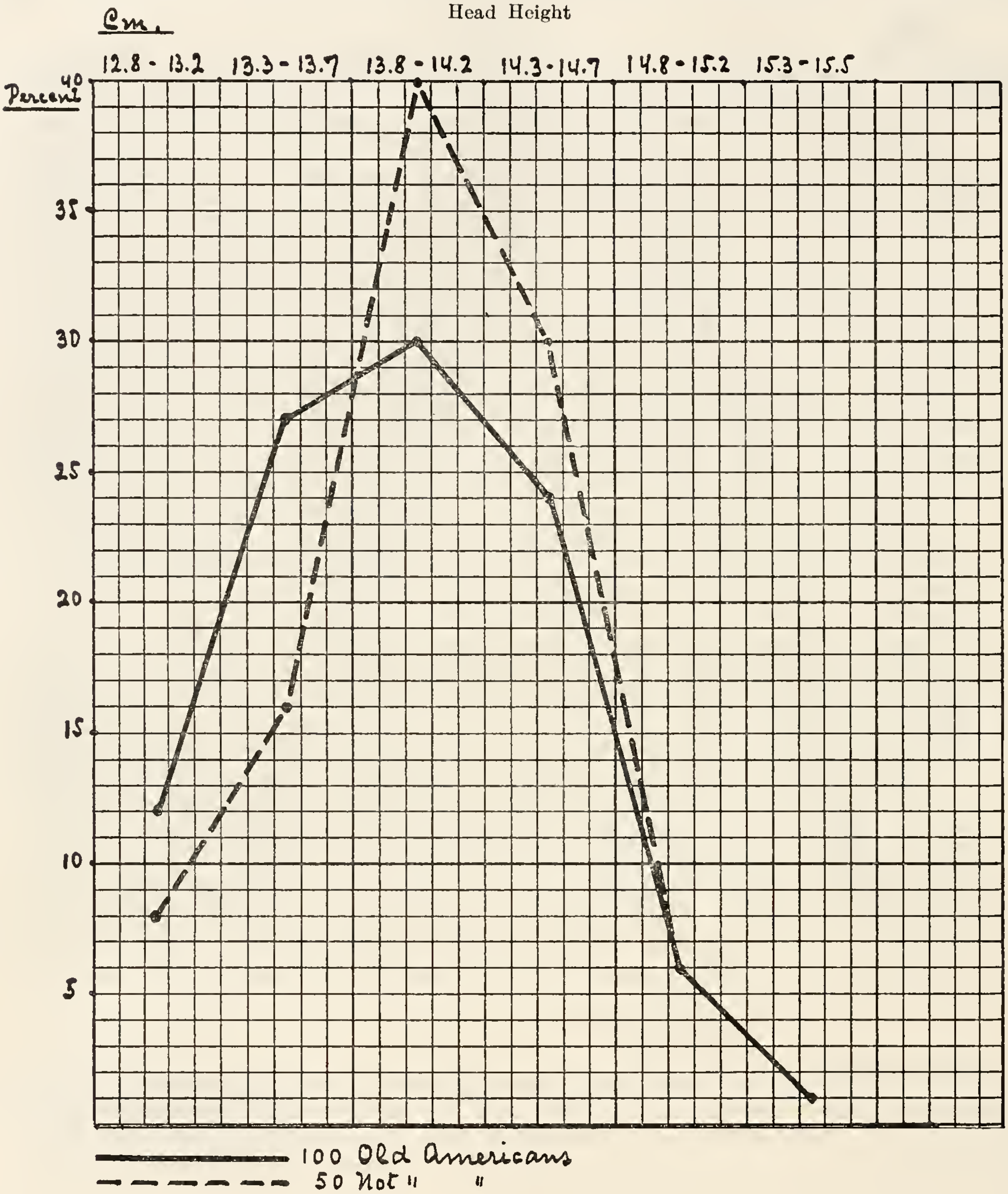
Head Breadth



The height of the head is seen to be practically identical in the old Americans within and those outside of the Academy, and it is very nearly the same in the academicians who are not old Americans. An exceptional development of the brain has evidently no appreciable promotive effect upon the height of the head. The head of the academicians has not progressed as much in height as it has in length and breadth.

An interesting point appears relative to individual variability of the three head measurements, as shown by the simple coefficient of variation (Range-average)—the length varies least, the breadth more and the height most, though all this within moderate boundaries. The figures further indicate once more that series of even 100 subjects are not sufficient to show the full range of normal individual variation. The members of the Academy and especially the not old American group, vary less than the old Americans outside, in all probability simply because there are not enough of them in these series to show their whole extent of variation. It has long been my conviction, based on repeated experience, that at least 200 individuals of the same sex and stage of life are needed to give a fairly complete view of the variability of any morphological human character.

Head Height


Cm.
12.8 - 13.2
13.3 - 13.7
13.8 - 14.2
14.3 - 14.7
14.8 - 15.2
15.3 - 15.5
Percent
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
100 Old Americans
50 Not " "

HEAD SIZE

The size of the head as a whole is most conveniently expressed by the mean of its three principal diameters, or "head module" $\frac{(L+B+H)}{3}\cdot$ The same object could be achieved by calculating, by the formula of Pearson or others, the cranial capacity, but the procedure in such a case is very much more laborious and the results offer no compensatory value.

The size of the head of the old Americans at large, excepting the belated mountaineers, was found to be larger than that of any of 12 nationalistic groups of immigrants measured at their entrance to New York, and that absolutely, as well as relatively to stature, when taken with statures of similar value.[26] The heads of the academicians of both groups, as will be seen below, are even larger:

Table 29.—*Cephalic module*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	594
Average	16.51	16.57	[1] 16.37
Minimum	15.50	15.82	15.03
Maximum	17.60	17.48	17.70
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*13.08*	*10.02*	*16.31*

DISTRIBUTION

	15.50–15.75	15.76–16	16.01–16.25	16.26–16.50	16.51–16.75	16.76–17	17.01–17.25	17.26–17.50	17.61–17.60
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	2	13	18	16	19	20	7	3	2
Not old Americans (50)	-------	4	14	24	24	28	4	2	------

[1] In the 247 laboratory subjects 16.39.

The essential point shown by the above results, and by the charts, is that the head in the members of the Academy, regardless of provenience, is larger than that of the old Americans at large, even of those of the "laboratory series" which included a good many men of higher education. The excess is limited to the dimensions of length and breadth. The difference would in all probability be even more pronounced if the brains could be compared direct, for everything points to the fact that the skulls of the academicians are not merely larger outside, but in general also more delicate, thinner, and hence additionally more spacious. All this tends to show that high mental activity either goes on hereditary basis with a large brain and head, or, which is more likely, that such activity favors the development of the brain. As intensive mental work means greater than ordinary blood supply to the brain, the enlargement of the organ may be conceived to be due to that agency, though just what grows or increases, whether the supporting and nourishing parts alone, or also the higher cellular constituents, is as yet uncertain.

The above facts may further be demonstrated through comparison of the mean diameter of the head (cephalic module) with stature. The data and charts are as follows:

---

[26] See the Old Americans, pp. 152, 193–5.

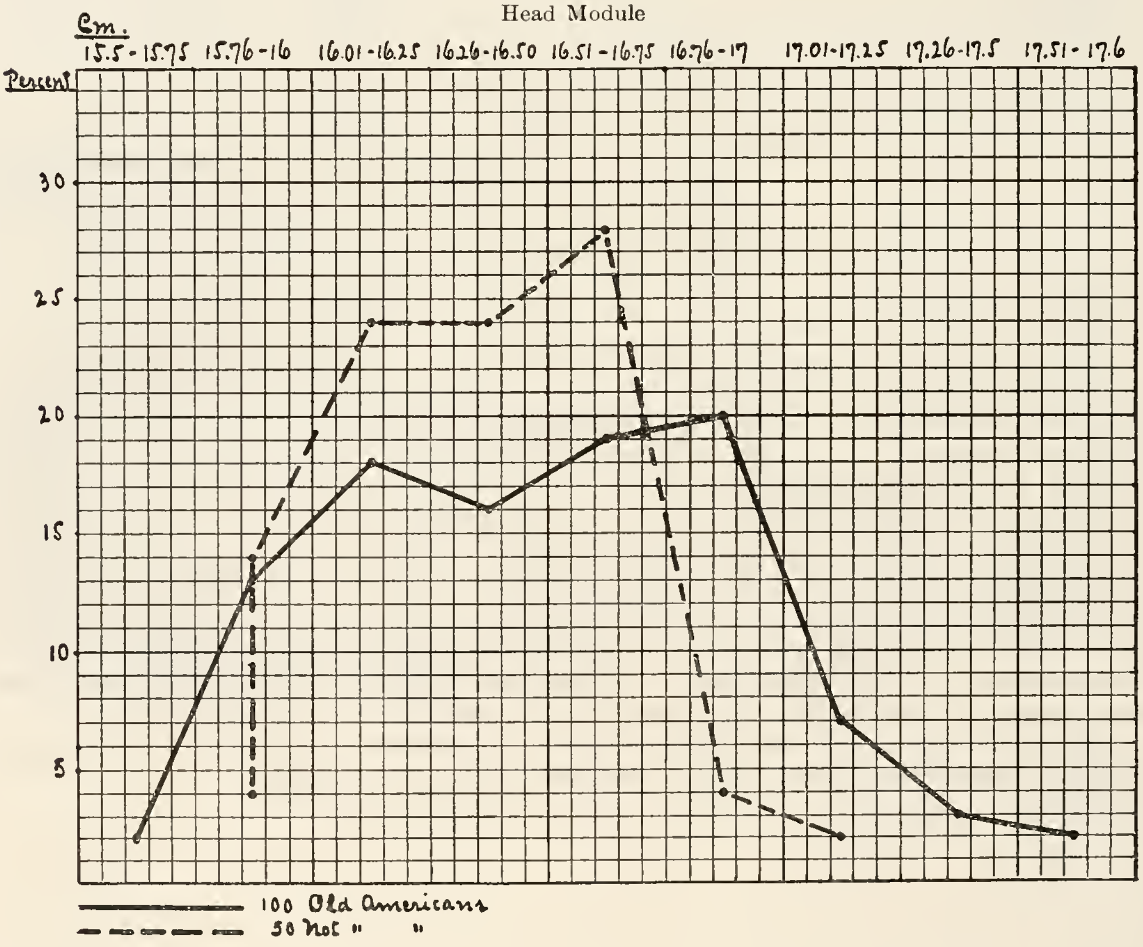
TABLE 30.—*Cephalic module versus stature*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	247
Average	9. 51	9. 50	[1] 9. 40
Minimum	8. 77	8. 88	8. 40
Maximum	10. 37	10. 20	10. 28
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*16. 82*	*13. 89*	*19. 95*

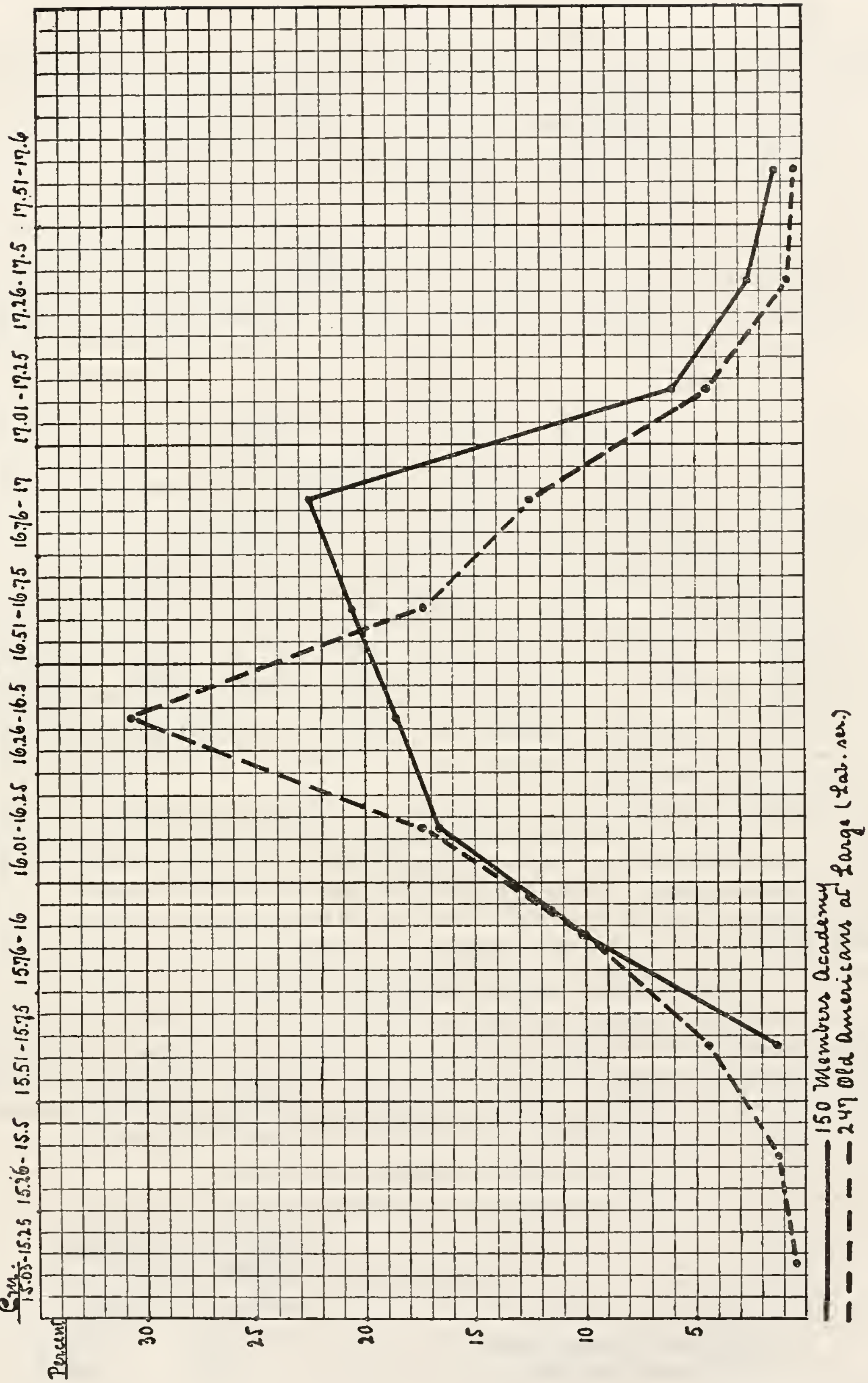
DISTRIBUTION

	8.77–8.90	8.91–9.10	9.11–9.30	9.31–9.50	9.51–9.70	9.71–9.90	9.91–10.10	10.11–10.30	10.31–10.37
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	5	7	15	30	14	13	10	4	2
Not old Americans (50)	2	10	16	20	20	26	4	2	-----

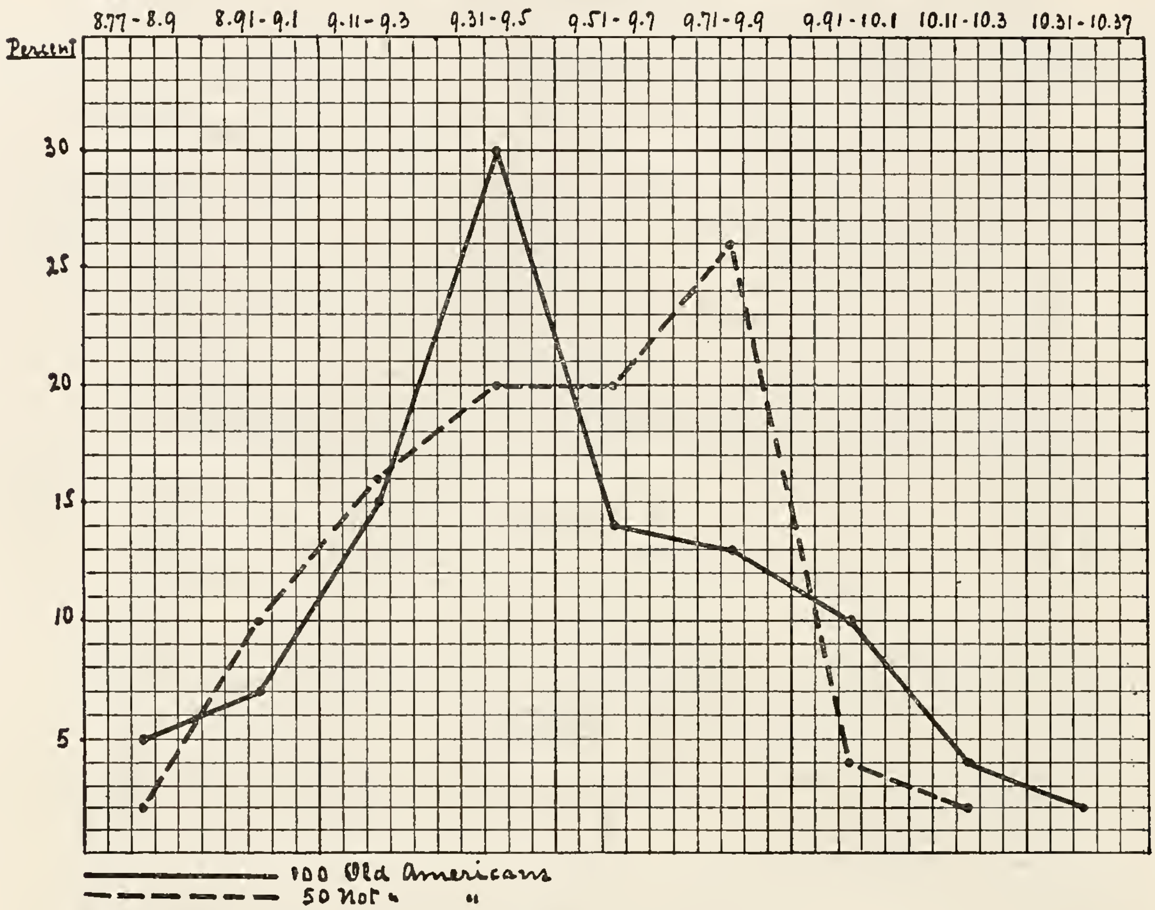
[1] The exact figure is 9.396; in 594 laboratory and Virginia subjects, 9.395.



Head Module in Members of National Academy and in Old Americans at Large



Head Module vs. Stature



The figures corroborate what has been shown by the module alone. The picture is not perfect, due to the fact that in many of the academicians the stature, which by itself influences the size of the head, has been somewhat reduced through advancing age while the head remained without appreciable change. Nevertheless, when the data are analyzed in the light of what is known about the correlation of the head size with stature, as the latter rises a certain plus remains throughout in favor of the members of the Academy, just as it remained for the more cultured old Americans at large when compared with the mountaineers of like ancestry. [27]

There is a means of testing the above important deduction. Of the 150 members of the Academy included in our series, 82 at the time of the examination were 60 or under, hence presumably materially unaffected as yet in their stature by senility. Of these, 80 furnish suitable data on both the stature and the three head diameters. Compared with a group of similar statures from among the "laboratory" and Virginia series of old Americans at large, the academicians show the conditions given underneath. The advantage remains with the members.

TABLE 31.—*Size of head in relation to stature*

	82 members of Academy up to 60 years, inclusive (average)	366 Americans at large, up to 60 years, inclusive (group)
	Centimeters	*Centimeters*
Stature	175. 01	170. 1–180
Cephalic module (mean diameter)	16. 54	16. 37
Cephalic module-stature ratio	*9. 45*	*9. 35*

---

[27] The Old Americans, p. 189.

Brief résumé as to head size.—Both the absolute size of the head, and the head size in relation to stature, are appreciably larger in the academicians than they are even in the educated and cultured old Americans at large; and this excess holds good even in those of 60 years of age and less. In addition, the general regularity and smoothness of the vault in the members of the Academy, with on the average but moderately developed muscles of mastication, suggest strongly that the skull is thinner and hence more spacious, for all sizes, than it is in even the old American population at large. The excess in the size of the head appears to be limited to its length and breadth, the height remaining unaffected. The increase thus observed can only be attributed to interstitial augmentation in the brain, which in turn is doubtless caused by long-continued greater than ordinary supply of blood to the brain. The excess of blood supply may, it would seem, be either primary, due to favorable endowment as to the circulatory system of the brain; or secondary, induced by long-continued greater demands. In all probability the two agencies in most cases cooperate.

HEAD SHAPE

The shape of the head, especially the skull, is also always of interest, though its value has often been ill-understood and still suffers frequently from unwarranted exaggeration. As already partly stated the shape of the skull or head, under normal conditions, has but little to do with the development and nothing whatsoever with the quality of the brain; it is of hereditary osteogenetic nature; that is, inherent in the bones themselves and their trophic nervous centers, modifiable more or less by ontogenetic mechanical conditions. It is of value in determining group or racial affinities, but by itself can tell but little in addition.

Under the influence of progressive civilization with its accompanying weakening of the muscles and structures that serve mastication, there has been noticed what appears to be a general tendency toward broadening and shortening of the skull. There are individual and familial exceptions to this, but the general trend has been as stated. In no known case of a human group has there been found a tendency in the opposite direction. So much in the way of an introduction to this item and its allure.

The most used, though by no means sufficient, representation of head shape is that by the cephalic index, which is the expression of the percentage of the breadth of the head as compared with its length. The data on this index in the academicians follow:

Table 32.—*Cephalic index*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (entire series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	727
Average	78. 56 ±0. 20	79. 96 ±0. 35	[1] 77. 95
Minimum	73. 0	71. 9	69. 7
Maximum	85. 4	86. 2	90. 9
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*15. 78*	*17. 89*	*27. 20*
σ	3. 00 ±0. 14	3. 62 ±0. 25	----------
CV	3. 82 ±0. 18	4. 53 ±0. 13	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	71.9–72.50	72.51–75	75.01–77.50	77.51–80	80.10–82.50	82.51–85	85.10–86.20
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	--------	13	24	30	24	7	2
Not old Americans (50)	2	6	18	18	32	12	12

CURRENT CLASSIFICATION

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (entire series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	727
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
Dolichocephalic (C. I. up to 75)	*13*	*8*	*16. 6*
Mesocephalic (C. I. 75.1–80)	*53*	*36*	*61. 7*
Brachycephalic (C. I. 80.1 and over)	*34*	*56*	*21. 7*

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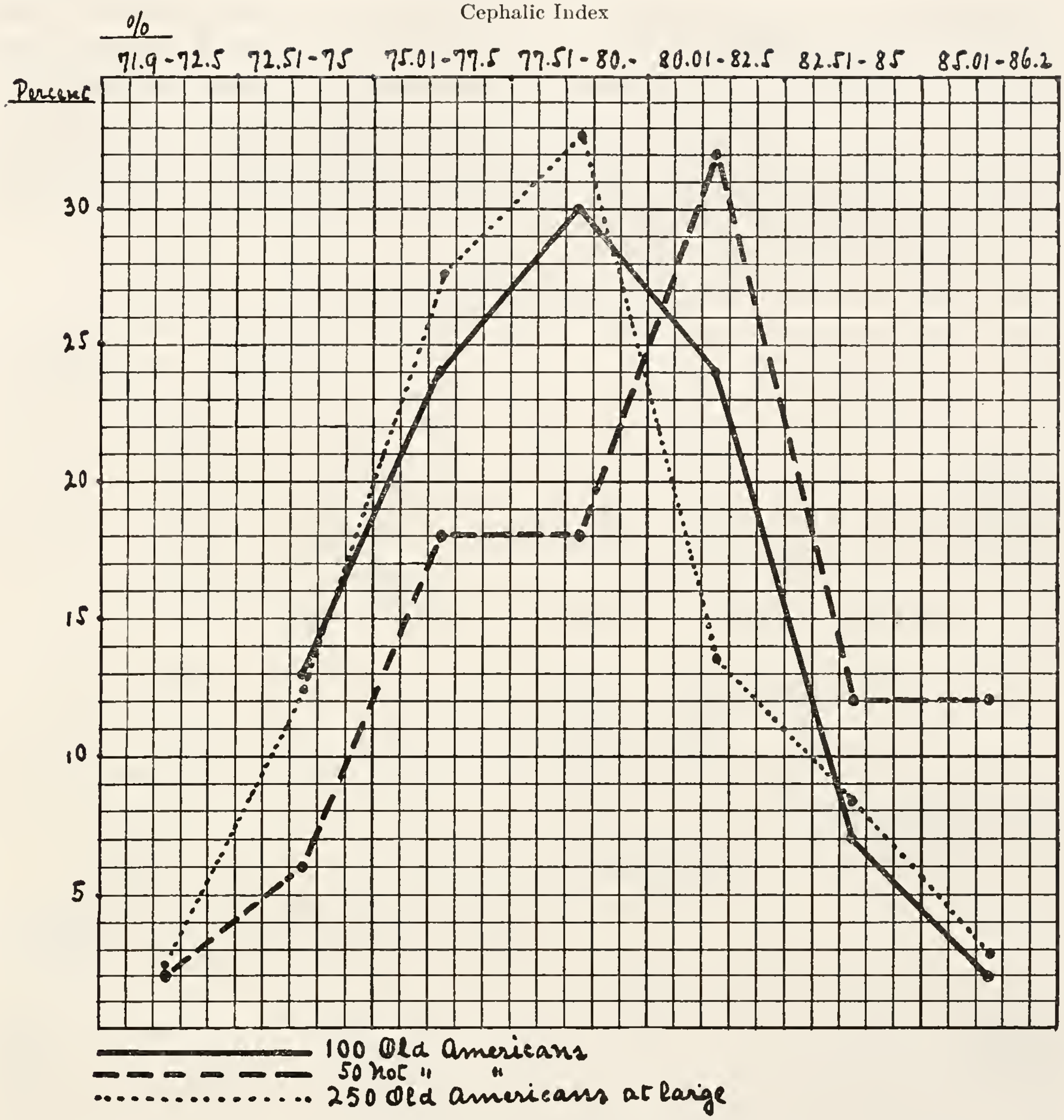
[1] In the 247 laboratory subjects 78.28.

The above data give much food for reflection. The members of the Academy, of both groups, though especially the not old Americans, differ significantly in cephalic index from the old Americans at large, both the Academy groups showing smaller proportions of the dolichocephalic and mesocephalic, and decidedly larger percentages of the brachycephalic. Among the European-born members and those of recent American parentage over one-half, and among the old American members one-third, are brachycephalic, while among the old Americans at large the proportion is only a little over one-fifth. There are plainly some factors in the membership that favor broadheadedness. In the not old Americans the main of these factors is doubtless racial heredity, but this cannot be applied to the members of old American parentage who are of the same extraction as the old Americans at large. It is necessary to conclude that in this group the excess of broader heads is connected with a greater weakening, in this on the whole socially favored class, of those mechanical influences that ordinarily keep the skull from relative broadening; and such influences could only be those, it would seem, of the muscles of mastication, particularly the temporal muscles. We have seen, under visual observations, that in the members of the Academy the whole masticatory apparatus is on the average of submedium development, which harmonizes with the above deduction. The temporal muscles, aside from the masseters, are the principal muscles of mastication. They are attached to the sides of the skull and cover an extensive surface of the frontoparietal region on each side. Their presence, but especially their action, exerts a certain amount of bilateral pressure on the skull and thus constitutes

Cephalic Index



so much hindrance to the expansion of the vault in the lateral direction. This is probably of but small account in the ordinary adult skull; but the studies on the old Americans have shown that, in the mentally active at least, the skull keeps on enlarging slightly to a much later age than the mere setting in of the adult period;[28] and there is thus a chance that the development and use of the temporal muscles may more or less influence the breadth of the skull through a considerable part of the life of an individual. What influence the pressure of the muscles in question has on the breadth of the skull during the growing period has long since been strikingly demonstrated by Anthony.[29]

HEAD HEIGHT INDICES

These indices attempt to show the relative value of the height of the head to the other two principal head diameters. The older indices are those of height-length and height-breadth, and the principal data on these will be given for the benefit of those who may wish to use them. More satisfactory determination, however, in the conviction of the writer, is the mean height index $\left(\frac{\text{Height}}{\text{Mean of length and breadth}}\right)$, for the three dimensions, but particularly the length with the breadth, stand in a compensatory relation to each other (table 33, chart 13). Comparing the height with either the length or breadth separately leaves a void that necessitates also the other index and needlessly complicates matters; besides which the classification of the two separate indices (*H-L* and *H-B*) is such as to tend to confuse the student rather than clear matters.

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[28] The Old Americans, p. 186 et seq.; and especially Growth During Adult Life, Proc. Am. Philos. Soc., 1936, LXXVI, 875 et seq.

[29] Anthony (R.).—Études expérimentales sur la morphogenie des os: modifications crâniennes consécutives á l'ahlation du crotaphyte chez le chien. J. physiol. & path. gén., Paris, 1903, V, 245–258.

The next table gives the three indices:

TABLE 33.—*Mean height index of the head* [1]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (entire series,)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	727
Average	78. 44±0. 20	78. 86±0. 23	[2] 79. 02
Minimum	71. 5	72. 8	71. 9
Maximum	86. 2	83. 6	88. 1
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*18. 73*	*13. 70*	*20. 50*
σ	2. 90±0. 14	2. 46±0. 17	----------
CV	3. 70±0. 18	3. 12±0. 21	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	71.5–72.99	73–74.99	75–76.99	77–78.99	79–80.99	81–82.99	83–84.99	85–86.2
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	4	10	16	27	25	13	4	1
Not old Americans (50)	2	6	10	32	32	16	2	------

HEIGHT-LENGTH INDEX OF THE HEAD

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (except the mountaineers)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	594
Average	69. 91±0. 20	70. 89±0. 25	70. 60
σ	2. 94±0. 14	2. 64±0. 18	----------
CV	4. 20±0. 20	3. 72±0. 25	----------

HEIGHT-BREADTH INDEX

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	594
Average	89. 02±0. 24	88. 69±0. 34	90. 29
σ	3. 61±0. 17	3. 52±0. 24	----------
CV	4. 05±0. 19	3. 97±0. 27	----------

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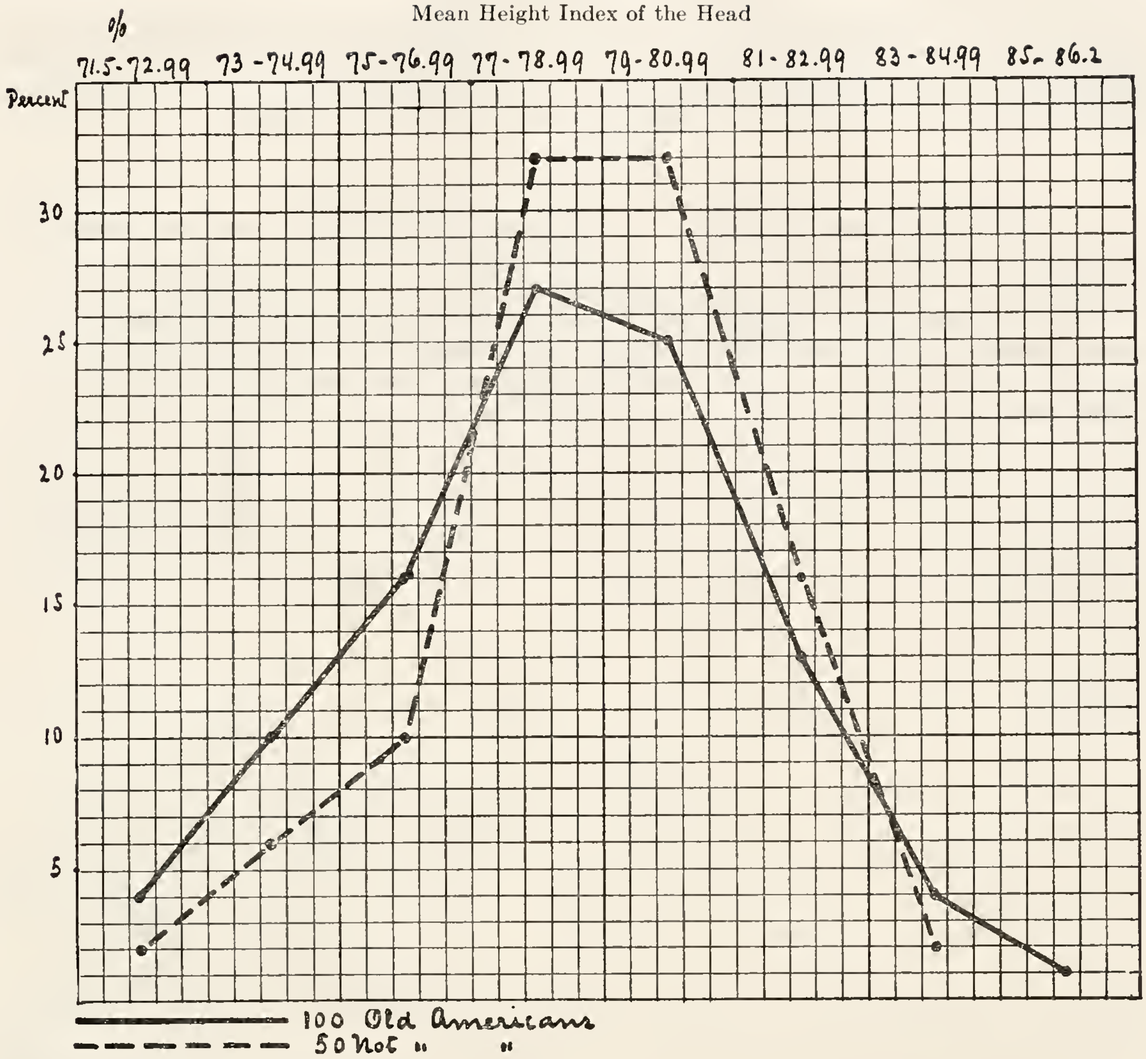
[1] See following equation:

$$\frac{\text{Height} \times 100}{\text{Mean of length} + \text{Breadth}}.$$

[2] In the 247 laboratory subjects 79.

Mean Height Index of the Head



The figures show, first of all, a close agreement in the relative values of the height in the members of both series in the Academy, and a fairly close one between these and the outside old Americans. The slight differences that there are between the academicians and the old Americans at large express what has already been seen under the individual measurements. The relative value of the head height is slightly larger in the outsiders than in the members, especially the members of old American derivation. This means simply that in the members, where the length and breadth of the head had augmented beyond the norms of these dimensions in the outsiders, the height of the head lagged slightly behind. The height-length and height-breadth indices show only that the breadth of the head in the academicians increased slightly more even than the length.

The scrutiny of the main relative proportions or indices of the head in the academicians may briefly be summarized thus:

In both the cephalic and the head-height indices the two series of the members of the Academy show some differences, the not old Americans being more broad-headed and also slightly more high-vaulted in relation to head length and even to the mean of length and breadth. In their turn the old Americans of the Academy are relatively somewhat more broad-headed but slightly less high-vaulted relatively to head length, as well as the mean of head length and breadth. Thus it is seen once more that the greater size of the head in the academicians was not uniform in all the three main directions, but was realized most in the breadth, less in the length, and least—in fact not at all, as seen under the measurement itself—in the height of their skull. This must not be taken, however, for any selectivity in the head growth but only as a result of the differences in the mechanical resistances in the several directions.

The Face

In anthropometry on the living we recognize two "faces"; namely, the conventional or physiognomic, and the anatomical. The physiognomic face includes the forehead, the anatomical extends from the nasal root (nasion) downward.

The first feature of the physiognomic face that calls for attention is the forehead, which, though belonging to the vault, forms an important constituent of the "visage" or face, in the ordinary understanding of the word. This part has already been dealt with in part under visual observations, but there remain to be considered its actual measurements. There are two important measurements of the forehead in the living—the height from nasion to hair line or arc and the smaller frontal breadth (diameter frontal minimum). The first regrettably was possible on only a rather small number of the members of the Academy, a large majority having suffered more or less loss of hair above the forehead; nevertheless there were interesting results. These results have already been partly utilized and published,[30] in view of which the table of facts with a few remarks here will be sufficient.

Table 34.—*Height of forehead*

[Nasion-Crinion] [1]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large	
	Old Americans	Members irrespective of derivation	Laboratory and Virginians	Tennessee highlanders
Subjects ____________ number __	25	32	510	118
Average ________ centimeters ___	6. 57	6. 58	6. 59	6. 57

[1] Point in the middle of the normal arc of the hair; where the hair in the middle descends in more or less of an angle, this is disregarded, the hair arc is visually reconstructed and the measurement is taken to its midpoint as usual.

The members of the Academy are seen to be identical in the height of the forehead with the old Americans at large and even with the Tennessee highlanders, who stand on the lowest cultural scale of the old American whites in general. The valuelessness of the height of the forehead as a criterion of intellectuality is further shown by the fact that the forehead is actually slightly higher in the male American Indian than in the academicians; more so in the Negro, and even more so in the Eskimo.[31] The height of the forehead, under normal conditions, depends essentially on the higher or lower extension of the hair over the front of the head.

BREADTH OF THE FOREHEAD

The most practicable breadth measurement on the forehead in the living is what is known as the smallest frontal diameter, which is the distance between the points of the closest approach on the temporal ridges above the bases of the two zygomatic processes of the frontal bone. This dimension depends in a measure on the breadth of the skull, but this correlation falls considerably short of parallelism.[32] The results of the measurement will be seen in the next tables.

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[30] Hrdlička (A.): The Forehead. Proc. Am. Philos. Soc., 1933, LXXII, 315 et seq.; reprinted in Smithsonian Rep. for 1934.

[31] Ibid., p. 319.

[32] Ibid., p. 239.

Table 35.—*Diameter frontal minimum*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	247
Average	10.59±0.030	10.67±0.045	10.59
Minimum	9.1	9.8	9.3
Maximum	11.7	12.0	11.9
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*24.55*	*22.49*	*24.55*
σ	0.446±0.021	0.476±0.032	----------
CV	4.21 ±0.20	4.46 ±0.30	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	9.1–9.2	9.3–9.7	9.8–10.2	10.3–10.7	10.8–11.2	11.3–11.7	11.8–12
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	2	--------	16	46	32	4	------
Not old Americans (50)	--------	--------	22	32	38	6	2

The above data are very interesting. The dimension shows in both groups of the members a remarkable aggregation about the mean. The average diameter shows slightly higher in the academicians of European birth or more recent derivation, and both the average values of the measurement as well as its variability are practically identical in the old Americans within and those outside of the Academy.

The slightly larger lower frontal breadth in the academicians of more recent derivation as compared to those of old American descent is in all probability wholly due to the somewhat broader head of the former; the percental relation of the mean diameter frontal minimum to head breadth in the not old Americans is 67.36, in the old American members 67.56, which shows there is no real difference.

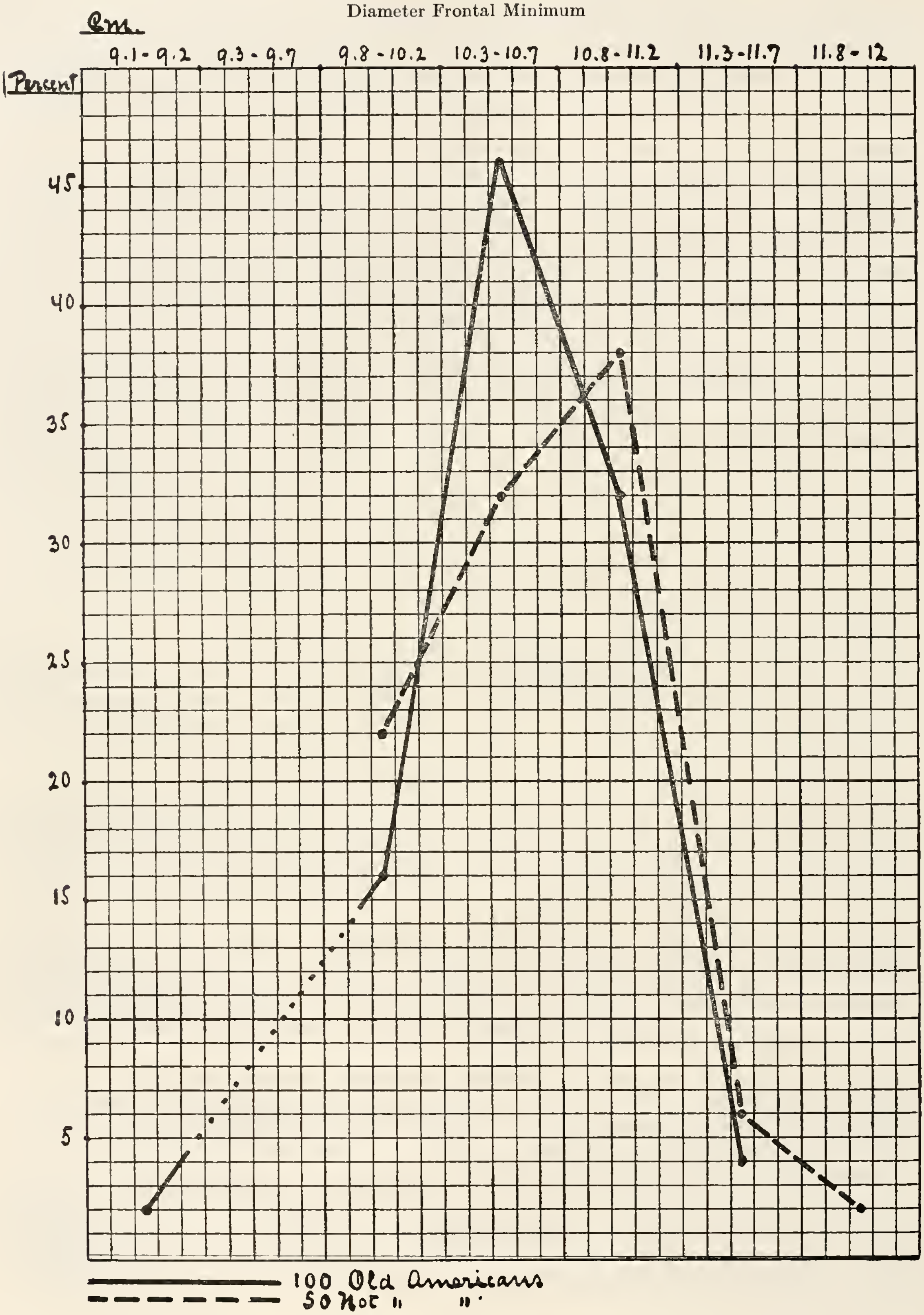
The height and breadth of the forehead give the forehead index $\left(\frac{H\times 100}{B}\right)$, and also an approximation of the forehead area ($H \times B$), either or both of which may be useful in various group comparisons. In the present case, with no appreciable difference in either of the measurements between the academicians and the old Americans outside, these two determinations would be superflous.

THE FACE AS A WHOLE

There are possible three main measurements of the face as a whole, namely the total or physiognomic height (menton-crinion), the lower or anatomical height (menton-nasion), and the greatest breadth (diameter bizygomatic maximum). These measurements in turn give us two mean diameters or modules $\left(\frac{\text{Total height} + \text{Breadth}}{2}, \frac{\text{Lower height} + \text{Breadth}}{2}\right)$, which are useful for comparison with the mean diameter or module of the head; and two indices, the physiognomic $\left(\frac{\text{Facial breadth} \times 100}{\text{Total facial height}}\right)$ and the anatomical $\left(\frac{\text{Lower facial height} \times 100}{\text{Facial breadth}}\right)$, which are useful for group and racial comparisons.

In addition, there are a number of possible secondary measurements of the face, the more important of which are the height and the smallest breadth of the forehead, which have already been dealt with; and the bigonial diameter, which gives the maximum external breadth of the lower jaw. In dealing here with the different determinations on the face all possible effort will be made to keep matters, which in this line could readily become involved, as clear as possible.

Diameter Frontal Minimum



TOTAL FACIAL HEIGHT

This measurement is possible only where the true hair line is preserved. In the members of the Academy in a large majority of cases, it was seen, there has been more or less loss of hair over the forehead, and in consequence the measurement was impracticable. There are but 32 records of the dimension, 25 on the old Americans in the Academy and 7 on the others, numbers too small to give an adequate picture of conditions. The data, whatever they may be worth, are as follows:

TABLE 36.—*Physiognomic height of the face*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (except mountaineers)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	25	7	443
Average	18. 90±0. 14	19±0. 23	[1] 18. 81
Minimum	16. 8	17. 4	16. 1
Maximum	21. 6	20. 6	21. 2
Range of variation in percent of the average	*25. 40*	*16. 84*	*27. 11*
σ	1. 07±0. 10	0. 91±0. 16	------
CV	5. 66±0. 54	4. 81±0. 87	------

[1] In 296 drafted "engineers," Southern States, old American, 18.96.

There are but very slight differences, and those probably are associated with differences in stature.

TOTAL FACIAL HEIGHT VERSUS STATURE

Taking 443 old Americans at large (laboratory and Southeastern States series), we obtain the total-face-height: stature ratio of 10.76 (Southeastern States alone 10.87), while in the 32 academicians it is 10.70. Relatively to stature therefore the total facial height is slightly smaller in the members than in the outside old Americans. This difference would be even more marked if the dimension could be compared in the members of the Academy with their stature before it was affected by age. The indications are therefore that in the academicians the face is slightly less developed than it is in the old Americans at large. The conditions will come out with more clearness when the lower facial height is considered.

FACIAL BREADTH

The maximum bizygomatic diameter was measurable on all the members of the Academy and yielded the results shown in the next tables.

TABLE 37.—*Facial breadth* (*diameter bizygomatic maximum*)

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (except mountaineers)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	[1] 50	594
Average	13. 96±0. 033	14. 09±0. 059	[2] 13. 92
Minimum	12. 8	13. 0	12. 8
Maximum	15. 2	16. 3	15. 8
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*17. 19*	*23. 42*	*21. 55*
σ	0. 495±0. 023	0. 615±0. 042	----------
CV	3. 54±0. 17	4. 35±0. 29	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	12. 8–13. 2	13. 3–13. 7	13. 8–14. 2	14. 3–14. 7	14. 8–15. 2	15. 3–15. 7	15. 8–16. 2	16. 3
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	8	22	41	24	5	--------	--------	------
Not old Americans (50)	6	16	42	26	6	2	--------	[3] 2

FACIAL BREADTH AND STATURE VERSUS AGE [4]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (except mountaineers)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	60	22	594
Average	*7. 95*±0. 030	*8. 04*±0. 057	[5] *7. 99*
σ	0. 344±0. 021	0. 397±0. 040	----------
CV	4. 32±0. 27	4. 94±0. 50	----------
Over 60 years of age	40	28	----------
Average	*8. 19*±0. 039	*8. 16*±0. 051	----------
σ	0. 368±0. 039	0. 400±0. 036	----------
CV	4. 50±0. 34	4. 90±0. 44	----------

---

[1] In 1 of these members the facial breadth reached 16.3 centimeters, an exceptional figure, but as there was no abnormality it had to be included in the series. Without it the average would be 14.09, the simple coefficient of variation 17.19.

[2] In 347 subjects from the Southeastern States 13.97.

[3] 1 very exceptional case of racial origin.

[4] See the following equation:

$$\frac{\text{Diameter bizygomatic maximum} \times 100}{\text{Stature}}.$$

[5] In 256 drafted engineers, old Americans, from Virginia and the Southeastern States 8.04.

Facial Breadth (diam. bizygom. max.)

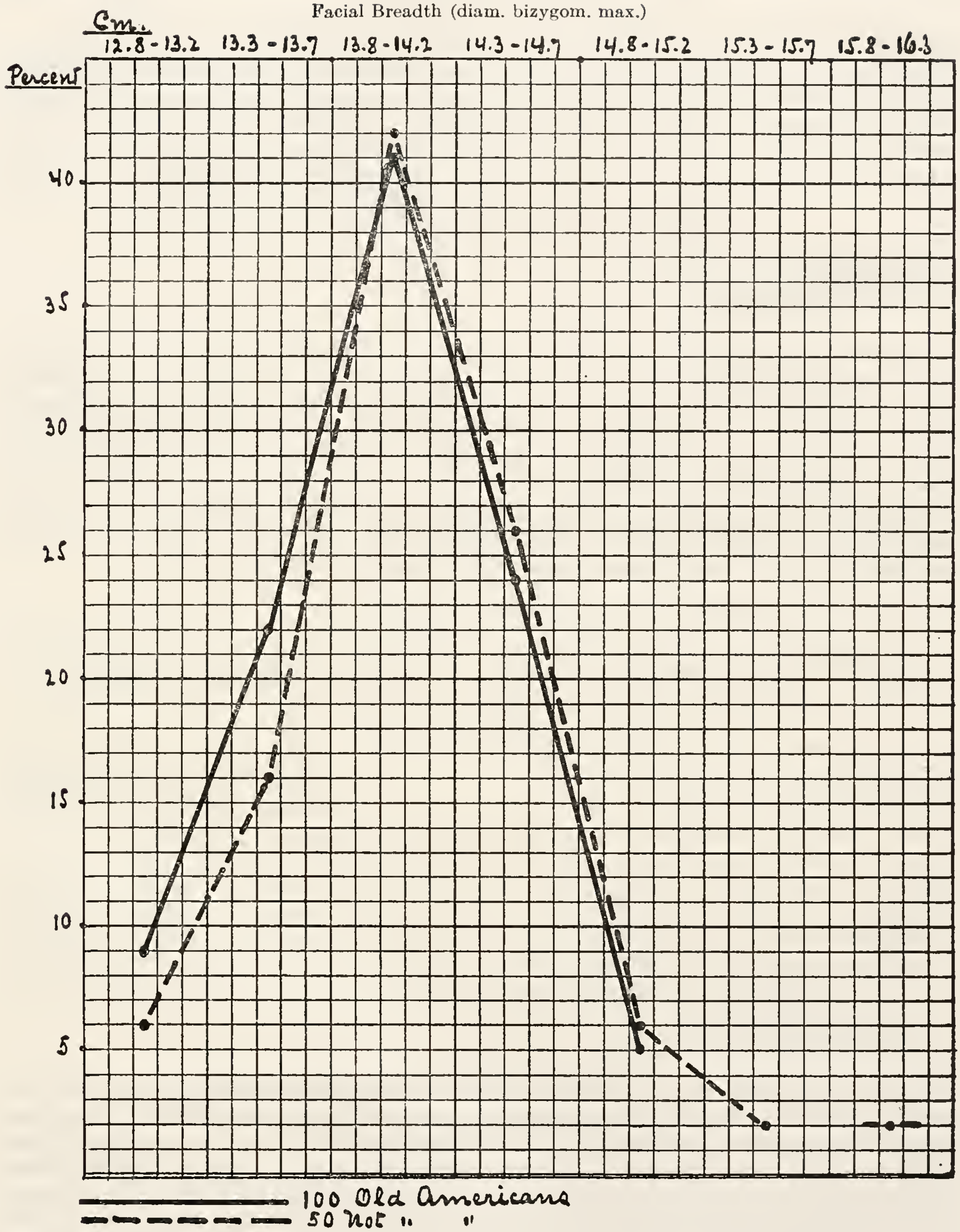


Table 38.—*Facial breadth versus head breadth* [1]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (except mountaineers)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	594
Average	*89. 17*±0. 160	*88. 95*±0. 190	*90. 10*
σ	2. 31±0. 110	1. 96±0. 130	----------
CV	2. 59±0. 12	2. 20±0. 15	----------

[1] See the following equation:

$$\frac{\text{Diameter bizygomatic maximum} \times 100}{\text{Maximum breadth of head}}.$$

The above data show that absolutely the bizygomatic breadth in the members of the Academy is close to that of the more cultured old Americans in general. In relation to stature, considering the academicians up to 60 years of age only, it is slightly less in the old American members, slightly more (due probably to racial influences) in the not old Americans than in the old Americans at large. Contrasted with head breadth, with which facial breadth correlates closely, its relative value is appreciably less (due to relatively greater value of head breadth) in both groups of the members than in the old Americans at large. Thus the whole face in the academicians is relatively slightly smaller than in the old Americans at large. The cause of this is doubtless functional—less use in general of the apparatus of mastication.

PHYSIOGNOMIC FACIAL INDEX

This index is available in only the 32 cases in which the measurement of total facial height was feasible. It compares thus with that of the old Americans in the general population:

Table 39.—*Physiognomic facial index* [1]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (except mountaineers)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	25	7	443
Average	*74. 37*	*73. 91*	*74. 18*
Minimum	64. 7	(69. 9)	63. 7
Maximum	85. 1	(79. 3)	85. 7
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*27. 52*	(*12. 73*)	*29. 66*

[1] See the following equation:

$$\frac{\text{Diameter bizygomatic maximum} \times 100}{\text{Menton-crinion height}}.$$

The physiognomic or total facial index in the old American members of the Academy and the old Americans at large is quite similar; with the not old American members the comparisons suffer through the inadequate numbers of the academicians, but there is no indication of any material difference in the group. In 11 out of the 12 series of white immigrants to the United States that were available for comparison when the volume on The Old American was in preparation, this index was higher than any of the above, ranging from 74.70 to 79.20, due to a relatively greater facial breadth in these groups;[33] and so it was in 13 out of 14 European groups reported upon by other observers, ranging in these from 74.70 to 78.90. All this shows that in both the cultured old Americans at large and in the academicians of whatever derivation, the relative value of the bizygomatic breadth is reduced.

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[33] See volume in question, pp. 224–225.

LOWER FACIAL HEIGHT

This is the height from the lowest median point on the chin to the nasion, a point in the living over that at which the nasal suture joins the frontonasal in the skull.[34] It is the height of the facial parts proper, i. e., of the face less the forehead. The measurement was practicable on all the members of the Academy, for though some have lost their teeth these were replaced by artificial dentures that restored the parts close to normal. It is essentially the measurement of the combined height of the jaws. It gave the results shown in tables 40 and 41:

Table 40.—*Height of face to nasion (menton-nasion)*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (except mountaineers)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	594
Average	12. 07±0. 050	12. 06±0. 058	12. 19
Minimum	10. 4	10. 8	10. 3
Maximum	14. 2	13. 6	14. 1
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*31. 48*	*23. 22*	*30. 69*
σ	0. 735±0. 035	0. 605±0. 041	----------
CV	6. 07±0. 29	4. 99±0. 34	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	10. 4–10. 7	10. 8–11. 2	11. 3–11. 7	11. 8–12. 2	12. 3–12. 7	12. 8–13. 2	13. 3–13. 7	13. 8–14. 2
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	3	8	20	30	18	15	4	2
Not old Americans (50)	---------	8	16	38	22	12	4	------

MENTON-NASION HEIGHT AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (except mountaineers)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	60	22	594
Average	12. 13±0. 065	12. 30±0. 078	12. 19
σ	0. 751±0. 046	0. 543±0. 055	----------
CV	6. 18±0. 38	4. 38±0. 45	----------
Over 60 years of age	40	28	----------
Average	12. 02±0. 075	11. 93±0. 074	----------
σ	0. 707±0. 053	0. 578±0. 052	----------
CV	5. 88±0. 44	4. 85±0. 44	----------

The lower or anatomical facial height is seen to be quite variable. In the more aged academicians, notwithstanding artificial dentures, it has evidently suffered some reduction. Even in those up to 60 years of age only, in the old American members, it is a trace lower than in the old Americans at large. In the members of more recent derivation, up to 60, the face is slightly higher, but this may be accidental, for when all the members of each group are taken together the lower facial height in the two classes of members is nearly equal.

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[34] The nasion in the living in all the writer's work is located at the point of the closest possible correspondence to the nasion in the skull, the procedure being based on a thorough acquaintance with the latter.

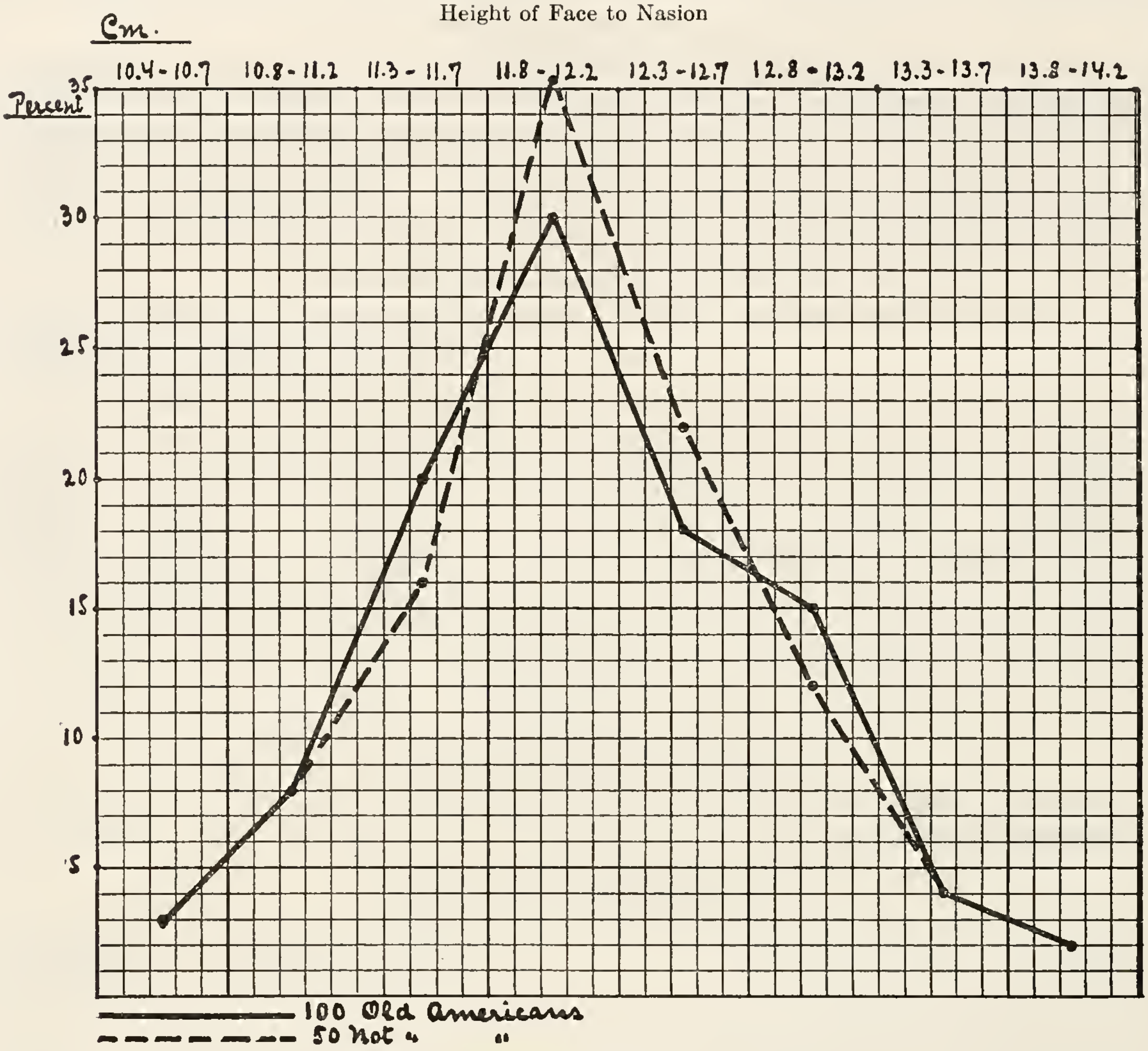

TABLE 41.—*Menton-nasion height versus stature*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (except mountaineers)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	594
Average	6.96±0.028	6.92±0.033	[1] 6.99
σ	0.409±0.020	0.351±0.024	
CV	5.88±0.28	5.07±0.34	

MENTON-NASION HEIGHT VERSUS STATURE IN SUBJECTS UP TO 60 YEARS OF AGE, INCLUSIVE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (except mountaineers)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	62	22	594
Average ratio	6.93	7.03	[1] 6.99
Mean age, years	52.7	40.4	30.0

[1] In 347 Virginia and Southeastern States 7.12.

The last figures in table 41 show the lower facial height in relation to stature in subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive. The old Americans of the Academy show a slightly lower relative value. The slightly opposite showing of the not old American members, if not fortuitous, could be ascribed to either somewhat differing racial or ontogenetic conditions.

When compared with the same measurements in 12 of the immigrant groups to the United States, the lower facial height of the academicians is seen to differ less from the European newcomers than does the facial breadth. The mean percental relation of the menton-nasion height to stature ranged in the immigrants from 6.76 to 7.18; 5 of the 12 groups, including the English, exceeding, 7 not quite equaling, those of the Academy. Matters in these respects are rather complex and incapable as yet of a full elucidation.

THE LOWER OR ANATOMICAL FACIAL INDEX

This index expresses the percental relation of the lower or anatomical facial height to facial breadth $\left(\frac{\text{menton-nasion diameter}\times 100}{\text{diameter bizygomatic maximum}}\right)$. Its value is marred somewhat by the effect on facial length of stature and on facial breadth of the breadth of the head, nevertheless it is a fairly useful determination. The academicians in this line show as follows:

Table 42.—*Lower or anatomical facial index* [1]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (except mountaineers)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	594
Average	86.45±0.36	85.31±0.53	87.73
Minimum	72.73	75.52	73.3
Maximum	100.0	99.26	100.0
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*31.54*	*27.83*	*30.43*
σ	5.31±0.25	5.52±0.37	----------
CV	6.13±0.29	6.46±0.44	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	72.73–73.49	73.5–76.49	76.5–79.49	79.5–82.49	82.5–85.49	85.5–88.49	88.5–91.49	91.5–94.49	94.5–97.49	97.5–100
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	1	2	2	17	23	19	16	14	3	3
Not old Americans (50)	------	4	6	26	16	18	18	6	2	4

LOWER FACIAL INDEX AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (except mountaineers)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	60	22	594
Average	87.24±0.44	87.38±0.79	87.73
σ	5.10±0.31	5.49±0.56	----------
CV	5.83±0.36	6.26±0.64	----------
Over 60 years of age	40	28	----------
Average	85.50±0.57	83.79±0.62	----------
σ	5.37±0.40	4.88±0.44	----------
CV	6.28±0.47	5.82±0.52	----------

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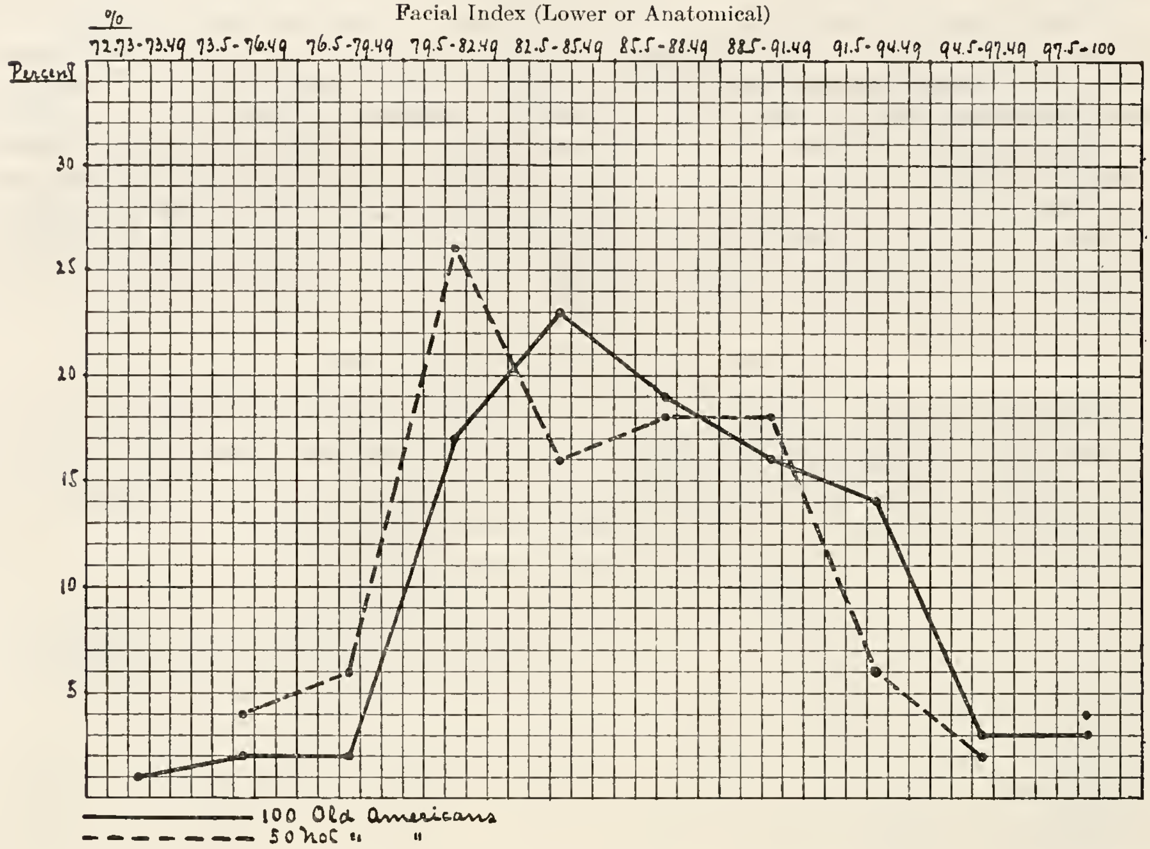
[1] See the following equation:

$$\frac{\text{Menton-nasion height}\times 100}{\text{Diameter bizygomatic maximum}}$$


Facial Index (Lower or Anatomical)

The anatomical facial index is appreciably lower in the members of the Academy, and especially in those of European birth or more recent derivation, than it is in the old Americans at large; but if the effects of old age are discounted the indices in the three groups are very similar. This, it should be borne in mind, expresses only the relation of the two diameters that are involved and they should be considered also by themselves.

On the whole the principal facial dimensions here considered and also their relations, in the members of the Academy, have shown but slight to very moderate differences from those of the more cultured old Americans at large. To facilitate a clearer view of the conditions the main facial findings will be repeated in the next table.

TABLE 43.—*Summary of the main facial measurements, indices, and relations*

	Physiognomic facial height (menton-crinion)	Anatomic facial height (menton-nasion)	Greatest facial breadth (diameter bizygomatic maximum)	Facial index, physiognomic	Facial index, anatomic	Facial height, anatomic versus stature	Facial breadth versus stature	Facial height, anatomic versus head length	Facial breadth versus head breadth
Members of the Academy:									
Old Americans (100)	[1] 18. 90	12. 07	13. 96	[1] 74. 37	86. 45	6. 96	8. 05	60. 54	89. 17
Not old Americans (50)	[2] 19. 0	12. 06	14. 09	[2] 73. 91	85. 31	6. 92	8. 10	60. 84	88 95
Subjects to 60 years of age:									
Old Americans (62)	--------	12. 13	13. 91	--------	87. 24	6. 93	7. 95	60. 65	--------
Not old Americans (22)	--------	12. 30	14. 08	--------	87. 38	7. 03	8. 04	61. 72	--------
Old Americans at large (except the mountaineers) (594)	[3] 18. 81	12. 19	13. 92	[3] 74. 18	[4] 87. 73	6. 99	7. 99	61. 69	90. 10

[1] 25 subjects.
[2] 7 subjects.
[3] 443 subjects.
[4] In the 247 laboratory subjects 86.08.

The Academy members not old Americans have a slightly larger face, the members of old American extraction a slightly smaller face, both absolutely and relatively to stature, than the old Americans at large (exclusive of the mountaineers); and in both groups of the Academy, though especially in the foreign-born or recent American, the head breadth relatively to face breadth is larger than in the old Americans outside. In the academicians above 60 years of age both heights of the face and hence both facial indices are affected somewhat through changes of old age, while the face height-stature relations are marred by the reduction in the facial height and the even more marked one in stature.

LOWER FACIAL BREADTH

This is the "bigonial" diameter, or the breadth between the points farthest apart on the external aspect of two angles of the lower jaw. The development and prominence of these angles is directly connected with and due to the development of the masseter muscles, the chief muscles of mastication, assisted more or less by the internal pterygoid muscles; but the bigonial breadth varies somewhat also in correlation with the breadth of the skull.

By visual examination, the angles of the lower jaw in the members of the Academy were found generally subdued and in no single case protruding. The measurements show as follows:

TABLE 44.—*Bigonial diameter*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	247
Average	10. 61±0. 036	10. 77±0. 047	10. 63
Minimum	9. 2	9. 9	9. 0
Maximum	11. 7	12. 2	12. 6
Range of variation in precentage of the average	*23. 56*	*21. 36*	*33. 87*
σ	0. 535±0. 025	0. 492±0. 033	----------
CV	5. 05±0. 24	4. 57±0. 31	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	9. 2.	9. 3–9. 7	9. 8–10. 2	10. 3–10. 7	10. 8–11. 2	11. 3–11. 7	11. 8–12. 2
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	1	3	25	30	31	10	------
Not old Americans (50)	--------	--------	14	38	30	16	2

BIGONIAL BREADTH VERSUS STATURE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	60	22	247
Average	6. 04	6. 19	6. 09
Over 60 years of age	40	28	----------
Average	6. 22	6. 18	----------

BIGONIAL BREADTH VERSUS HEAD BREADTH

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	247
Average	67. 77	68. 01	68. 67

The bigonial breadth in absolute figures is slightly larger in the members of more recent than in those of old American ancestry, and identical in the latter with that of the cultured old Americans at large. In relation to stature, taking only the academicians up to 60, the not old American members exceed somewhat, the old American are slightly inferior to, the outsiders. In relation to head-breadth both groups of members, especially the old Americans, show slightly inferior to the nonmembers, due not to a lesser bigonial breadth but to the relatively greater head breadth of the former.

It should be borne in mind that the above comparisons are made with a group of old Amercans (laboratory series) that was above the general average culturally, the measurement not having been taken on the other contingents. There are available, however, nice series of data secured under my direction by Dr. Mary T. Mernin on 100 German and 100 French adult male immigrants up to 60 years of age, passing through Ellis Island before the present restrictions on immigration.

Lower Facial Breadth (diam. bigonial)

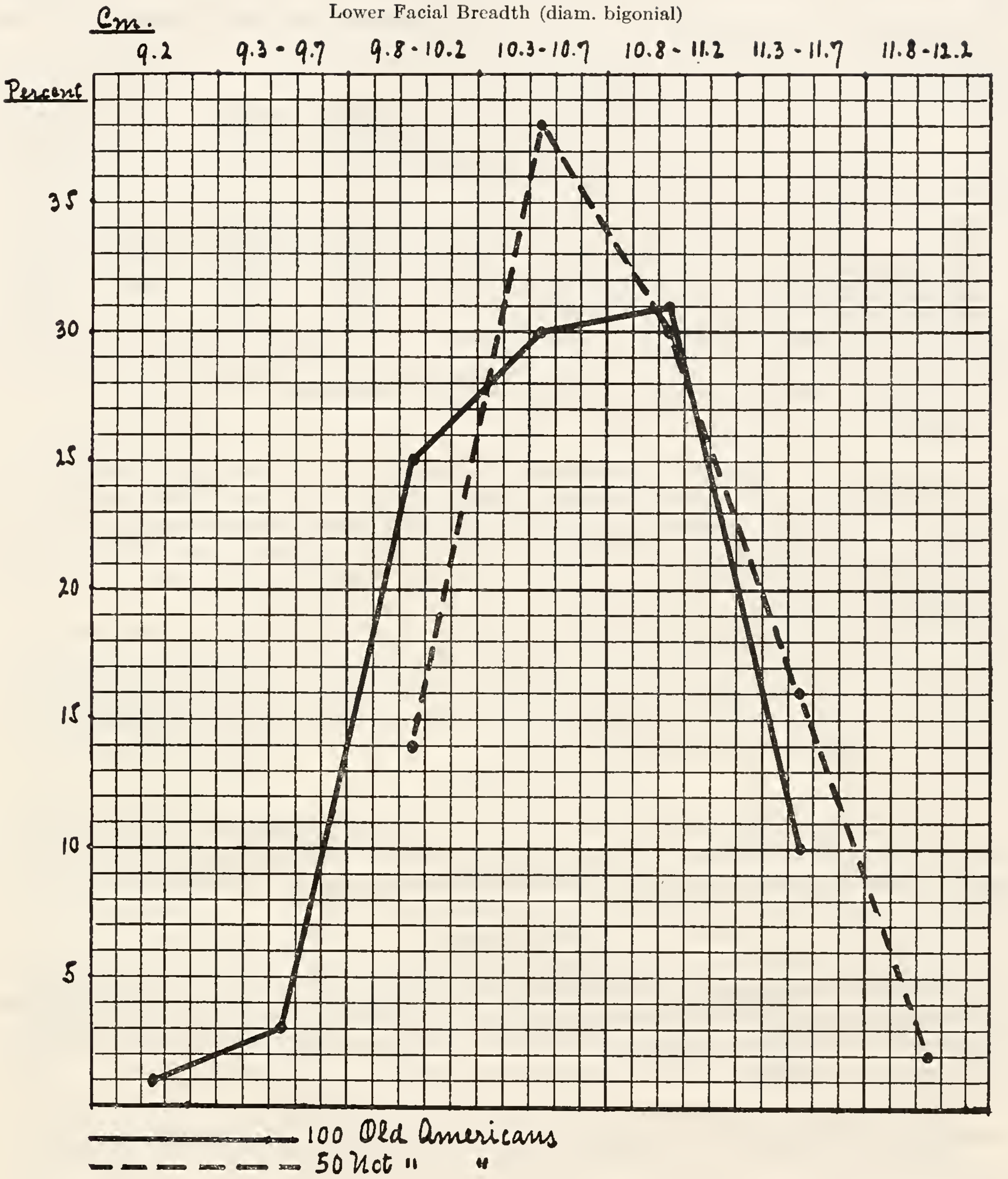


TABLE 45.—*Lower facial (bigonial) breadth in members of the Academy, old Americans at large, and German and French immigrants*

	Members of the Academy up to 60 years, inclusive		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)	German (urban)	French (mainly rural)	
	Old Americans	Not old Americans			Series a	Series b
Subjects	60	22	247	100	50	50
Stature	175. 0	175. 08	174. 44	170. 41	170. 01	167. 67
Bigonial breadth	10. 58	10. 77	10. 63	10. 61	10. 74	10. 81
Bigonial breadth, stature index	*6. 04*	*6. 19*	*6. 09*	*6. 23*	*6. 32*	*6. 45*
Head breadth [1]	[2] 15. 66	[3] 15. 84	15. 48	15. 89	15. 75	15. 67
Bigonial breadth, head breadth index	*67. 77*	*68. 01*	*68. 67*	*66. 77*	*68. 19*	*69. 01*

[1] Contrast with the bizygomatic breadth would be of little if any use, the 2 dimensions being largely independent of each other.

[2] 100 subjects.

[3] 50 subjects.

Both absolutely—though in this respect the difference is very slight—and in relation to stature, the lower facial breadth is smallest in the old American members of the Academy. In the not old American members the lower facial breadth appears rather large absolutely, but relatively to their high stature it is moderate. The comparisons with head breadth present more uniform ratios, due to the correlation of the two measurements, nevertheless the old American academicians even here show a reduction in this dimension.[35]

The gist of all the above is that the two classes of the members of the Academy differ more in respect to lower facial breadth than they do in any of the other dimensions of the face or those of the head; and that the old American members both show absolutely, as well as relatively to stature and to head breadth, the greatest reduction of the bigonial diameter of any of the groups available for comparison.

THE NOSE

The nasal measurements are always of interest anthropologically; in addition the height (length) of the nose subtracted from the anatomical height of the face separates the dental arches and the lower jaw from the rest of the face, and thus affords a gage of their relative development.

NOSE LENGTH

The length of the nose in the living is measured from a point corresponding to the nasion in the skull to the base of the nasal septum.[36] The measuremnet is close to and hence fairly comparable with the nasal height on the skull. The data obtained on the members of the Academy are of interest.

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[35] The marked differences between the German and French groups and the subdued showing of the former are due to the fact that the Germans of the series belonged mainly to city, the French to country people.

[36] More exactly, to the point at which the straight line of the septum meets, or would meet if there were no skin swell in the angle, the median line from the upper lip.

Table 46.—*Nose length* (*subnasion-nasion*)

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	247
Average	5. 50±0. 024	5. 51±0. 028	[1] 5. 35
Minimum	4. 5	4. 9	4. 3
Maximum	6. 4	6. 2	6. 3
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*34. 55*	*23. 59*	*37. 38*
σ	0. 357±0. 017	0. 298±0. 020	
CV	6. 50±0. 31	5. 42±0. 37	

DISTRIBUTION

	4. 5	4. 6–4. 8	4. 9–5. 1	5. 2–5. 4	5. 5–5. 7	5. 8–6. 0	6. 1–6. 3	6. 4
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	1	4	6	36	33	14	5	1
Not old Americans (50)			10	38	32	16	4	

NASAL AND SUBNASAL PORTIONS OF THE FACE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	247
$\frac{\text{Nasal height}\times 100}{\text{(Anatomical facial height)}}$	45. 52	45. 74	44. 84
$\frac{\text{(Subnasal height}\times 100\text{)}}{\text{(Anatomical facial height)}}$	54. 48	54. 26	55. 16

[1] In the 347 subjects from Virginia and Southeastern States 5.41.

The nasal height is seen to be quite variable, more so than any of the hitherto dealt with facial measurements. The difference in the range of variation in the three groups used, as in the case of all other measurements, is probably due only to the unequal numbers of subjects. The distribution of the measurements is remarkably alike in the two series of the academicians.

In absolute values, the height of the nose is slightly greater in both groups of the Academy than in the outside old Americans. This is connected with the higher stature of the academicians and also with their considerably higher mean age. In the study of the old Americans at large it was shown that age had an influence on the outside dimensions of the nose; the relevant data from that study are reported in table 47.[37]

The four series of the members stand fairly close together. The effects of age are not as apparent as they were within the old Americans at large series.

Still another way for testing the effects of age on nasal height is to compare the academicians of ages up to and including 60 with the two main series of the old Americans at large.

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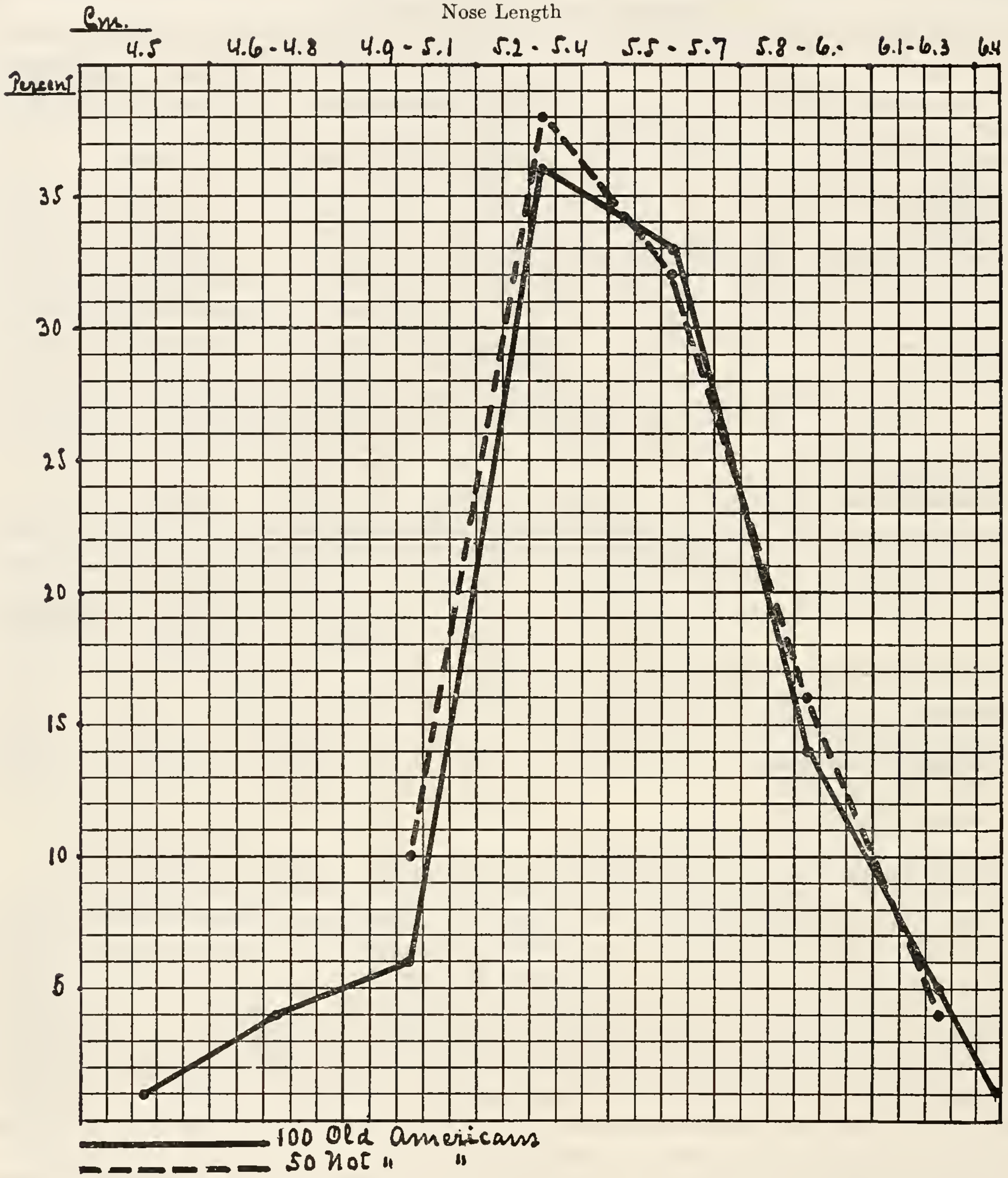
[37] The Old Americans, p. 253.

Nose Length



The nasal height is slightly higher in all the older groups regardless of other conditions, so that a very moderate increase in the dimension with age appears certain. The subnasal portion in the aged has suffered a more marked change in the opposite direction, through absorption of the alveolar processes. The senile reduction of stature and of the subnasal portion of the face, with consequent diminution in the height of the face, are very noticeable, particularly in the old American group of the academicians, and has had its effect on the relative values.

Table 47.—*Nasal length and age*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	60	22	247
Average	5. 46±0. 032	5. 50±0. 036	5. 35
σ	0. 362±0. 022	0. 250±0. 025	----------
CV	6. 64±0. 41	4. 56±0. 46	----------
Over 60 years of age	40	28	----------
Average	5. 55±0. 037	5. 53±0. 042	----------
σ	0. 344±0. 026	0. 329±0. 030	----------
CV	6. 21±0. 47	5. 97±0. 54	----------

Table 48.—*Nasal length versus stature and anatomical height of face*

	Members of the Academy				Old Americans at large	
	To 60 years of age, inclusive		Over 60 years of age			
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	Old Americans	Not old Americans	Laboratory	Engineers, drafts, Virginia and Southeastern States
Subjects	60	22	40	28	247	347
Mean age, years	52. 70	40. 40	68. 95	68. 89	37. 20	25. 00
Stature	175. 00	175. 08	171. 75	173. 97	174. 44	174. 26
Anatomic height of face	12. 13	12. 30	11. 98	11. 93	11. 93	12. 38
Length of nose	5. 46	5. 50	5. 55	5. 53	5. 35	5. 41
Height of subnasal portion of face	6. 67	6. 80	6. 43	6. 40	6. 58	6. 97
Length of nose versus stature	31. 20	31. 41	32. 30	31. 76	30. 67	31. 00
Length of nose versus face height	45. 01	44. 70	46. 31	46. 35	44. 84	43. 66
Height of subnasal part of face versus stature	38. 12	38. 87	37. 45	36. 79	37. 72	40. 00
Height of subnasal part of face versus face height	54. 99	55. 30	53. 69	53. 65	55. 16	56. 30

It may be recalled in this connection that, as indicated under "Observations," the length of the nose from its root to its tip shows in general a much more decided augmentation than the basal length or "height" of the organ that has just been considered. The gist of the matter is that growth of the nose with age is essentially growth in the soft parts of the organ.

NOSE BREADTH

This is the maximum external breadth of the nasal alae. It too is a measurement of considerable racial interest; and within the same group it shows, at least up to a certain period of life, rather marked increase with age, more so than the basal length of the nose. It gave the following values in the academicians:

TABLE 49.—*Nose breadth (breadth maximum of the alae)*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	247
Average	3.69±0.019	3.71±0.028	3.61
Minimum	3.1	3.2	3.0
Maximum	4.5	4.35	4.3
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*37.94*	*31.0*	*36.01*
σ	0.289±0.013	0.291±0.020	----------
CV	7.83±0.37	7.81±0.53	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	3.1–3.3	3.4–3.6	3.7–3.9	4–4.2	4.3–4.4	4.5
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	11	36	33	18	1	1
Not old Americans (50)	6	38	36	14	6	--------

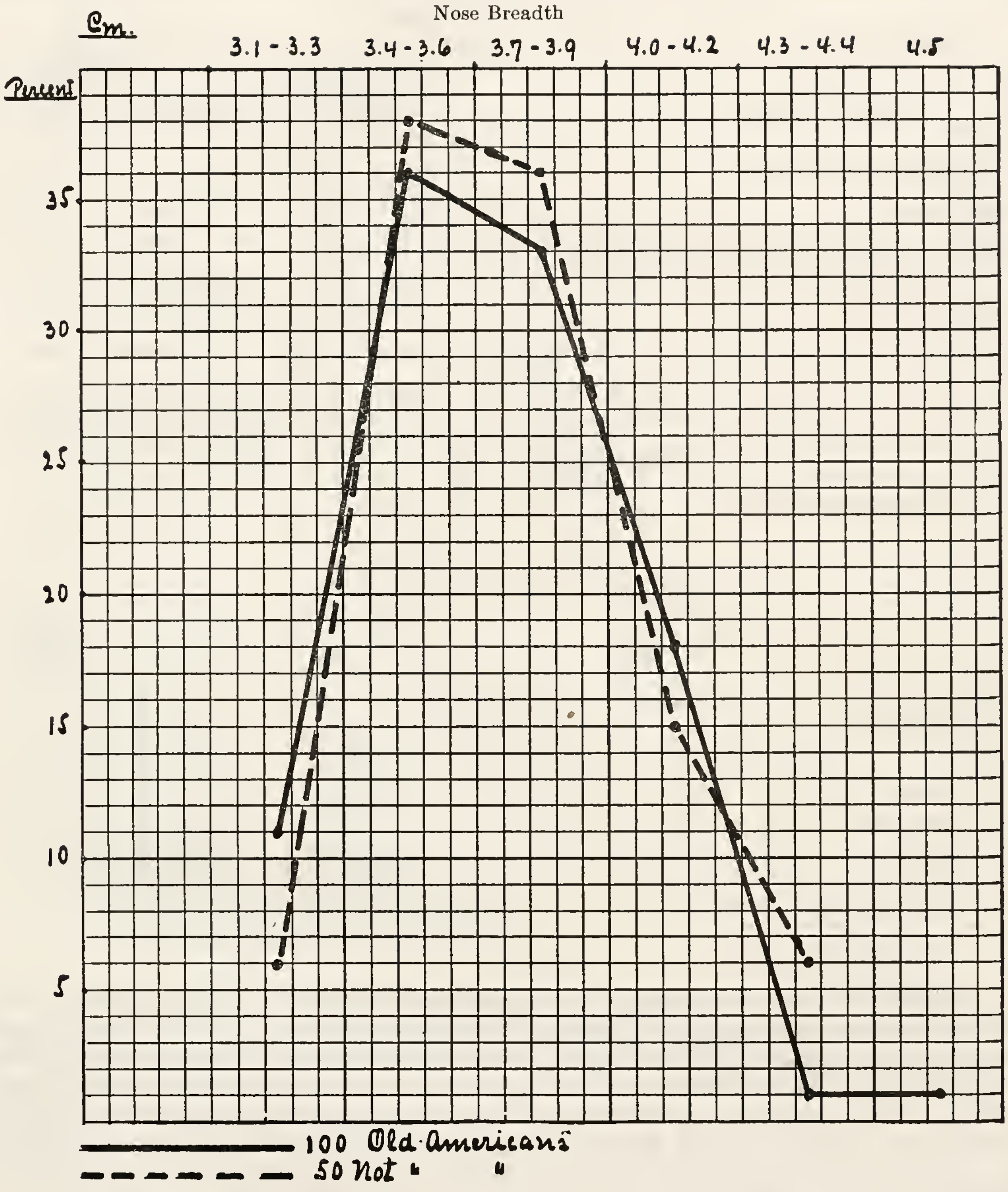
NOSE BREADTH AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	60	22	247
Average	3.68±0.024	3.70±0.047	3.61
σ	0.280±0.017	0.326±0.033	----------
CV	7.61±0.47	8.74±0.89	----------
Over 60 years of age	40	28	----------
Average	3.71±0.032	3.73±0.033	----------
σ	0.302±0.023	0.261±0.024	----------
CV	8.14±0.61	7.01±0.63	----------

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large	
	Up to 60 years, inclusive	Over 60 years	Virginia and Southeastern States series	Laboratory series
Subjects	82	66	247	347
Mean age	52.1	68.9	37.2	25.0
Mean nasal breadth	3.69	3.71	3.61	3.48

The breadth of the nose in our series is seen to be even more variable than its length. In the two groups of the academicians it is nearly the same. It is perceptibly higher in the academicians of both groups than in the old Americans at large, which may be attributed in part to the higher presenile stature of the members, in part to their older age. The effects of age on the measurement are discernible even among the academicians themselves, but are more marked in the Americans at large, who include a series of young adults.

The distribution of the measurement is much alike in the two groups of the Academy, but in the not old Americans there is perceptible a tendency, probably based on racial differences, toward fewer of the narrower and more of the broader noses.



NASAL INDEX

This index $\left(\frac{\text{Nasal breadth}\times 100}{\text{Nasal height}}\right)$ ranks with the most important in racial studies. It necessarily is of less value in such groups as those under consideration, yet is not without interest. It shows the following conditions in the members of the Academy:

Table 50.—*Nasal index* [1]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	100	50	247
Average	67. 17±0. 49	67. 41±0. 62	67. 45
Minimum	55. 2	56. 5	53. 2
Maximum	89. 4	82. 4	90. 9
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*50. 92*	*38. 42*	*55. 74*
σ	7. 25±0. 35	6. 50±0. 44	----------
CV	10. 76±0. 51	9. 66±0. 65	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	55. 2–55. 49	55. 5–60. 49	60. 5–65. 49	65. 5–70. 49	70. 5–75. 49	75. 5–80. 49	80. 5–85. 49	85. 5–89. 4
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (100)	1	17	25	27	18	6	4	2
Not old Americans (50)	--------	14	28	32	16	4	6	------

NASAL INDEX AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	60	22	247
Average	67. 20±0. 71	67. 30±1. 02	67. 45
σ	8. 11±0. 50	7. 07±0. 72	----------
CV	12. 03±0. 74	10. 40±1. 06	----------
Over 60 years of age	40	28	----------
Average	66. 85±0. 61	67. 30±0. 75	----------
σ	5. 72±0. 43	5. 92±0. 53	----------
CV	8. 49±0. 64	8. 87±0. 80	----------

[1] See the following equation:

$$\frac{\text{Nasal breadth} \times 100}{\text{Nasal length}}.$$

The nasal index is very similar in the two groups of the Academy, and it is practically identical in these and the more aged and cultured old Americans at large. In all the series it shows high variability, ranging with the most variable determinations on the human body. And while it showed unmistakable increase with age in the series of the old Americans at large when young adults were contrasted with older,[38] in the members of the Academy it is very near the same in those up to and over 60, those indicating that while both the length and the breadth of the nose have augmented slightly during advanced years their relative values remained very similar.

Table 51.—*Old Americans: Nasal dimensions and index versus age (laboratory series)*

	Males					Females				
	Subjects	Mean age	Nose height	Nose breadth	Nasal index	Subjects	Mean age	Nose height	Nose breadth	Nasal index
Youngest	25	24. 2	5. 23	3. 50	*67. 1*	20	23. 0	4. 90	3. 15	*64. 5*
General average	247	42. 5	5. 35	3. 61	*67. 45*	210	41. 0	4. 95	3. 25	*65. 7*
Oldest	25	59. 5	5. 52	3. 78	*68. 6*	20	57. 2	5. 07	3. 38	*66. 9*

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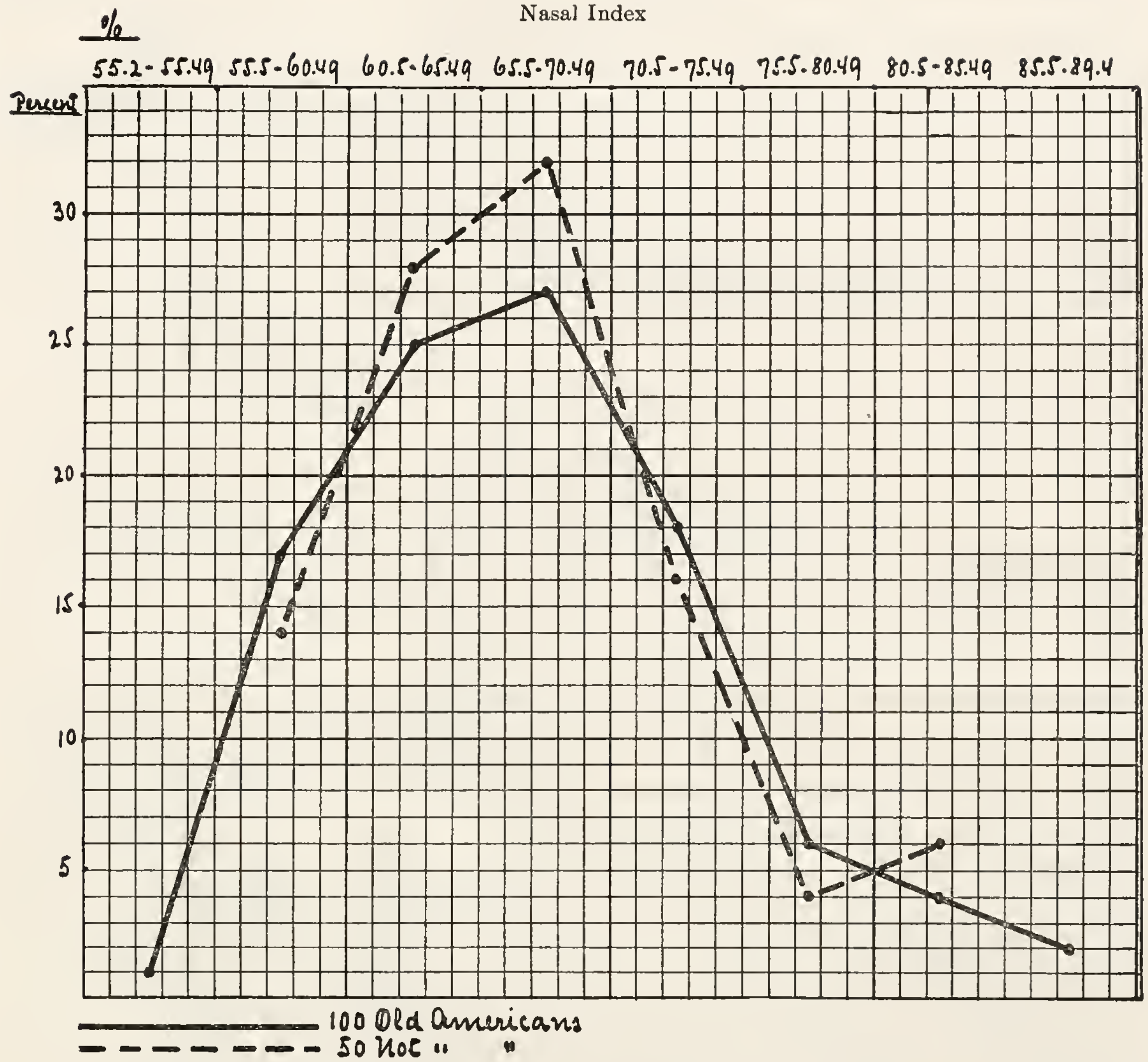
[38] The Old Americans, p. 253.

Nasal Index



All in all, it may be said that the nose in the members of the Academy is in every respect closely similar in the old and the not old American groups; that it is also closely similar to the nose in the more cultured and aged old Americans at large; and that while evidently affected somewhat by senile changes, these changes have been but very moderate during the ages represented by the members examined.

The Mouth

The mouth yields itself to the measurement of its width, which differs racially, in the two sexes, and by age. The dimension is measured with the lips in easy apposition, between the two points in the corners of the mouth where the mucous membrane joins the skin.

In the older members of the Academy this measurement has doubtless suffered some loss through the absorption of the alveolar processes, on the state of which the mouth width depends to a material degree. In a few individuals the disturbance has been such as to necessitate elimination of the measurement. The results in the rest will be seen beneath:

Table 52.—*Width of the mouth*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	92	48	247
Average	5. 66±0. 029	5. 85±0. 035	5. 37
Minimum	4. 7	5. 1	4. 5
Maximum	6. 7	6. 8	6. 6
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*35. 34*	*28. 91*	*39. 10*
σ	0. 414±0. 021	0. 357±0. 025	
CV	7. 31±0. 36	6. 06±0. 42	

DISTRIBUTION

	4. 7–4. 8	4. 9–5. 1	5. 2–5. 4	5. 5–5. 7	5. 8–6	6. 1–6. 3	6. 4–6. 6	6. 7–6. 8
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (92)	2. 2	7. 6	21. 7	27. 2	27. 2	8. 7	4. 4	1. 1
Not old Americans (48)		2. 1	6. 3	25. 0	39. 6	18. 7	4. 2	4. 2

WIDTH OF THE MOUTH AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	55	22	247
Mean age, years	52. 0	51. 7	37. 2
Average	5. 60±0. 034	5. 83±0. 044	5. 37
σ	0. 372±0. 024	0. 308±0. 031	
CV	6. 66±0. 43	5. 27±0. 54	
Over 60 years of age	37	26	
Mean age, years	69. 1	68. 7	
Average	5. 76±0. 049	5. 92±0. 052	
σ	0. 444±0. 035	0. 390±0. 036	
CV	7. 68±0. 60	6. 58±0. 62	

The mouth width is seen to be about as variable as were the two nasal measurements. In the members of the Academy of more recent derivation it exceeds that of the old Americans, and in both Academy groups it is distinctly superior to that in the old Americans at large. The differences between the members and the outsiders are connected partly with stature, but more so with age;[39] those between the two groups of the members may possibly be accidental, but more likely are connected with the different racial heritage in the two groups. Among the academicians, age influence manifests itself as shown in table 52.

In both groups in those above 60 the mouth is slightly larger than in those up to 60. The increase in mouth width is observable from birth on throughout life and is an actual growth, though in the aged this may be aided by the flattening of the oral arch due to the absorption of the alveolar processes.

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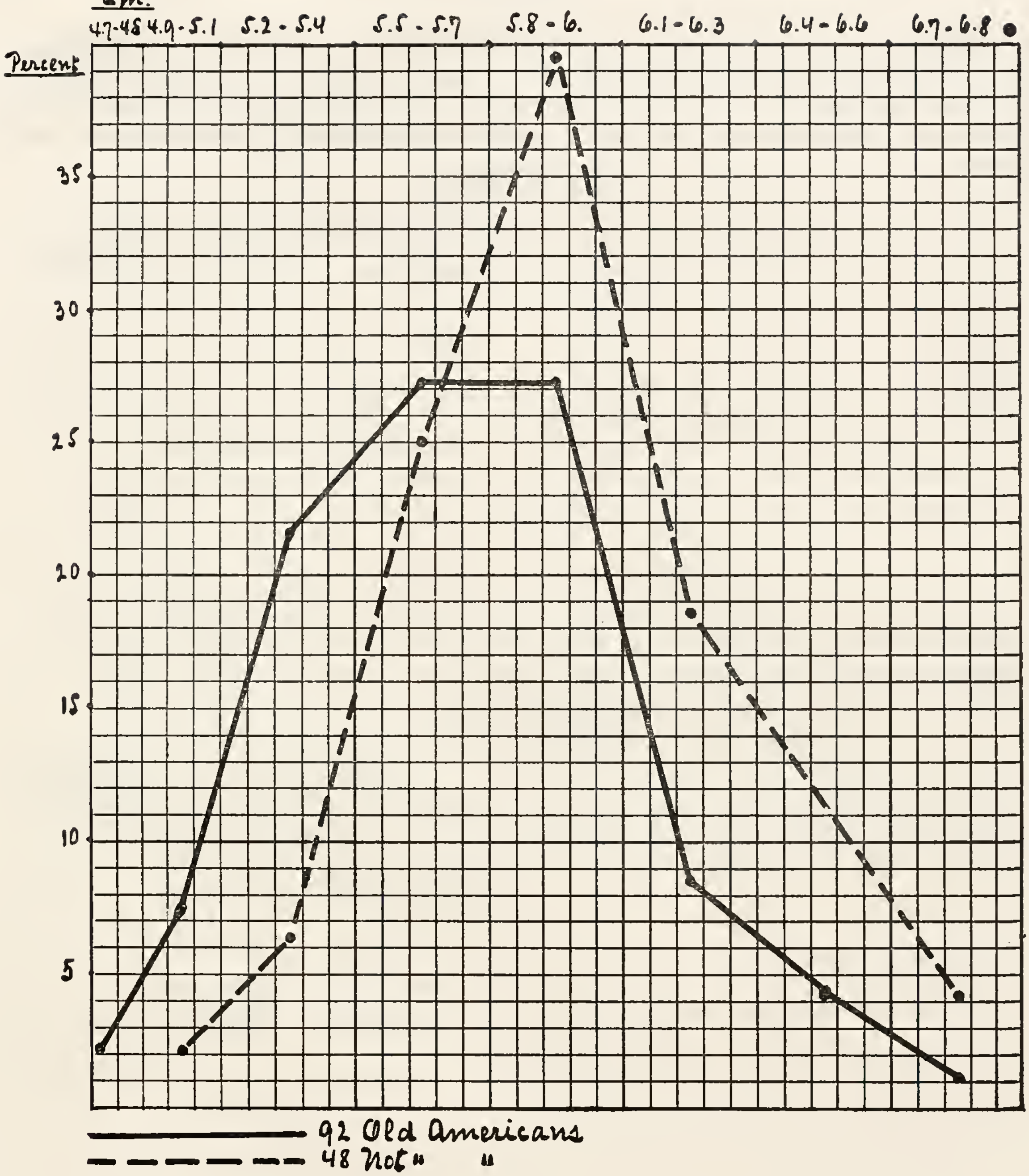
[39] See The Old Americans, pp. 270–271.

Mouth Width


Cm.
4.7-4.8
4.9-5.1
5.2-5.4
5.5-5.7
5.8-6.
6.1-6.3
6.4-6.6
6.7-6.8
Percent
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
92 Old Americans
48 Not " "

THE EAR

The dimensions of the ear vary considerably with race, sex, stature, age, and individuals. In general the left ear alone is measured, as the more convenient. The usual measurements are the greatest length with the greatest transverse breadth, and the percental relation of the latter to the former gives the ear index. The three determinations may well be dealt with together.

TABLE 53.—*Ear length*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	92	49	250
Average	7. 02±0. 031	7. 07±0. 043	6. 70
Minimum	6. 1	6. 1	5. 5
Maximum	8. 4	8. 3	8. 1
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*32. 76*	*31. 12*	*38. 81*
σ	0. 447±0. 022	0. 444±0. 030	----------
CV	6. 36±0. 32	6. 29±0. 43	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	6.1–6.3	6.4–6.6	6.7–6.9	7–7.2	7.3–7.5	7.6–7.8	7.9–8.1	8.2–8.4
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (92)	9. 8	9. 8	19. 6	31. 5	20. 7	5. 4	2. 2	1. 1
Not old Americans (49)	4. 1	12. 3	26. 5	26. 5	16. 3	10. 2	2. 0	2. 0

EAR LENGTH AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	55	22	250
Average	6. 90±0. 041	6. 89±0. 056	6. 70
σ	0. 447±0. 029	0. 386±0. 040	----------
CV	6. 48±0. 42	5. 61±0. 57	----------
Over 60 years of age	37	27	----------
Average	7. 21±0. 041	7. 21±0. 056	----------
σ	0. 371±0. 029	0. 433±0. 040	----------
CV	5. 14±0. 40	6. 00±0. 55	----------

Ear Length

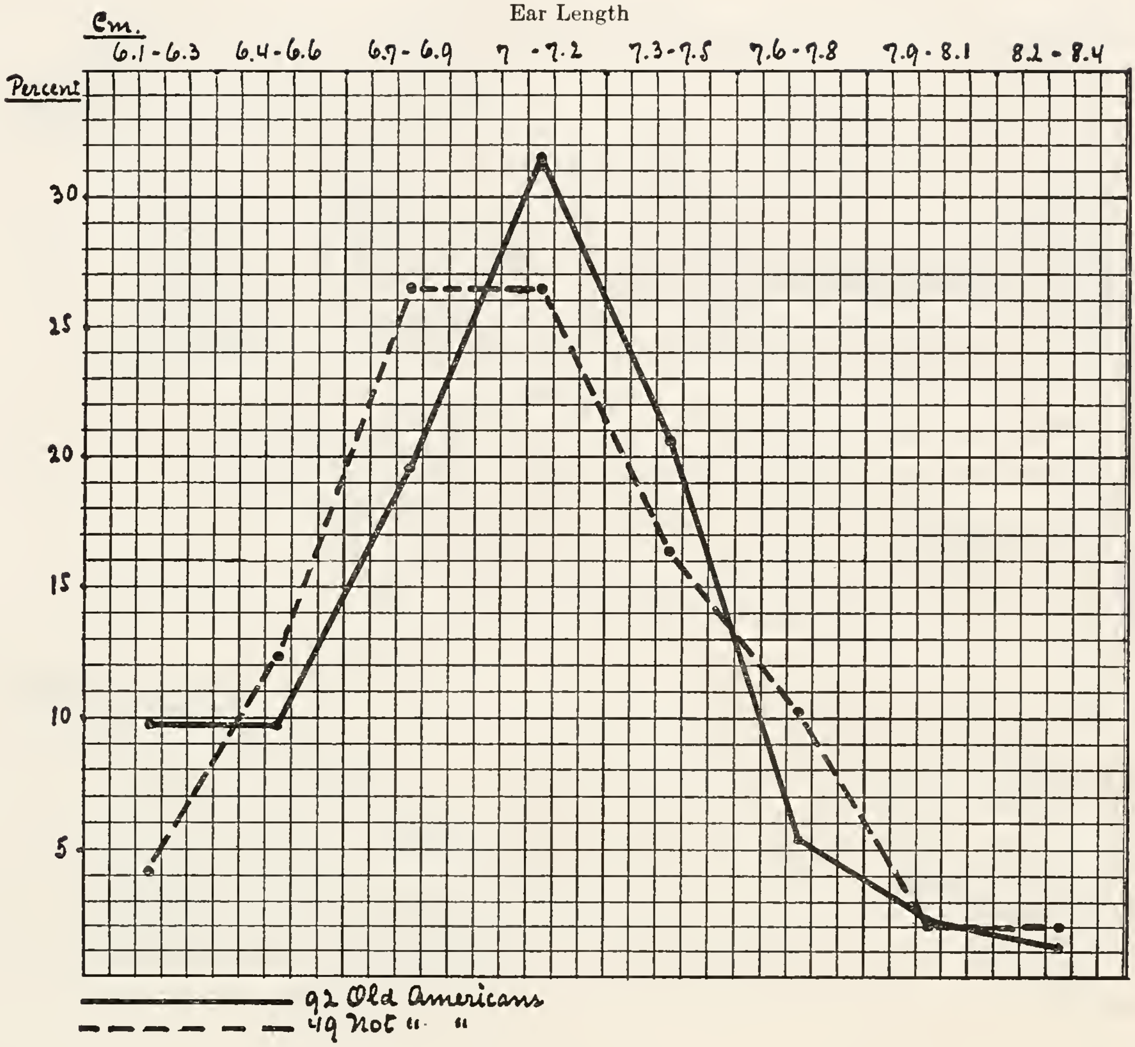

Cm.
6.1-6.3
6.4-6.6
6.7-6.9
7 -7.2
7.3-7.5
7.6-7.8
7.9-8.1
8.2-8.4
Percent
30
25
20
15
10
5
92 Old Americans
49 Not " "

TABLE 54.—*Ear breadth*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	92	49	250
Average	3. 94±0. 017	4. ±0. 027	3. 79
Minimum	3. 4	3. 3	3. 05
Maximum	4. 6	4. 7	4. 6
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*30. 46*	*35. 0*	*40. 90*
σ	0. 244±0. 012	0. 280±0. 019	----------
CV	6. 29±0. 31	7. 0±0. 48	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	3.3	3.4–3.55	3.6–3.75	3.8–3.95	4–4.15	4.2–4.35	4.4–4.55	4.6–4.7
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (92)	--------	4. 4	15. 2	31. 5	31. 5	13. 0	3. 3	1. 1
Not old Americans (49)	2. 0	4. 1	12. 2	24. 5	30. 6	18. 4	4. 1	4. 1

EAR BREADTH AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	55	22	250
Average	3. 93±0. 022	3. 98±0. 031	3. 79
σ	0. 240±0. 015	0. 216±0. 022	----------
CV	6. 11±0. 39	5. 45±0. 55	----------
Over 60 years of age	37	27	----------
Average	3. 96±0. 027	4. 02±0. 042	----------
σ	0. 247±0. 019	0. 320±0. 029	----------
CV	6. 27±0. 49	7. 93±0. 73	----------

Ear Breadth

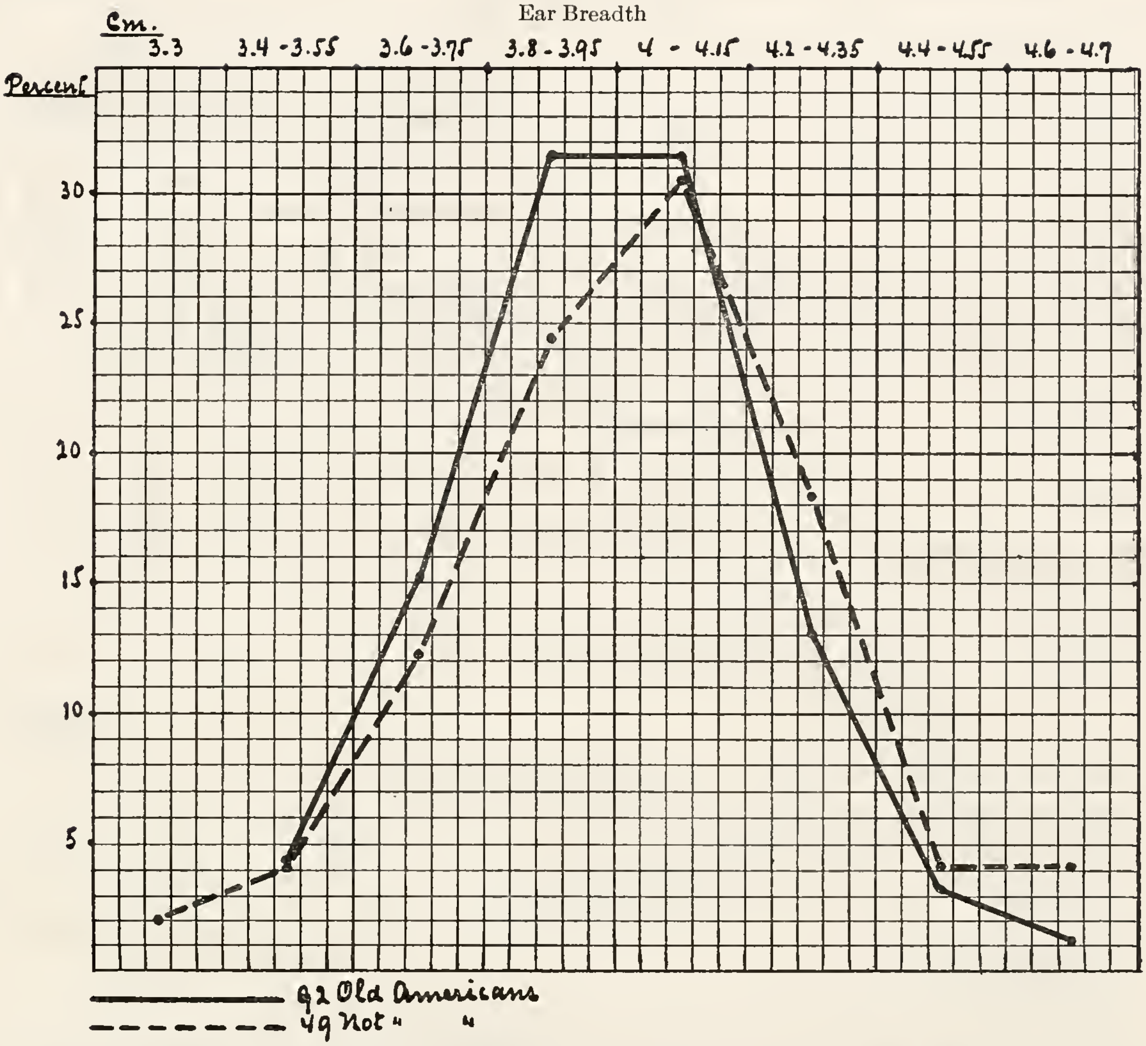

Cm.
3.3
3.4 - 3.55
3.6 - 3.75
3.8 - 3.95
4 - 4.15
4.2 - 4.35
4.4 - 4.55
4.6 - 4.7
Percent
30
25
20
15
10
5
92 Old Americans
49 Not " "

TABLE 55.—*Ear index*[1]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	92	49	250
Average	56. 19 ±0. 29	56. 66 ±0. 39	56. 57
Minimum	47. 3	47. 2	44. 9
Maximum	63. 9	63. 0	71. 5
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*29. 54*	*27. 86*	*45. 96*
σ	4. 14 ±0. 21	4. 00 ±0. 28	
CV	7. 37 ±0. 37	7. 01 ±0. 48	

DISTRIBUTION

	47.2-50	50.1-52.5	52.6-55	55.1-57 5	57.6-60	60.1-62.5	62.6-63.9
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (92)	6. 5	6. 5	28. 3	23. 9	16. 3	13. 0	5. 4
Not old Americans (49)	4. 1	4. 1	22. 5	34. 7	14. 3	16. 3	4. 1

EAR INDEX AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	55	22	250
Average	56. 96	57. 76	56. 57
Over 60 years of age	37	27	
Average	54. 79	55. 76	

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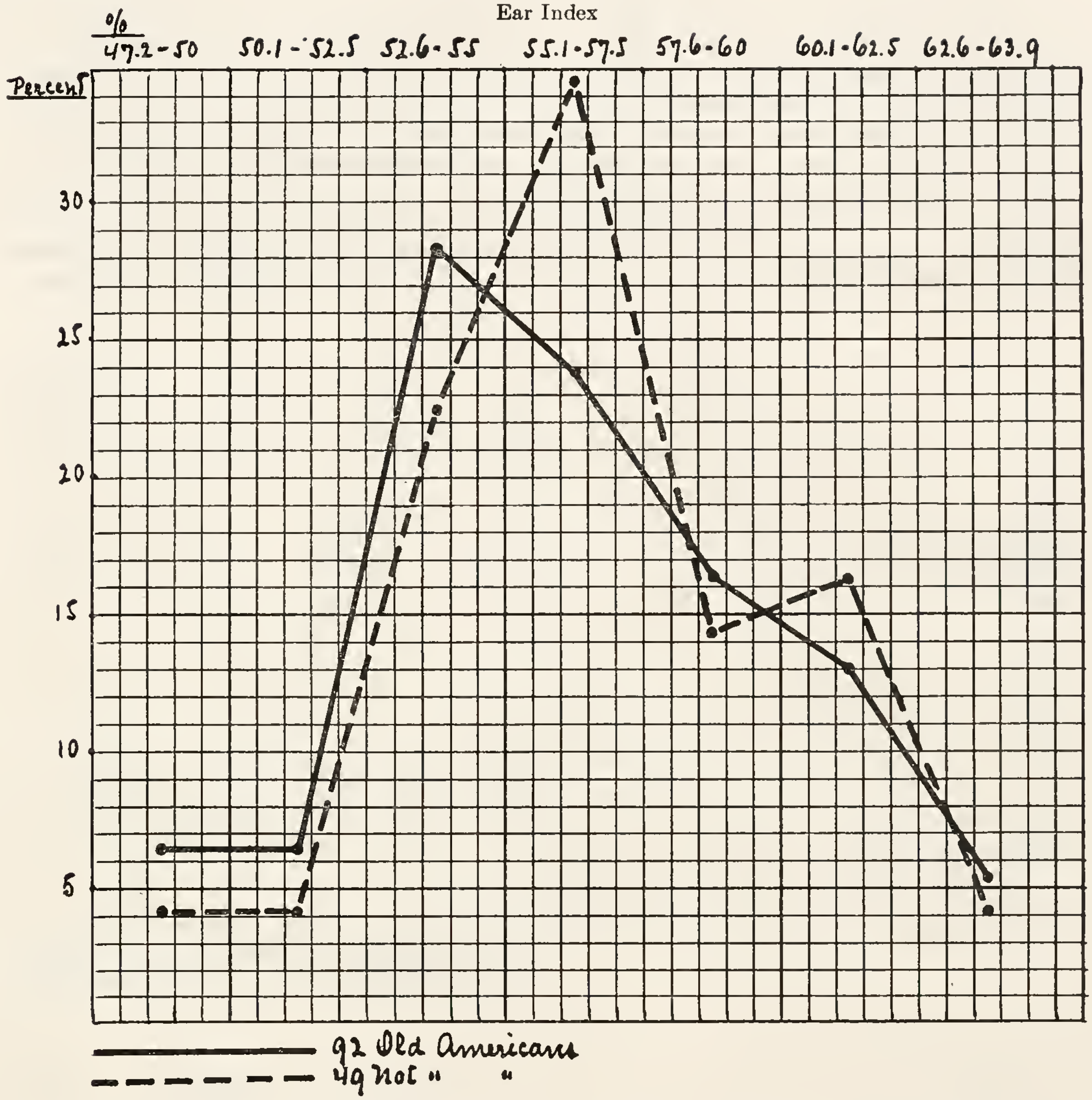
[1] See the following equation: $\frac{\text{Breadth} \times 100}{\text{Length}}$.

The ear in the academicians averages large. It distinctly exceeds in both length and breadth that of the old Americans in general, though its relative proportions, expressed by the ear index, remain the same. The excess in ear size in the members of the Academy can only be attributed to the higher presenile stature of the members and particularly to age. Anthropological researches have by now definitely determined that stature correlates directly with all body dimensions and that age influences all the dermic structures of the head and face. Even among the academicians themselves, it is seen, this latter factor makes itself felt.

The variability of the ear measurements is of the same order as that of those of the mouth and the nose. It appears that certain groups of dimensions, such as the several diameters of the head, those of the soft parts of the face with the ears, and others to be seen later, have a similar basic variability, which suggests a basic unity of trophic nervous control, a very interesting and hitherto unheeded phenomenon.

A point which calls for some comment in this place is not merely the frequent similarity but the practical identity of the anthropometric results, such as the above ear indices. Outcomes of this nature are gratifying proofs of the value of anthropometric procedures when carried on with due care and by experienced observers. They have a weighty significance. They are evidence of basic organic conservatism. They show that notwithstanding individual variation and the great variety of conditions that have acted on different units of a racial group, the set or hereditary organic processes in that racial group proceed without material disturbance.

Ear Index



Still another matter that forces itself on one's attention in this connection is the necessity in all anthropometric determinations of constant attention to stature and age, the two great modifiers of all dimensions.

THE CHEST

The measurements of the chest are not merely of somatological but also of considerable medical importance. The best determinations on the chest, as shown by experience, are the two diameters, the lateral and the anteroposterior, taken at the level of the nipples in man—and at a corresponding plane in the females—and at right angles to the axis of the thorax.[40] Here once more stature and age have their influence, but in addition the thorax alters also through different prolonged muscular effects or occupation, through the effects of habitual posture, and through pathological conditions, particularly rachitis and early tuberculosis.

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[40] Both diameters taken with broad-branched calipers (see writer's Anthropometry), at right angles to the axis of the thorax and recorded at mid-value between inspiration and expiration, with subject in a posture that removes all muscular tension.

In the members of the Academy the chest, with one exception in which there were traces of some rachitis in childhood, was remarkably normal, and frequently well developed by either earlier muscular work or, more commonly, through sports during youth. Only a few cases had to be excluded due to marked senile changes.

The mean of the two measurements of the chest gives the mean diameter of the chest, or chest module, which is very useful for comparison with stature or with the length of the trunk; and the percental relation of the two $\left(\frac{\text{Depth}\times 100}{\text{Breadth}}\right)$, gives the chest index, which is of especial value in the study of age changes. All these items are given in the following tables, together with comparisons with the more cultured class of the old Americans outside of the Academy.

Table 56.—*Chest breadth* [1]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	92	49	246
Average	30. 29±0. 14	30. 33±0. 18	29. 76
Minimum	26. 0	25. 4	25. 1
Maximum	35. 0	34. 2	38. 9
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*29. 71*	*29. 01*	*46. 40*
σ	1. 92±0. 10	1. 85±0. 13	----------
CV	6. 31±0. 31	6. 09±0. 41	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	25. 4–26. 4	26. 5–27. 9	28–29. 4	29. 5–30. 4	30. 5–31. 9	32–33. 4	33. 5–34. 9	35
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (92)	2. 2	8. 7	21. 7	19. 6	31. 5	13. 0	2. 2	1. 1
Not old Americans (49)	2. 0	8. 2	20. 4	12. 2	38. 8	16. 3	2. 0	------

CHEST BREADTH AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	55	22	246
Average	30. 49±0. 16	30. 48±0. 23	29. 76
σ	1. 75±0. 11	1. 59±0. 16	----------
CV	5. 71±0. 37	5. 21±0. 53	----------
Over 60 years of age	37	27	----------
Average	30. 00±0. 23	30. 22±0. 26	----------
σ	2. 09±0. 16	2. 03±0. 19	----------
CV	6. 96±0. 55	6. 71±0. 62	----------

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[1] Transverse diameter, at level of nipples; mean between inspiration and expiration.

Chest Breadth

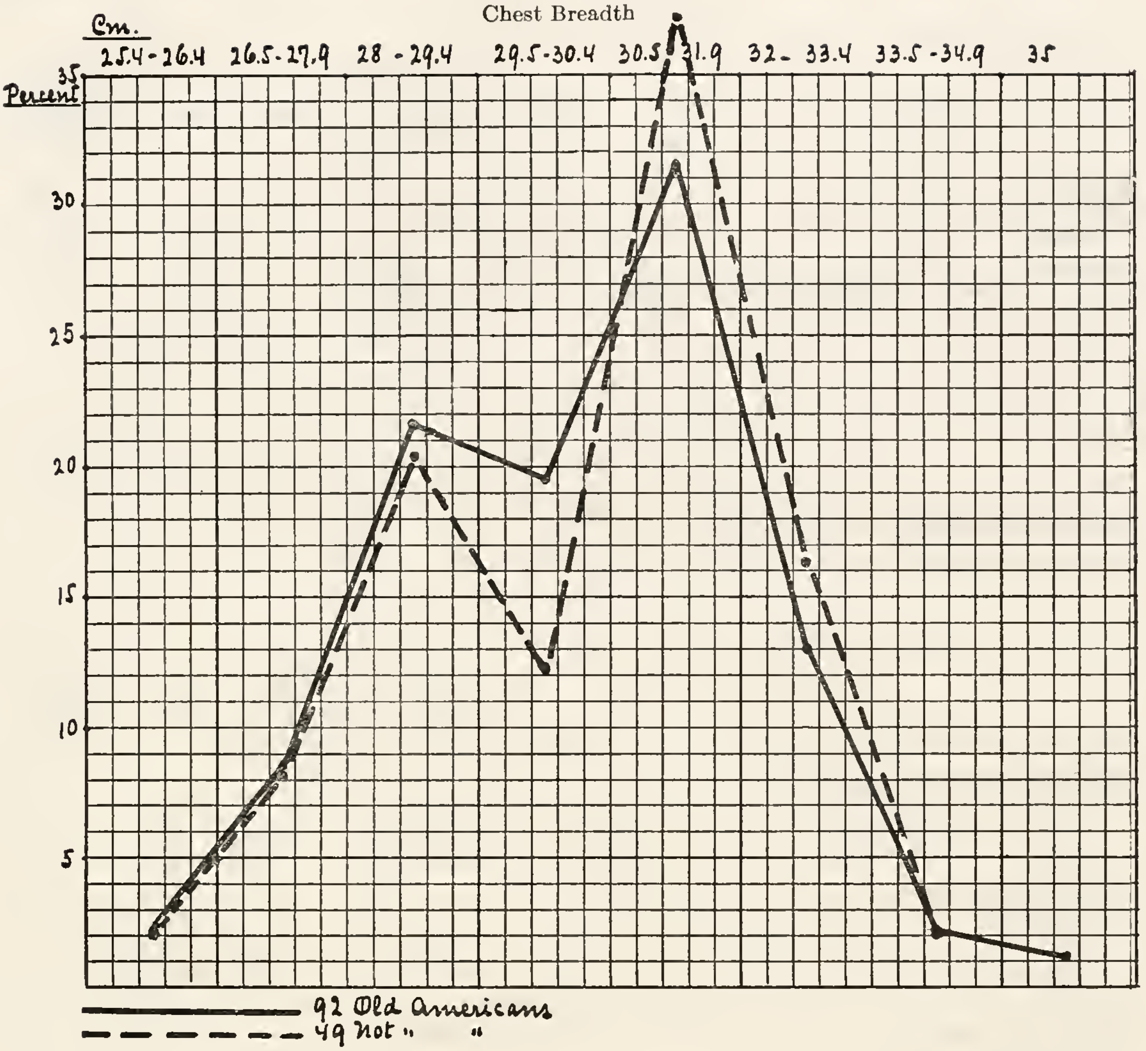

Table 57.—*Chest depth* [1]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	92	49	246
Average	23. 16±0. 14	23. 14±0. 18	21. 70
Minimum	18. 9	20. 0	[2] 16. 3
Maximum	28. 3	28. 0	30. 3
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*40. 60*	*34. 57*	[3] *64. 5*
σ	1. 96±0. 10	1. 85±0. 13	----------
CV	8. 44±0. 42	7. 97±0. 54	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	18. 9	19–20. 4	20. 5–21. 9	22–23. 4	23. 5–24. 9	25–26. 4	26. 5–27. 9	28–28. 3
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (92)	1. 1	5. 4	21. 7	29. 4	23. 8	13. 0	4. 4	1. 1
Not old Americans (49)	--------	2. 0	24. 5	34. 7	26. 5	4. 1	6. 1	2. 0

CHEST DEPTH AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	55	22	246
Average	23. 18±0. 16	22. 84±0. 24	21. 70
σ	1. 79±0. 12	1. 70±0. 17	----------
CV	7. 72±0. 50	7. 41±0. 75	----------
Over 60 years of age	37	27	----------
Average	23. 12±0. 25	23. 39±0. 29	----------
σ	2. 29±0. 18	2. 20±0. 20	----------
CV	9. 87±0. 77	9. 38±0. 86	----------

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[1] Diameter anteroposterior, at same level as breadth; mean between inspiration and expiration.

[2] Next 17.8.

[3] If exceptional minimum of 16.3 is discarded, 57.6.

Chest Depth

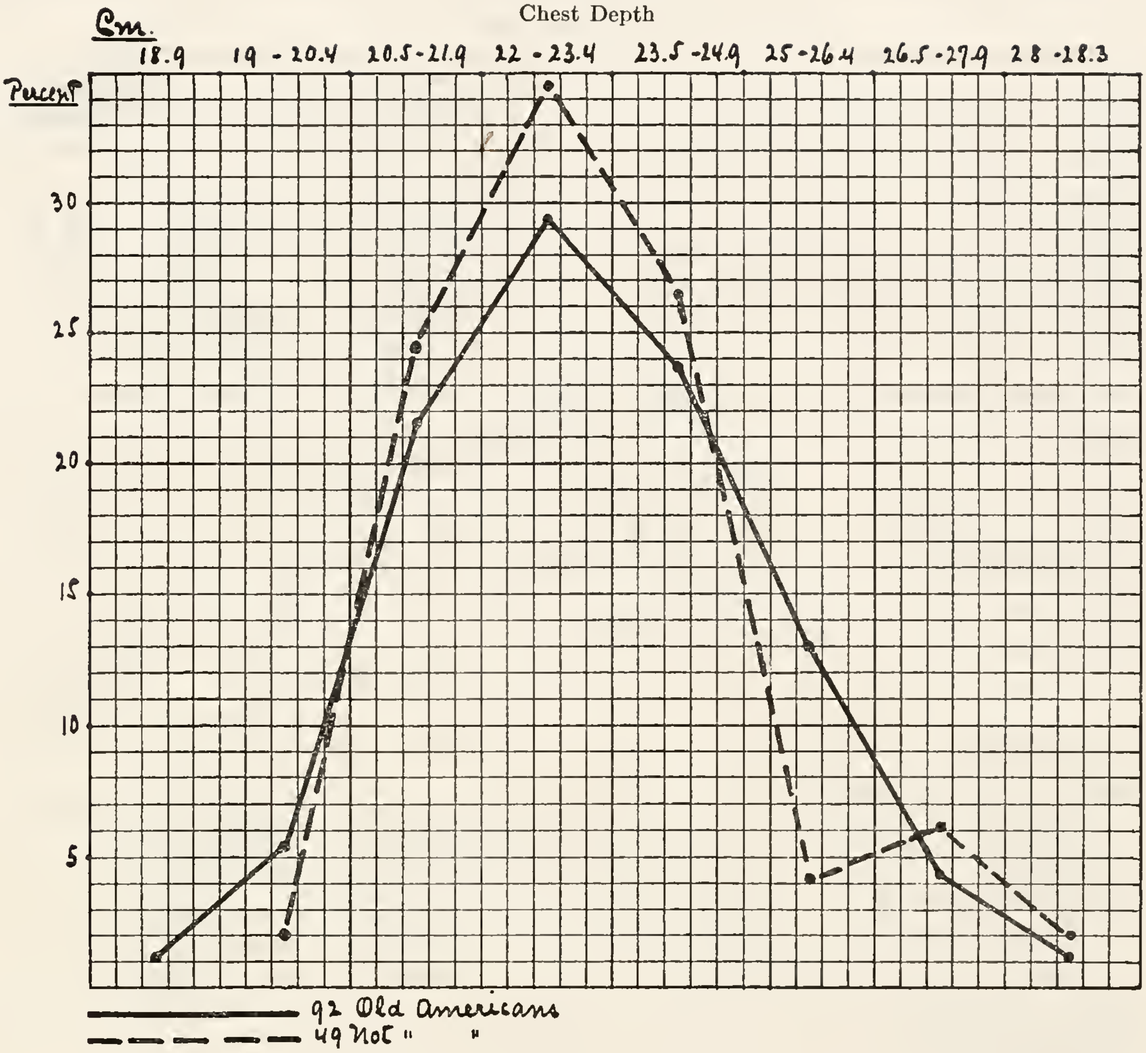
Cm.
18.9
19 - 20.4
20.5-21.9
22 - 23.4
23.5 -24.9
25-26.4
26.5-27.9
28 -28.3
Percent
30
25
20
15
10
5
92 Old Americans
49 Not " "

TABLE 58.—*Chest index* [1]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	92	49	246
Average	76. 28 ± 0. 36	76. 46 ± 0. 55	72. 93
Minimum	66. 7	65. 3	52. 82
Maximum	90. 2	89. 5	88. 60
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*30. 81*	*31. 65*	*44. 90*
σ	5. 10 ± 0. 25	5. 69 ± 0. 39	----------
CV	6. 67 ± 0. 33	7. 43 ± 0. 51	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	65. 3–67. 99	68–71. 99	72–75. 99	76–79. 99	80–83. 99	84–87. 99	88–90. 2
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (92)	3. 26	21. 74	21. 74	26. 08	21. 74	4. 35	1. 09
Not old Americans (49)	2. 04	20. 40	30. 61	20. 40	16. 32	6. 12	4. 08

CHEST INDEX AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	55	22	246
Average	76. 04 ± 0. 42	74. 94 ± 0. 72	72. 93
σ	4. 57 ± 0. 29	5. 02 ± 0. 51	----------
CV	6. 01 ± 0. 39	6. 67 ± 0. 68	----------
Over 60 years of age	37	27	----------
Average	77. 09 ± 0. 64	77. 39 ± 0. 77	----------
σ	5. 74 ± 0. 45	5. 96 ± 0. 55	----------
CV	7. 45 ± 0. 58	7. 67 ± 0. 70	----------

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[1] See the following equation:

$$\frac{\text{Depth}\times 100}{\text{Breadth}}.$$

Chest Index

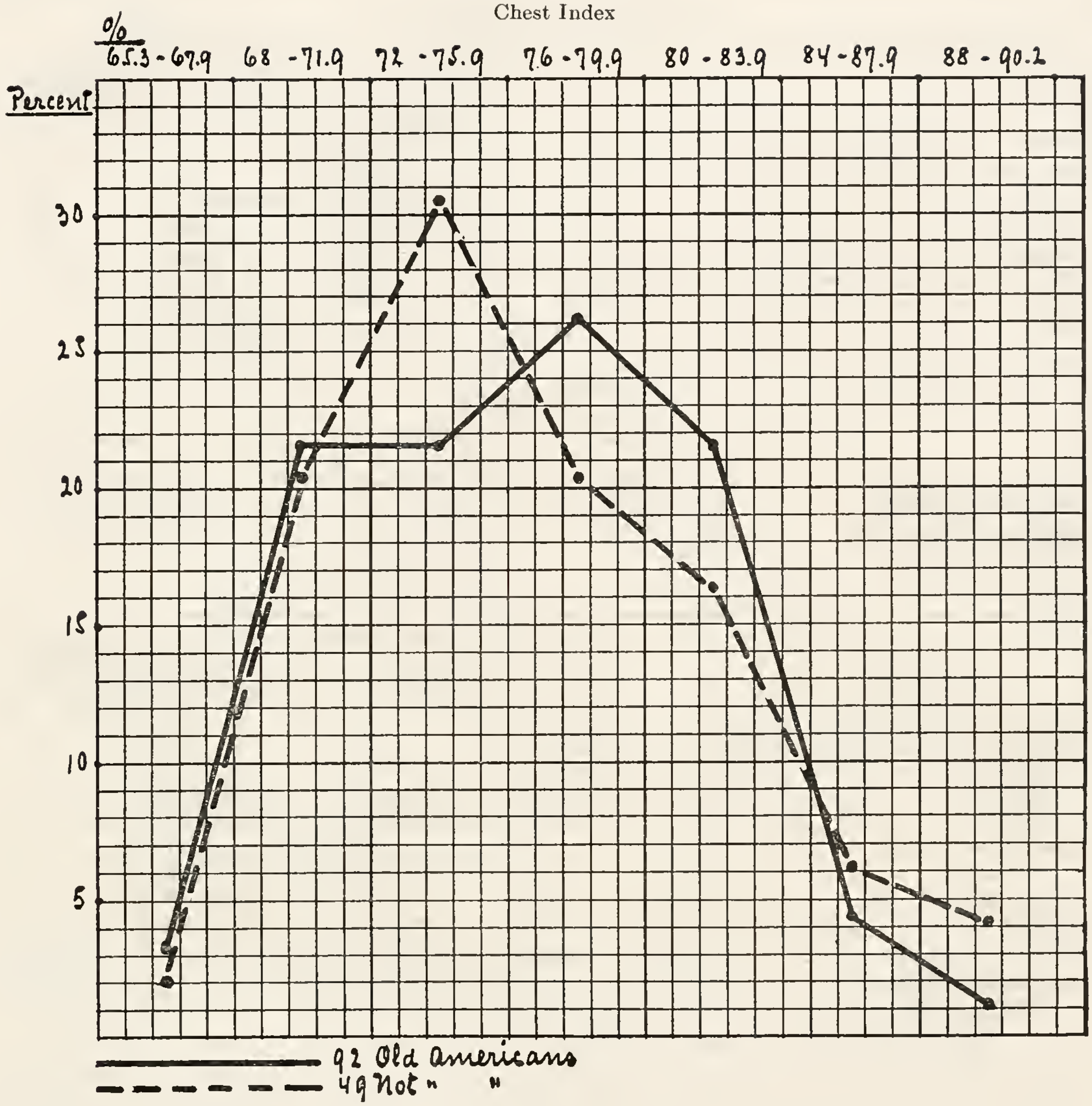
%
65.3 - 67.9
68 - 71.9
72 - 75.9
76 - 79.9
80 - 83.9
84 - 87.9
88 - 90.2
Percent
30
25
20
15
10
5
92 Old Americans
49 Not " "

TABLE 59.—*Chest module* [1]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	92	49	246
Average	26. 72±0. 12	26. 74±0. 15	25. 73
Minimum	23. 15	23. 30	22. 2
Maximum	31. 65	30. 25	34. 6
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*31. 81*	*25. 99*	*48. 19*
σ	1. 74±0. 09	1. 55±0. 11	------------
CV	6. 52±0. 32	5. 79±0. 39	------------

DISTRIBUTION

	23.15–23.99	24–24.99	25–25.99	26–26.99	27–27.99	28–28.99	29–29.99	30–30.99	31–31.65
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (92)	7. 61	10. 87	14. 13	20. 65	25. 00	10. 87	9. 78	--------	1. 09
Not old Americans (49)	4. 08	12. 24	10. 20	26. 53	30. 61	8. 16	6. 12	2. 04	--------

CHEST MODULE AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	55	22	246
Average	26. 83±0. 15	26. 66±0. 19	25. 73
σ	1. 62±0. 10	1. 35±0. 14	------------
CV	6. 04±0. 39	5. 05±0. 51	------------
Over 60 years of age	37	27	------------
Average	26. 56±0. 21	26. 80±0. 22	------------
σ	1. 91±0. 15	1. 70±0. 16	------------
CV	7. 19±0. 56	6. 34±0. 58	------------

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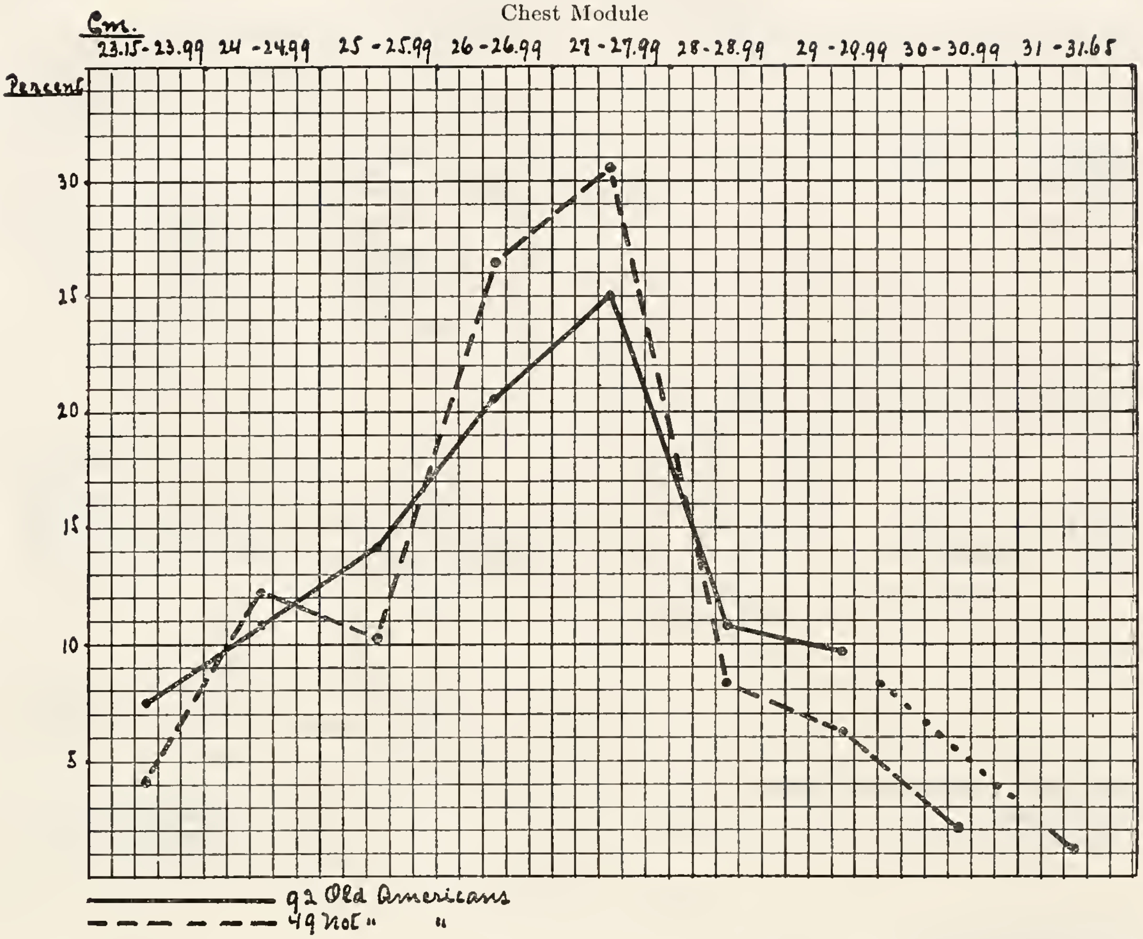
[1] See the following equation:

$$\frac{\text{Breadth}+\text{Depth}}{2}.$$



Chest Module

The two chest measurements are exceedingly close in the two series of the academicians. Both, as well as the index, have a large distribution. The data disclose a number of interesting conditions. The variability in all the series is most marked in chest depth. A certain amount of compensation exists evidently between the less usual chest depths and the breadth.

A condition that calls for attention is the fact that the chest of the academicians in both its diameters, but especially in depth, is significantly larger than it is in the cultured old Americans at large; and the distinction persists when the chest measurements are taken in relation to stature. One of the consequences of this is that the chest index in the members is nearly four points higher than that in the outsiders. A roomier and especially deeper, chest, both absolutely and relatively to body height, cannot but be regarded as an advantageous condition. At the level at which the chest measurements are taken and with the close application of the branches of the instrument to the bony parts of the thorax, the slightly greater adiposity of the members as compared with the outsiders does not influence the measurements to any material extent. The causes of the larger chest in the academicians must be looked for in those agencies that, during their earlier life especially, demanded a greater lung and heart capacity; and these could only have been prolonged physical exertions and exercises. The members of the Academy show in general, therefore, evidences not only of a greater than average mental, but also advantageous physical, activity in their lives.

TABLE 60.—*Chest module versus stature*[1]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	92	49	246
Average	15. 38±0. 072	15. 32±0. 101	14. 78
Minimum	12. 88	13. 59	12. 02
Maximum	17. 85	17. 53	19. 41
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*32. 31*	*25. 72*	*50. 0*
σ	1. 03±0. 051	1. 05±0. 072	----------
CV	6. 70±0. 33	6. 85±0. 47	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	12.88–12.99	13–13.49	13.5–13.99	14–14.49	14.5–14.99	15–15.49	15.5–15.99	16–16.49	16.5–16.99	17–17.49	17.5–17.85
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (92)	1. 09	1. 09	5. 43	10. 87	17. 39	23. 91	16. 30	7. 61	8. 70	4. 35	3. 26
Not old Americans (49)	------	------	14. 29	8. 16	10. 20	22. 45	20. 41	8. 16	10. 20	2. 04	4. 08

CHEST MODULE VERSUS STATURE AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	55	22	246
Average	15. 33	15. 23	14. 78
Over 60 years of age	37	27	----------
Average	15. 45	15. 39	----------

[1] See the following equation:
$$\frac{\text{Chest module} \times 100}{\text{Stature}}.$$

That the larger chest and higher chest index of the academicians is not the effect of age is shown plainly in the last parts of the above tables; such small differences as these present are almost surely accidental.

THE HAND

The measurements apply to the left hand only, both for convenience and because this hand in general is less affected by work and injuries, presenting therefore more faithfully the natural morphological conditions. The two dimensions taken are the length, measured from the mid-point of the proximal wrist line to the end of the medius, and the transverse breadth of the palm across its middle, both taken with the hand in full but not overforced extension. The percental relation of the breadth to length $\left(\frac{Hb \times 100}{Hl}\right)$, gives the hand index, and the mean of the two measurements gives the hand module, a good unit for various comparisons.

The relative proportions of the hands, and also those of the feet, are of more than ordinary interest. They correlate directly and markedly with body and head type, where these are well differentiated. There are two main general morphological types of the human body, the dolichomorphous and brachymorphous. The first, when well defined, is characterized by relatively long and narrow head (dolichocephaly), tendency toward slenderness of body and taller stature, with relatively long and narrow hands and feet; while in the second the body tends to be stockier, there is a short and broad head (brachycephaly), and relatively short and broad hands as well as feet. In a mixed population there are many intermediate, exceptional, or ill-defined forms, yet one or the other of the above types tends to predominate; even without mixture, however, some individuals of a group will show one or the other of these types better or more frequently than the other.

In addition the hands, particularly, but in cases also the feet, show plainly the effects of muscular work or of want of work. In the former case they are broader and especially thicker, in the latter narrower and more delicate than the average.

The hands of the academicians show the following conditions:

Table 61.—*Hand length*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	90	48	247
Average	19. 26±0. 060	19. 49±0. 082	19. 28
Minimum	17. 1	18. 0	17. 2
Maximum	21. 0	20. 9	22. 3
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*20. 25*	*14. 88*	*26. 40*
σ	0. 850±0. 042	0. 840±0. 058	------------
CV	4. 42±0. 22	4. 31±0. 30	------------

DISTRIBUTION

	17.1-17.2	17.3-17.7	17.8-18.2	18.3-18.7	18.8-19.2	19.3-19.7	19.8-20.2	20.3-20.7	20.8-21
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (90)	1. 1	4. 4	3. 3	17. 8	26. 7	18. 9	13. 3	11. 1	3. 3
Not old Americans (48)	-------	-------	6. 2	20. 8	12. 5	16. 7	18. 8	22. 9	2. 1

HAND LENGTH AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	54	21	247
Average	19. 39±0. 078	19. 53±0. 132	19. 28
σ	0. 854±0. 055	0. 898±0. 093	------------
CV	4. 40±0. 29	4. 59±0. 48	------------
Over 60 years of age	36	27	------------
Average	19. 04±0. 090	19. 45±0. 102	------------
σ	0. 802±0. 064	0. 786±0. 072	------------
CV	4. 21±0. 33	4. 04±0. 37	------------

Hand Length

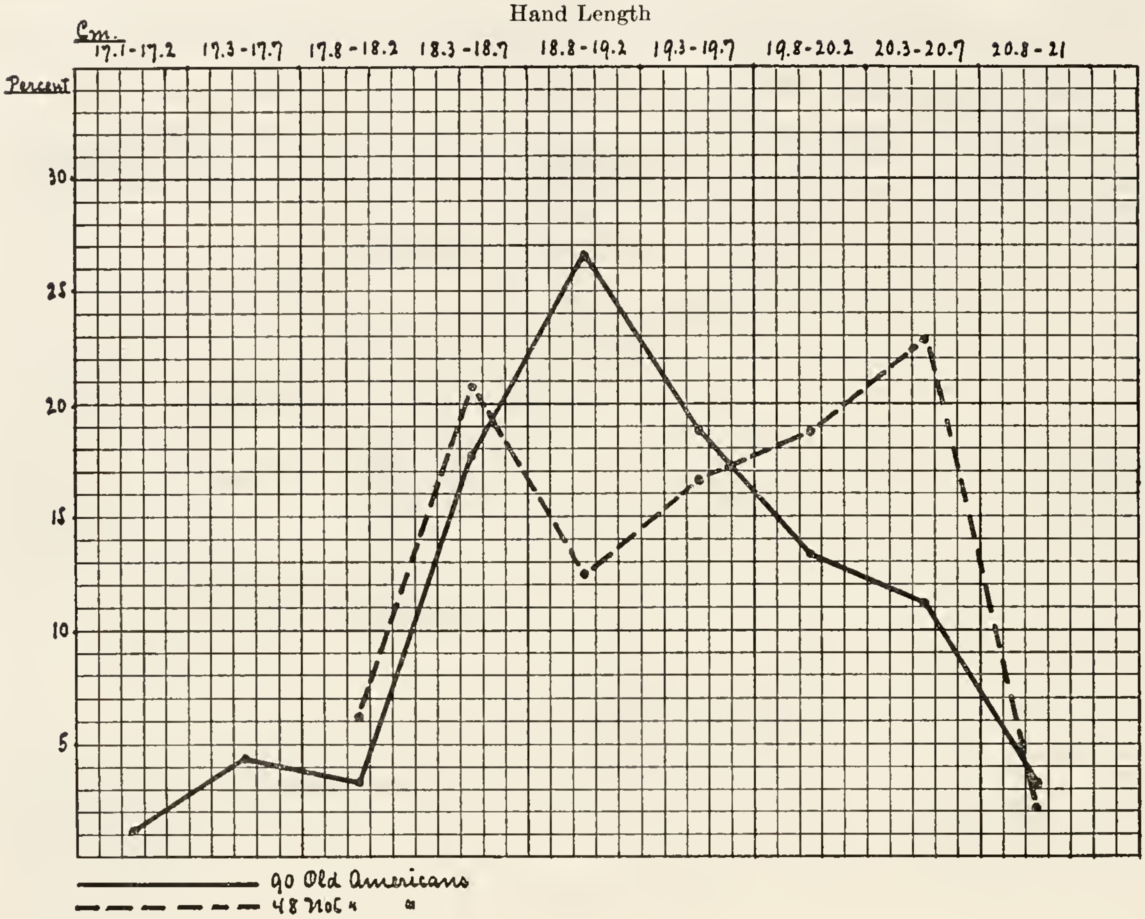

Cm.
17.1-17.2
17.3-17.7
17.8-18.2
18.3-18.7
18.8-19.2
19.3-19.7
19.8-20.2
20.3-20.7
20.8-21
Percent
30
25
20
15
10
5
90 Old Americans
48 Nol " "

TABLE 62.—*Hand breadth*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	90	48	247
Average	9. 19±0. 031	9. 26±0. 042	9. 18
Minimum	8. 2	8. 6	7. 7
Maximum	10. 2	10. 2	11. 0
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*21. 76*	*17. 28*	*35. 9*
σ	0. 432±0. 022	0. 433±0. 030	----------
CV	4. 70±0. 24	4. 69±0. 32	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	8.2	8.3–8.5	8.6–8.8	8.9–9.1	9.2–9.4	9.5–9.7	9.8–10	10.1–10.2
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (90)	2. 2	4. 4	13. 3	21. 1	33. 3	17. 8	4. 4	3. 3
Not old Americans (48)	--------	--------	22. 9	18. 7	20. 8	27. 1	6. 3	4. 2

HAND BREADTH AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	54	21	247
Average	9. 26±0. 037	9. 33±0. 071	9. 18
σ	0. 404±0. 026	0. 480±0. 050	----------
CV	4. 36±0. 28	5. 15±0. 54	----------
Over 60 years of age	36	27	----------
Average	9. 12±0. 049	9. 21±0. 047	----------
σ	0. 438±0. 035	0. 364±0. 033	----------
CV	4. 80±0. 38	3. 95±0. 36	----------

Hand Breadth

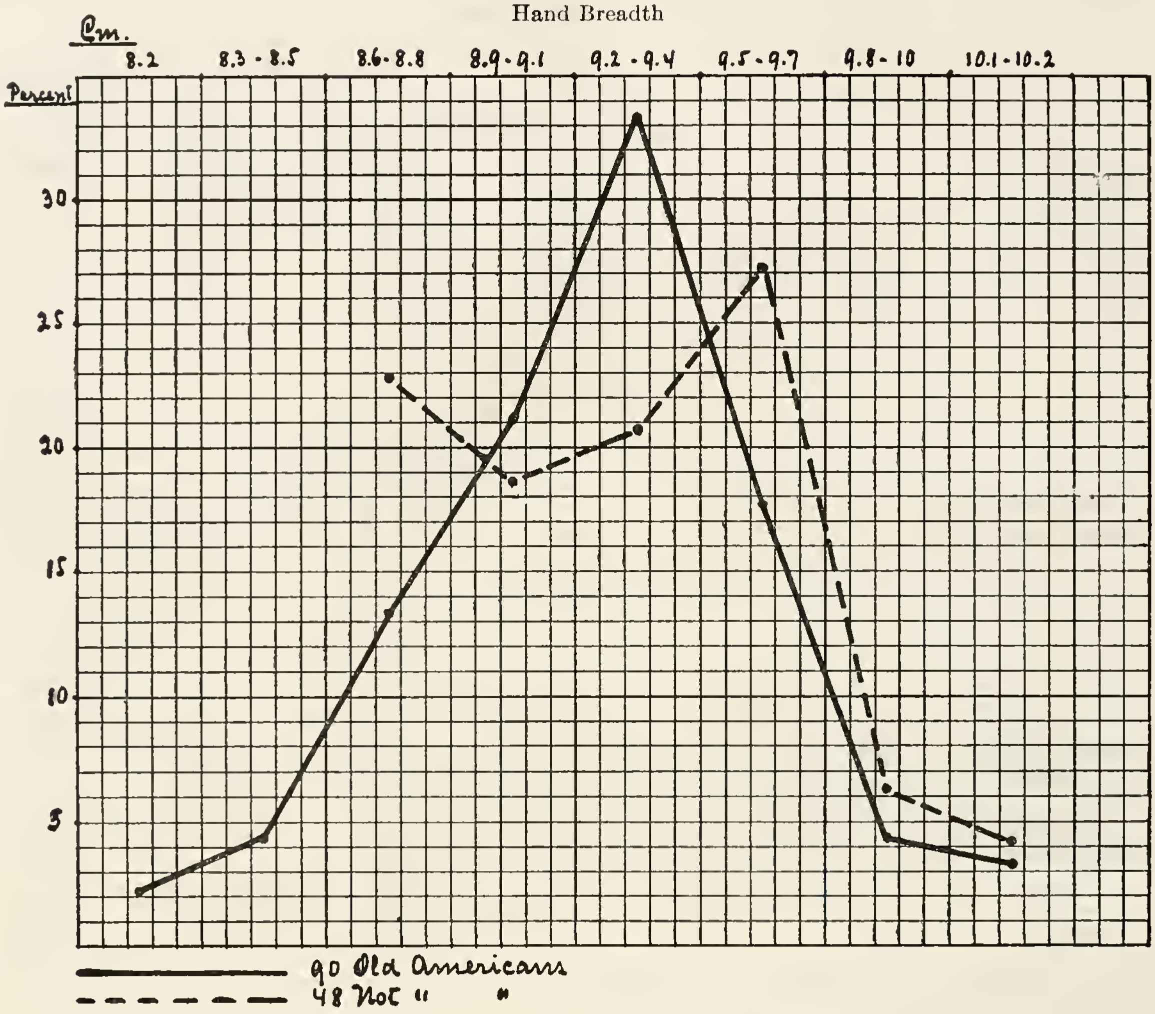


Table 63.—*Hand index* [1]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	90	48	247
Average	47. 74±0. 110	47. 52±0. 190	47. 64
Minimum	44. 7	42. 2	37. 7
Maximum	51. 6	53. 5	54. 2
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*19. 71*	*23. 78*	*34. 6*
σ	1. 550±0. 078	1. 980±0. 130	----------
CV	3. 24±0. 16	4. 16±0. 29	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	42.2–44.49	44.5–45.49	45.5–46.49	46.5–47.49	47.5–48.49	48.5–49.49	49.5–50.49	50.5–51.49	51.5–53.5
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (90)	-------	5. 6	16. 7	23. 3	23. 3	17. 8	6. 7	5. 6	1. 1
Not old Americans (48)	4. 1	8. 3	14. 6	22. 9	18. 8	18. 8	8. 3	2. 1	2. 1

HAND INDEX AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	54	21	247
Average	47. 76±0. 130	47. 77±0. 34	47. 64
σ	1. 412±0. 092	2. 32±0. 24	----------
CV	2. 96±0. 19	4. 85±0. 50	----------
Over 60 years of age	36	27	----------
Average	47. 89±0. 194	47. 36±0. 21	----------
σ	1. 729±0. 137	1. 64±0. 15	----------
CV	3. 61±0. 29	3. 46±0. 32	----------

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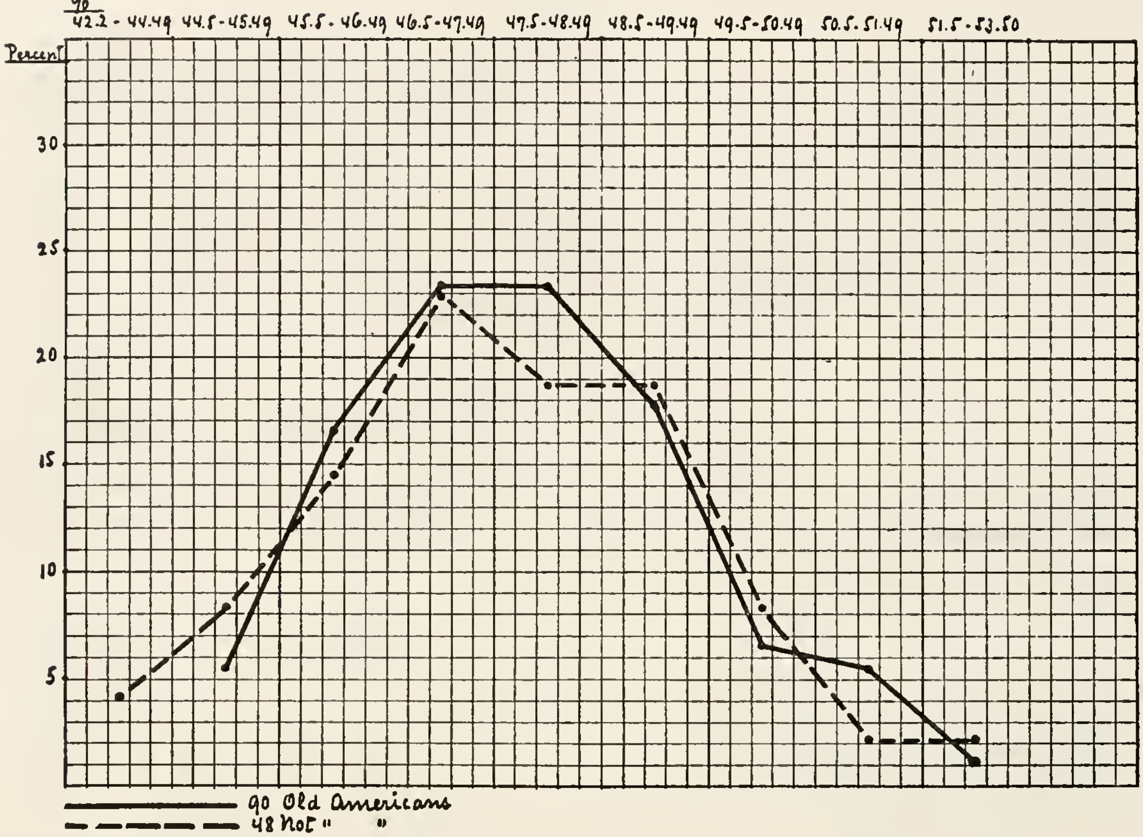
[1] See the following equation:

$$\frac{\text{Breadth} \times 100}{\text{Length}}.$$

Hand Index



The hands of the old American members of the Academy in both their measurements and their index are identical with those of the more highly cultured old Americans at large. The hands of the European born or more recent American academicians are distinctly larger in both dimensions.

The variability of the hand dimensions and also the index is lower than that of the chest, ear, or face measurements, but higher than that of the dimensions of the head. The head breadth and consequently also the index are seen to vary distinctly more than the hand length.

The influence of age is difficult to gage properly in such small series; the old Americans at large [41] showed that the hands grow moderately well into adult life. The hands of the old members of both groups appear slightly smaller. This I believe is partly due to disuse, partly to less ability to stretch the hand as effectively as is possible in younger persons. In relation to stature the hands of the old Americans within and outside the Academy give practically the same values, the hands of the not old American members showing somewhat larger. Why this should be so is for the present difficult to conjecture.

The whole showing of the hand in the members of the Academy means that in general there has been in the life of these men a fair amount of manual work or exercise; that only rare individuals have had lives of leisure; and that old age has had some effect on the hand dimensions.

The exceedingly close relation of both the dimensions and the index of the hand, together with the marked similarity to identity of other parts in the old Americans within and outside of the Academy, goes far to sustain the deduction arrived at in connection with the studies on the old Americans at large, that this part of the population in this country constitutes a rather well defined national strain, which already is more or less distinct from other white groups and approaches something distinctly "American."

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[41] The Old Americans, 323 et seq.

Table 64.—*Hand module*[1]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	90	48	247
Average	14. 23±0. 42	14. 38±0. 056	14. 23
σ	0. 595±0. 030	0. 573±0. 039	
CV	4. 18±0. 21	3. 98±0. 27	

HAND LENGTH, BREADTH, AND MODULE VERSUS STATURE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	54	21	247
Hand length	11. 09	11. 15	11. 10
Hand breadth	5. 28	5. 33	5. 26
Hand module (mean diameter)	8. 19	8. 24	8. 16

HAND MODULE AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	54	21	247
Average	14. 36±0. 055	14. 43±0. 094	14. 23
σ	0. 597±0. 039	0. 639±0. 067	
CV	4. 16±0. 27	4. 42±0. 46	
Over 60 years of age	36	27	
Average	14. 09±0. 062	14. 33±0. 066	
σ	0. 553±0. 044	0. 510±0. 047	
CV	3. 93±0. 31	3. 55±0. 33	

[1] See the following equation:

$$\frac{\text{Length} + \text{Breadth}}{2}.$$

The Foot

As with the hand and for the same reasons, the measurements were restricted to the left foot. The foot yields itself to two main diameters, the greatest length parallel to its long axis, and the greatest breadth at right angles to the latter; both measurements taken on undeformed feet only and while the weight of the body is placed on the foot that is not measured.

There was not noticed in the members of the Academy any really flat foot, such as abounds in the Negro, nor again any foot with especially high arches; and there was no case of pathological or other deformity. The data obtained on the part follow:

Table 65.—*Foot length*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	92	49	245
Average	26. 12±0. 084	26. 27±0. 102	26. 12
Minimum	22. 5	24. 7	22. 6
Maximum	29. 9	28. 9	29. 6
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*24. 89*	*16. 0*	*26. 80*
σ	1. 196±0. 059	1. 058±0. 072	----------
CV	4. 56±0. 23	4. 03±0. 27	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	22.5–22.9	23–23.9	24–24.9	25–25.9	26–26.9	27–27.9	28–28.9	29–29.9
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (92)	1. 1	--------	12. 9	32. 6	26. 1	21. 7	4. 4	1. 1
Not old Americans (49)	--------	--------	10. 2	32. 7	36. 7	12. 3	8. 2	------

FOOT LENGTH AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	55	22	245
Average	26. 30±0. 115	26. 45±0. 166	26. 12
σ	1. 266±0. 081	1. 153±0. 117	----------
CV	4. 81±0. 31	4. 38±0. 45	----------
Over 60 years of age	37	27	----------
Average	25. 85±0. 117	26. 12±0. 127	----------
σ	1. 056±0. 083	0. 975±0. 089	----------
CV	4. 06±0. 32	3. 72±0. 34	----------

Foot Length

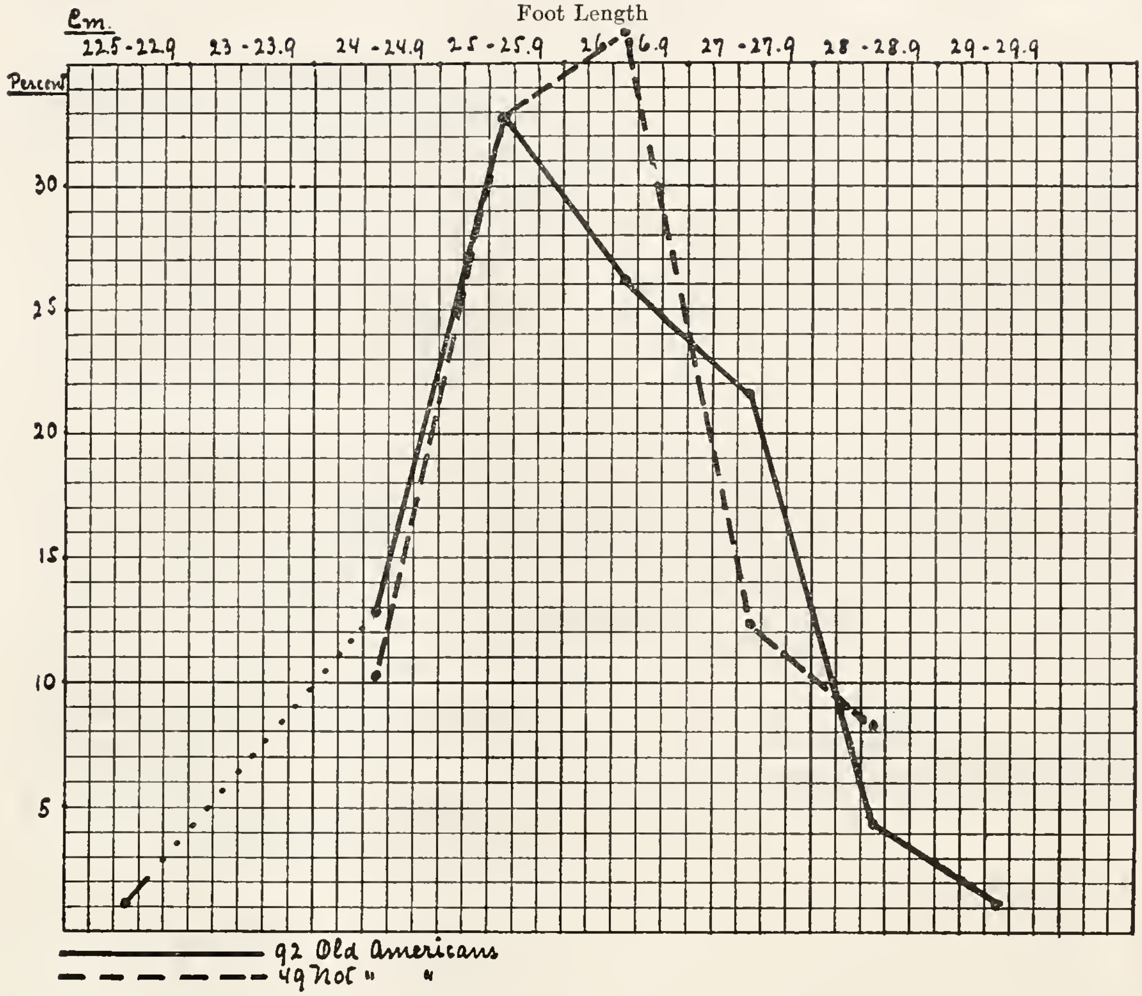
Cm.
22.5-22.9
23 - 23.9
24 - 24.9
25 - 25.9
26-26.9
27 - 27.9
28 - 28.9
29 - 29.9
Percent
30
25
20
15
10
5
92 Old Americans
49 Not " "

TABLE 66.—*Foot breadth*

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	92	49	245
Average	9. 43±0. 034	9. 47±0. 044	9. 49
Minimum	8. 4	8. 6	8. 2
Maximum	10. 6	10. 5	11. 1
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*23. 33*	*20. 06*	*30. 56*
σ	0. 488±0. 024	0. 460±0. 031	----------
CV	5. 17±0. 26	4. 87±0. 33	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	8.4	8.5–8.7	8.8–9	9.1–9.3	9.4–9.6	9.7–9.9	10–10.2	10.3–10.5	10.6
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (92)	1. 1	4. 3	14. 1	23. 9	23. 9	18. 5	8. 7	4. 4	1. 1
Not old Americans (49)	-------	4. 1	10. 2	22. 5	30. 6	18. 4	12. 2	2. 0	-----

FOOT BREADTH AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	55	22	245
Average	9. 47±0. 041	9. 57±0. 053	9. 49
σ	0. 452±0. 029	0. 366±0. 037	----------
CV	4. 77±0. 31	3. 81±0. 39	----------
Over 60 years of age	37	27	----------
Average	9. 37±0. 054	9. 39±0. 056	----------
σ	0. 487±0. 038	0. 434±0. 040	----------
CV	5. 17±0. 41	4. 63±0. 42	----------

Foot Breadth

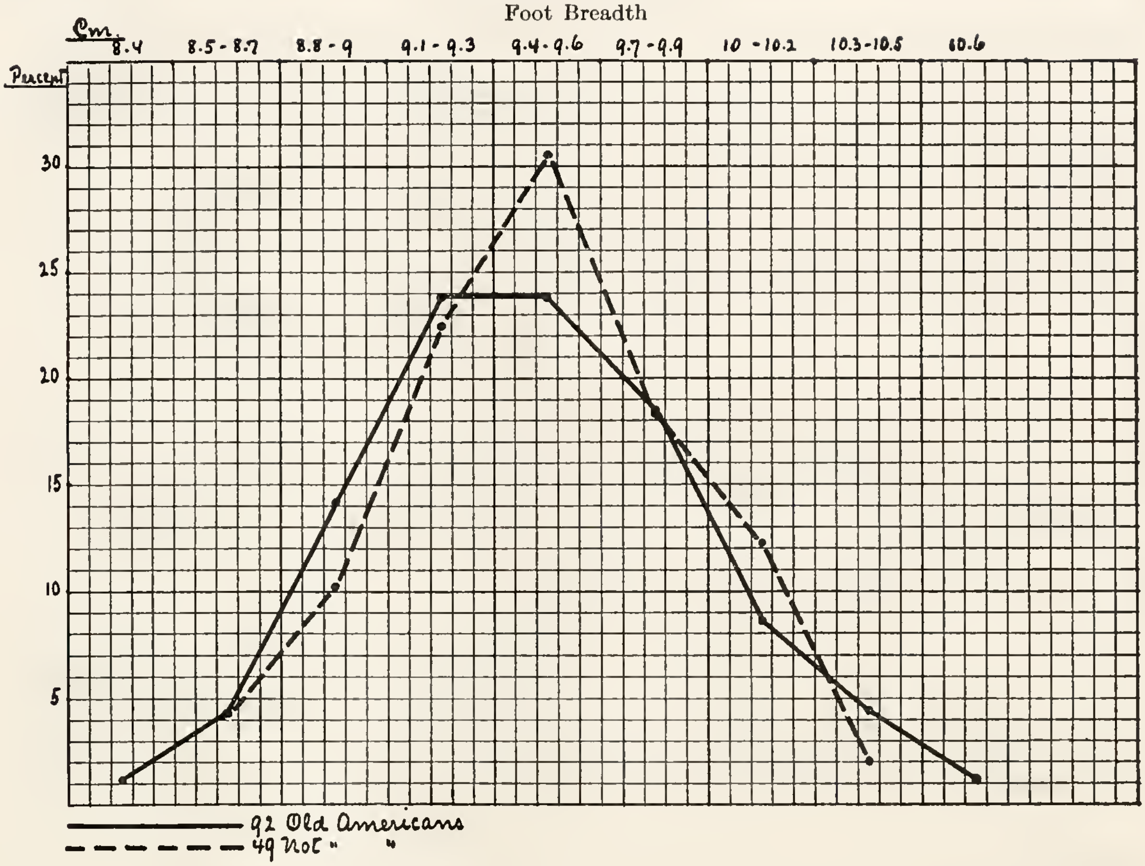

Table 67.—*Foot index* [1]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	92	49	245
Average	36. 12±0. 18	36. 06±0. 15	36. 33
Minimum	31. 1	32. 8	30. 7
Maximum	40. 1	41. 8	41. 1
Range of variation in percentage of the average	*24. 92*	*25. 0*	*28. 63*
σ	2. 72±0. 13	1. 58±0. 11	----------
CV	7. 43±0. 37	4. 38±0. 30	----------

DISTRIBUTION

	31.1–32.49	32.5–33.49	33.5–34.49	34.5–35.49	35.5–36.49	36.5–37.49	37.5–38.49	38.5–39.49	39.5–40.49	40.5–41.8
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Old Americans (92)	1. 1	4. 3	12. 0	15. 2	25. 0	23. 9	12. 0	3. 3	3. 3	-------
Not old Americans (49)	-------	2. 0	12. 3	22. 5	26. 5	28. 6	2. 0	2. 0	2. 0	2. 0

FOOT INDEX AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	55	22	245
Average	36. 0±0. 15	36. 18±0. 20	36. 33
σ	1. 65±0. 11	1. 37±0. 14	----------
CV	4. 58±0. 29	3. 79±0. 39	----------
Over 60 years of age	37	27	----------
Average	36. 25±0. 18	35. 95±0. 22	----------
σ	1. 69±0. 13	1. 73±0. 16	----------
CV	4. 65±0. 36	4. 81±0. 44	----------

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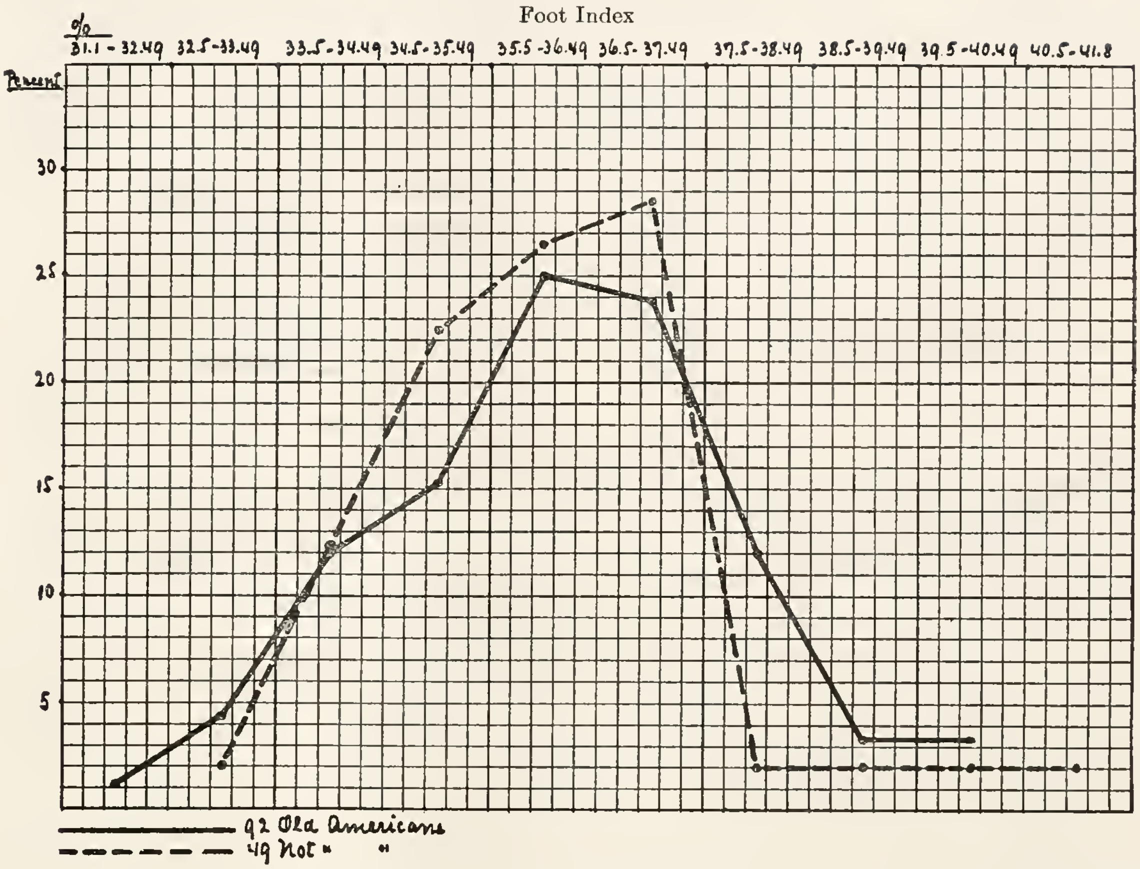
[1] See the following equation:

$$\frac{\text{Breadth} \times 100}{\text{Length}}.$$


Foot Index

%
Percent
31.1 - 32.49
32.5-33.49
33.5-34.49
34.5-35.49
35.5-36.49
36.5-37.49
37.5-38.49
38.5-39.49
39.5-40.49
40.5-41.8
30
25
20
15
10
5
92 Old Americans
49 Not " "

TABLE 68.—*Foot module* [1]

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects	92	49	245
Average	17. 78±0. 052	17. 87±0. 066	17. 81
σ	0. 740±0. 037	0. 683±0. 047	----------
CV	4. 16±0. 21	3. 82±0. 26	----------

FOOT LENGTH, BREADTH AND MODULE VERSUS STATURE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	55	22	245
Foot length	15. 01	15. 10	14. 97
Foot breadth	5. 40	5. 46	5. 44
Foot module (mean diameter)	10. 21	10. 28	10. 21

FOOT MODULE AND AGE

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large (laboratory series)
	Old Americans	Not old Americans	
Subjects to 60 years of age, inclusive	55	22	245
Average	17. 89±0. 071	18. 05±0. 099	17. 81
σ	0. 784±0. 050	0. 686±0. 070	----------
CV	4. 38±0. 28	3. 80±0. 39	----------
Over 60 years of age	37	27	----------
Average	17. 63±0. 071	17. 75±0. 085	----------
σ	0. 642±0. 050	0. 653±0. 060	----------
CV	3. 64±0. 29	3. 68±0. 34	----------

[1] See the following equation.

Mean diameter$=\frac{L+B}{2}$.

With the foot as with the hand, the old American group of the Academy is very close to the more cultured old Americans in general, the only difference being that in the latter the foot is slightly broader and the index consequently higher. The Academy group of European birth or more recent American derivation shows a slightly larger and particularly longer foot, as it showed a slightly larger hand than either of the two groups of the old Americans. In both series of the academicians the foot is smaller and especially narrower than it is in most of the recent European immigrants to this country,[42] and these differences come out especially clearly when the foot dimensions are compared with stature, as may be seen in table 69. All this relates, I believe, to the more sedentary habits of the academicians and the consequently fewer total stresses their feet had to endure.

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[42] Compare data in The Old Americans, p. 341.

Table 69.—*Foot and stature*

	Members of the Academy up to 60 years, inclusive	Old Americans at large (laboratory)	Averages of 12 groups of immigrants
Subjects	**77**	245	----------
Foot:			
Length	26. 32	26. 12	25. 70–26. 60
Breadth	9. 50	9. 49	9. 90–10. 60
Module (mean diameter)	17. 91	17. 81	17. 85–18. 63
Index	*36. 10*	*36. 33*	*37. 90–40. 10*
$\frac{\text{Module} \times 100}{\text{Stature}}$	*10. 23*	*10. 21*	*10. 60–11. 02*

The foot, it is quite evident, is larger and especially broader in the immigrants. This is even more striking when the size of the foot is regarded in its relation to stature. The causes are doubtless on one hand the prevalence of going bare-footed among the children of the poorer people, and on the other hand the greater stresses the feet in the immigrants were called upon to endure due to their habits and occupations. In the life of the members of the Academy as well as in that of the subjects of the "laboratory" series of the old Americans at large, there has been from the time of their school age to that of their examination such a large proportion of sitting, and hence resting the feet, during their waking hours, that the feet have not developed as much as they have in the immigrants. If it were practicable to measure the total mass of the feet and the stoutness of their bones the differences would doubtless be found to be even greater.

What will become of the old American foot under modern conditions when its use has been further greatly diminished by the automobile and other conveniences may be surmised and apprehended.

PHYSIOLOGICAL TESTS

An effort was made with the members of the Academy to secure data on the pulse, respiration, and temperature, but as the measurements had to be made during the meetings and it was seldom possible to delay the subject, it was soon found that the records could not represent strictly normal conditions and so these tests were abandoned. There were no such obstacles, however, to the tests of strength and these were carried out on all those examined whose hands, arms, and shoulders were in healthy condition.

As with the old Americans at large, these tests were taken by the well known Collins (French) dynamometer. They consisted of the optimum obtainable records of the pressure by each hand, and of bimanual traction,[43] taken with the subject standing and with both shoes and clothing on, barring the vest and coat.

In tests of this nature age is naturally an important factor, and the test proved very disturbing in the many aged members of the Academy. With many of the members above 70, and occasionally even earlier, normal results plainly could not be obtained and the records had to be omitted; yet now and then, up to the age of 78 even in one case, a fair record resulted. The data follow:

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[43] The medius of each hand hooked into the small ends of the arch of the dynamometer, the instrument held free from any contact with the body, and the utmost pull exerted. The records obtained are, it is well known, not mechanically accurate, but the errors of the instrument are constant, the instrument is easy to handle, and the results are quite comparable with others secured by the same make of dynamometer. The same instrument was used in all the studies dealt with here.

Table 70.—*Tests of strength*

	Members of Academy, both series, up to 60 years, inclusive			Members over 60 years		
	Pressure in kilograms		Traction	Pressure in kilograms		Traction
	Right hand	Left hand		Right hand	Left hand	
Subjects	41	42	42	33	33	29
Average	[1] 42. 20	36. 29	23. 43	34. 24	29. 56	18. 89
Minimum	22. 00	16. 00	13. 00	20. 00	16. 50	12. 00
Maximum	60. 00	49. 00	34. 00	48. 50	41. 50	29. 00
Range of variation in percentage of average	*90. 10*	*90. 90*	*89. 60*	*83. 20*	*84. 60*	*90. 00*

COMPARISON

	Pressure		Left hand versus right [2]	Traction	Traction versus mean pressure [3]
	Right hand	Left hand			
41 members of Academy up to 60 years, inclusive (mean age 51.3 years)	42. 2	36. 3	*86. 2*	23. 4	*59. 7*
215 old Americans at large (laboratory series, mean age 37 years)	41. 8	36. 1	*86. 4*	22. 3	*57. 2*

[1] Right-handed only.

[2] $r=100$.

[3] See the following equation:

$$\frac{\text{Pressure} + \text{pl.}}{\text{Traction}}.$$

Notwithstanding their materially greater mean age, the members of the Academy up to and including 60 years of age are very close to the more cultured old Americans at large in hand pressure and even exceed them slightly in traction. Age for age it is reasonable to assume the members would be throughout, though especially in traction (muscles of arms and shoulders), slightly superior to the outsiders. This is in accord with the somewhat higher stature and greater chest depth in the academicians and suggests once more favorable vitality.

A remarkably harmonious result is shown by the relation of the pressure-strength in the right and the left hands—it is practically identical with that in the old Americans at large. Results of this nature are convincing proofs of the general value of the determinations.

All three measurements of strength vary greatly individually. They showed similar, and with the traction even wider, ranges of variation in the old Americans at large.[44] They exceed in variability all the rest of the measured characters.

The variability in pressure in the left hand tends to exceed somewhat that in the right, and that in traction probably exceeds that in pressure, though one of our groups makes an exception. In all these tests it is impossible, of course, in such a series as ours to draw any fine line between the normal and the not quite normal.

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

The studies on the members of the National Academy which are reported here, if surveyed in toto and compared with the more cultured old American population at large, impress the observer with three outstanding features. The first of these is that the old American contingent within the Academy in general is identical with the more cultured old American stock at large. The second is that the old American members and those of European birth or more recent derivation in this country, are remarkably similar in most of their characteristics, which can only mean that both represent similar endowments and were developed on the whole in closely related conditions. The third and perhaps the most important realization is that where the academicians differ somewhat from the outsiders the significant differences are all in favor of the academicians. The latter show appreciably taller stature, both absolutely and relatively larger and particularly broader head, deeper chest, good strength of arms and shoulders. They obviously present, in general, an above-the-average selection of men both as to nature and nurture. They are furthermore a remarkably normal group, of evidently good heredity and good ontogenetic history. There were found no physically abnormal geniuses in the lot, just a selection of gifted brains supported by above-medium health and physique.

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[44] The Old Americans, p. 394: Pressure, right hand—88.5; pressure left hand—90; traction 143.5.

It will be useful to give here the total of the comparative data on the members of the Academy and on the old Americans at large.

General comparison—Observations

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large, laboratory series (250)
	Old Americans (100)	Not old Americans (50)	
Skin color:			
Light (distinctly lighter than medium)	1. 0		0. 8
Medium	93. 0	88. 0	84. 8
Dark (perceptibly darker than medium)	6. 0	12. 0	14. 4
Hair color:			
True light			[1] 5. 3
Light brown	6. 0	6. 0	[1] 16. 0
Medium	45. 0	34. 0	[1] 50. 0
Dark brown to near black	46. 0	56. 0	[1] 25. 0
Black	2. 0	2. 0	[1] 1. 1
Red	[2] 1. 0	[2] 2. 0	[1] 2. 6
Eye color:			
Pure blue:			
Light	1. 0	4. 0	[1] 7. 9
Medium	[3] 18. 0	[4] 20. 0	[1] [5] 14. 8
Dark	4. 0	2. 0	[1] 1. 1
Grayish	6. 0	4. 0	[1] 2. 2
Greenish			[1] 5. 0
Pure brown:			
Light	1. 0		[1] 4. 5
Medium	7. 0	10. 0	[1] 9. 3
Dark	3. 0	4. 0	[1] 2. 7
Mixed (blue, grayish or greenish with more or less brown)	60. 0	56. 0	[1] 52. 5
Forehead:			
Apparent height:			
Slightly to somewhat low	3. 0	4. 0	8. 7
Medium	94. 0	92. 0	88. 0
High	3. 0	4. 0	3. 3
Slope:			
Medium well arched	93. 0	94. 0	97. 3
Slight to moderate	7. 0	4. 0	2. 7
Marked		2. 0	
Supraorbital ridges:			
Near none to submedium	39. 0	36. 0	23. 4
About medium	49. 0	56. 0	65. 4
Above medium	8. 0	4. 0	8. 0
Pronounced	4. 0	4. 0	3. 3

See footnotes at end of table.

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General comparison—Observations—Continued

	Members of the Academy		Old Americans at large, laboratory series (250)
	Old Americans (100)	Not old Americans (50)	
Eye slits:			
Horizontal	97. 0	98. 0	98. 0
Slightly to moderately slanting upward	3. 0	2. 0	2. 0
Slightly to moderately slanting downward	------	------	------
Malar regions (cheekbones):			
Almost none (externally) to decidedly subdued	31. 0	28. 0	11. 0
Submedium	53. 0	46. 0	36. 0
Medium	14. 0	24. 0	51. 0
Slightly to moderately above medium	2. 0	2. 0	2. 0
Depression at nasal root:			
Near none to slight	5. 0	8. 0	2. 0
Submedium	8. 0	14. 0	16. 0
Medium	85. 0	78. 0	81. 0
Deep	2. 0	------	1. 0
Nose shape:			
Concave	------	------	8. 7
Straight or near	29. 0	40. 0	22. 0
Convex:			
Slightly	21. 0	14. 0	18. 0
Medium	18. 0	20. 0	24. 0
Pronouncedly	2. 0	2. 0	------
Concavo-convex	30. 0	24. 0	27. 3
Nasal septum:			
Inclined upward:			
Slightly	12. 0	8. 0	20. 0
Moderately	6. 0	------	9. 7
Markedly	------	------	2. 3
Horizontal	59. 0	70. 0	56. 3
Inclined downward:			
Slightly	9. 0	14. 0	8. 9
Moderately	10. 0	6. 0	2. 4
Markedly	4. 0	2. 0	. 4
Alveolar prognathy:			
None (or feeble)	90. 0	94. 0	92. 0
Slight to moderate	10. 0	6. 0	8. 0
Marked	------	------	------
Lips (thickness):			
Somewhat above medium	7. 0	10. 0	8. 6
Medium	60. 0	50. 0	90. 7
Submedium	[6] 23. 0	[6] 38. 0	. 7
Thin	[6] 10. 0	2. 0	------
Chin:			
Form:			
Rounded	94. 0	92. 0	80. 7
Square	5. 0	8. 0	19. 3
Pointed	1. 0	------	------
Prominence:			
Submedium	1. 0	------	------
Medium	98. 0	94. 0	80. 0
Above medium	1. 0	6. 0	20. 0
Angles of lower jaw:			
Decidedly subdued	9. 0	2. 0	3. 3
Submedium	30. 0	34. 0	26. 0
Medium	56. 0	58. 0	57. 3
Moderately prominent	5. 0	6. 0	12. 7
Prominent	------	------	. 7

---

[1] 1,009 subjects.

[2] Reddish, not true red.

[3] Includes 2 (2 percent) slate blue.

[4] Includes 1 (2 percent) slate blue.

[5] Includes a few slate blue.

[6] Effects of age.

General comparison—Measurements [1]

	Members of the Academy				Old Americans at large (laboratory series)	
	Old Americans		Not old Americans			
		Subjects		*Subjects*		*Subjects*
Stature	175. 09	60	175. 23	22	174. 30	[2] 727
Weight in kilograms	75. 68	55	73. 70	21	68. 63	232
Gram per centimeter ratio	432. 0	55	421. 5	21	390. 8	232
Height, sitting-stature ratio	52. 90	60	53. 09	22	52. 94	247
Armspread-stature ratio	102. 17	58	102. 57	21	102. 6	245
Head:						
Length	19. 94	[3] 100	19. 82	[3] 50	19. 79	247
Breadth	15. 67	100	15. 84	50	15. 48	247
Height	13. 93	100	14. 05	50	13. 93	247
Cephalic module (mean diameter)	16. 51	100	16. 57	50	16. 39	247
Cephalic module-stature ratio	9. 51	100	9. 50	50	9. 40	247
Cephalic index	78. 56	100	79. 96	50	78. 28	247
Dolichocephalic (to 75), percent	13. 0	100	8. 0	50	16. 6	[2] 727
Mesocephalic (75 to 80), percent	53. 0	100	36. 0	50	61. 7	[2] 727
Brachycephalic (81 and over), percent	34. 0	100	56. 0	50	21. 7	[2] 727
Height length index of head	69. 91	100	70. 89	50	70. 60	[4] 594
Height breadth index of head	89. 02	100	88. 69	50	90. 29	[4] 594
Mean height index	78. 44	100	78. 86	50	79. 00	247
Forehead:						
Height	6. 58	[5] 32			6. 59	[6] 510
Breadth	10. 59	100	10. 67	50	10. 59	247
Face:						
Physiognomic height (to hair line)	18. 90	[7] 25	19. 00	[7] 7	18. 81	[8] 443
Anatomic height	12. 13	62	12. 30	22	12. 19	[8] 594
Diameter bizygomatic maximum	13. 96	[9] 100	14. 09	[9] 50	13. 92	[8] 594
Facial index:						
Physiognomic	74. 37	[7] 25	73. 91	[7] 7	74. 18	[8] 443
Anatomic	87. 24	62	87. 38	22	87. 73	[8] 594
Facial breadth-head breadth ratio	89. 17	[9] 100	88. 95	[9] 50	90. 10	[8] 594
Anatomic face height-stature ratio	6. 93	62	7. 03	22	6. 99	[8] 594
Lower facial breadth (bigonial diameter)	10. 58	60	10. 77	22	10. 63	247
Nose:						
Height	5. 46	62	5. 50	22	5. 35	247
Breadth	3. 68	62	3. 70	22	3. 61	247
Index	67. 20	62	67. 30	22	67. 45	247
Mouth, width	5. 60	55	5. 83	22	5. 37	247
Ear:						
Length	6. 90	55	6. 89	22	6. 70	250
Breadth	3. 93	55	3. 98	22	3. 79	250
Index	56. 96	55	57. 76	22	56. 57	250
Chest:						
Breadth	30. 49	55	30. 48	22	29. 76	246
Depth	23. 18	55	22. 84	22	21. 70	246
Index	76. 04	55	74. 94	22	72. 93	246
Chest module-stature ratio	15. 33	55	15. 23	22	14. 78	246
Hand:						
Length	19. 39	54	19. 53	21	19. 28	247
Breadth	9. 26	54	9. 33	21	9. 18	247
Index	47. 76	54	47. 77	21	47. 64	247
Hand module-stature ratio	8. 19	54	8. 24	21	8. 16	247

For footnotes, see end of table.

General comparison—Measurements—Continued

	Members of the Academy				Old Americans at large (laboratory series)	
	Old Americans		Not old Americans			
Foot:		*Subjects*		*Subjects*		*Subjects*
Length	26. 30	55	26. 45	22	26. 12	245
Breadth	9. 47	55	9. 57	22	9. 49	245
Index	36. 0	55	36. 18	22	36. 33	245
Foot module-stature ratio	10. 21	55	10. 28	22	10. 21	245

[1] Figures used throughout this table are for subjects 60 and under, unless otherwise indicated.
[2] Entire series.
[3] Entire series, no age limit.
[4] Entire series, except the mountaineers.
[5] No age limit; measurement taken only on those with normal hair line.
[6] Laboratory and Virginian series; 118 Tennessee highlanders give 6.57.
[7] No age limit; measurement taken only on those with normal hair line.
[8] Entire series, except mountaineers.
[9] Entire series, no age limit.

Old Americans within and outside of the Academy

	Same or nearly so	Old American academicians exceed in—	Old Americans at large exceed in—
Skin		Medium pigmentation	Darker pigmentation.
Hair color	In medium shades	Darks	Lights and reds.
Eye color	In dark browns	Medium and dark blues, grays, mixed.	Light blues, greenish, light browns.
Forehead height (visually)	In high	Medium forms	Submedium forms.
Forehead slope		Sloping	Medium.
Supraorbital ridges	In above medium	Slight and submedium	Do.
Eyeslits (inclination)	In all respects		
Cheekbones	In above medium	Slight to submedium	Do.
Nasal root depression		Medium to deep	Submedium.
Nose:			
Shape	In convex	Straight and concavoconvex	Concave.
Septum	In horizontal	Moderately to markedly inclined downward.	Inclined upward.
Alveolar prognathy	In all respects		
Lips, thickness	In above medium	Submedium and thin	Medium.
Chin:			
Form		Rounded	Square.
Prominence		Medium	Above medium.
Angles of lower jaw	Medium	Decidedly subdued to submedium.	Do.
MEASUREMENTS			
Stature		Higher by nearly ⅓ inch [1]	
Weight		Larger by nearly 14 pounds [2]	
Weight-stature		Larger by 40 grams per centimeter. [1]	
Height sitting-stature ratio		Slightly higher	
Arm spread-stature ratio	About equal [1]		
Head:			
Length		Larger [2]	
Breadth		do.[2]	
Height	Equal [2]		
Module		do	

For footnotes, see end of table.

Old Americans within and outside of the Academy—Continued

MEASUREMENTS—Continued

	Same or nearly so	Old American academicians exceed in—	Old Americans at large exceed in—
Cephalic module-stature ratio		Larger	
Cephalic index		Higher	
Head forms		More sub-brachy- and brachycephalic.	More dolicho- and mesocephalic.
Head height indices			All slightly higher.
Forehead:			
Height	Equal		
Breadth	do		
Face:			
Total height	Nearly equal		
Lower height	do		
Breadth	do		
Physiognomic index	do		
Anatomic index	do		
Face breadth-head breadth ratio.			Higher.
Lower face height-stature ratio			Slightly higher.
Lower face breadth	Equal		
Nose:			
Height		Greater	
Breadth		Slightly greater	
Index			Do.
Mouth		Wider	
Ear:			
Length		Greater	
Breadth		do	
Index			Do.
Chest:			
Breadth		Somewhat greater	
Depth		Greater	
Index		Higher	
Chest module-stature ratio		do	
Hand:			
Length	Equal		
Breadth	do		
Index	do		
Foot:			
Length	do		
Breadth			Slightly larger.
Index			Slightly higher.
Manual and arm strength:			
Pressure right hand			Slightly greater [3]
Pressure left hand			Do.
Traction		Slightly greater	

[1] Up to 60 years inclusive.

[2] All.

[3] Up to 60 years inclusive.

FINAL REMARKS

The study of the members of the National Academy, herein reported, has furnished both gratifying and interesting results. Gratifying, in that the data second fully the results obtained in previous research on old American stock, and thus give valued support to the conclusion that there already exists in these old families an approach to a distinct American type of white man. Interesting, in the fact that the academicians of both old American and more recent European derivation are closely alike, and that in important characters both surpass the populations they come from, representing not only mentally but also physically what can only be called, it would seem, an aristogenic selection.

The studies throughout were seriously complicated by the factor of old age and the connected senile changes; fortunately, however, there were enough younger members, particularly in the old American group, to fairly clear up matters.

The principal results of the study show that the academicians physically and, as far as tested, also physiologically are a remarkably normal group, marked from the same strains of population outside by somewhat greater pigmentation of hair, higher stature, larger and especially broader head, and deeper chest—all of which speaks for greater vitality. The only justified diagnosis from all this is that the members of the Academy represent essentially sound, large and high quality brains, with sound, and, in the essentials, above the average body.

No effort was made to contrast the men of different sciences. It is probably true that the individual, as well as the academic, selection in some of the branches is not what it is in others and that some unevenness in physical as well as mental standards results, but the available numbers of subjects would have been wholly inadequate for the detection of such differences. Actually nothing that would have suggested any marked inequalities was observed.

Relevant studies.—To avoid bias, no search was made in literature for any related studies; which moreover were not believed to exist. As the present manuscript neared its conclusion such a search was begun and while but a single strictly relevant record was found this record brought an astonishing corroboration to our results. It is published in the International Bulletin of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Letters, by the former dean of Polish anthropologists, J. Talko-Hryncewitz.[45] This author took measurement of stature and the head on 331 Polish males at large, and on 121 representatives of the cultured classes, in a large part university professors and members of the Krakow Academy of Sciences. The results[46] showed that—

> Les classes cultivées se distinguent par une taille beaucoup plus élevée et par des dimensions crâniennes supérieures, en longeur comme en largeur, et surtout en circonférence horizontale; seule l'hauteur auriculo-bregmatique rest à peu près la même.

Additional studies by the same and other Polish authors, on the common people and the cultured nobility, showed that[47]—

> malgré la communauté de race, des dissemblances anthropologiques existent entre le peuple et les classes cultivées représentées par la noblesse. Celle-ci présente un type plus accompli, pour ainsi dire perfectionné qui se distingue du type paysan par une taille plus élevée, une conformation plus robuste, un type plus foncé, enfin par des dimensions due crâne relativement plus grandes et une brachycéphalie plus accentuée.

That generally a large normal brain and head correspond to above-average mentality, has been known since the studies of Galton, Broca, Bischoff, Welcker, Manouvrier, Matiegka, Donaldson, and others.[48] The exceptions to the rule dwindle when the effects of senility, stature, and preservatives are discounted, and when only truly superior mentalities are considered. The latest to deal more comprehensively with the subject are, especially, Spitzka and Donaldson,[49] but the whole field is in need of further reconsideration in view of modern recognitions, and of further studies on the living similar to those dealt with in this report.

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[45] Les principaux caractères anthropologiques du peuple et des classes cultivées en Pologne; Année 1919 (publ. 1920), 322–326.

[46] Ibid., p. 326.

[47] Ibid., p. 323.

So far as the writer's perception and experience are concerned everything points to the conclusion that, while there may be individual exceptions, if the important factors of age and stature are discounted, the brains and hence heads of lifelong workers of superior mentality are age for age of a larger size than the average of the population from which such workers have emerged. A superior intelligence, especially in some one direction, could conceivably exist in a nonpathological brain of any size; but a lifelong intensive exercise of such an endowment means a lifelong increased blood supply to the brain, which both by its quantity and in its effects on the brain tissues, would tend toward increase in the size of the organ and also to the enlargement of the bony capsule that contains it.

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[48] von Huschke: Schädel, Hirn und Seele des Menschen. Jena, 1854.

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